33-4-10

en in arms at the sound of the marseillaise and the great heart of Europe had heaved with the mighty pæan — Germany was born — Germany did I say? Bah! a handful of petty quarrelling principalities with powerful Austria on one hand and unknown Prussia on the other. Napoleon had lived, had conquered Europe, had humbled Prussia, already humble enough till a Prussian Prince a daughter of Wohenzollern, fled for his fatherland to her knees, and died in vain. But the time came when an empire arose in his stead. The flash of victory passed into his sword, but a Night a peasant met a worn and haggard man wandering through the fields of La Belle Alliance and the beaten one and thou and he anathema'd "Napoleon" and the peasant held his peace. The little Corsican had met his waterloo, and [illegible] the little Prince William of Prussia [illegible] on his epaulets when Otto Edouard Leopold von Bismarck

was laying in the cradle of Schönhausen
2½ months old. In [illegible] these scenes as
a boy he leveled and grew up every inch
a nobleman, hating liberalism, loving
Prussia and honoring the King. That strong
character that once proudly told a corpulent
tho H. von Bismarck was as good as H. von
Anybody else, was seen when in those
next Reichstag assemblies, where liberal mid
with liberal
Each other in the audacity of their views, Bis-
marck in spite of hisses and cheers defended
the prerogatives of the crown. Here he began to
see that the salvation of Germany as a
nation lay in crushing liberalism and
that upon the ashes of Austria or Prussia
the German Empire must arise. Immedi-
ately began to form that unbending purpose
as he once expressed it: "I only care to see the
word German instead of Prussian on our
standard." Soon amid the low murmuring
of revolution there came a change in Europe
One morning, night as Chancellor of the
Reich broke his rest and cried "the King

33-4-12

and William I of Prussia ascended the throne
is dead; long live the King." Three years be-
fore a kindred cry arose beyond the waters
"The South is dead; long live the South. One year
afterward, as someone has aptly said William
performed the greatest act of his life when he
called Otto von Bismarck from his star-hunt-
ing in Russia to be Minister of the King-
dom. Loud and long was the cry that went
up from the German States: "Bismarck" and
then the landing of Napoleon III across the Rhine
"Bismarck, that is the coup d'etat!" And
the fortune showed that their fear of the man
who had dared to flout the Diet of Kings
in their faces at Frankfort were not groundless.
With the unification of Germany before him
the first work of Bismarck was to crush
Austria. His warrior King began the reform-
ation of the army, and Bismarck contented
by overriding the constitutional rights of the
Diet [illegible] The Rhenish statesman was too [illegible] to let Austria choose
the time and circumstances of the war
which he saw was inevitable, but keeping

on the Schleswig-Holstein dispute as a pretext, in defiance of the public opinion of Europe, being outvoted 5 to 1 in his own diet, in the face of the fact that Austria was one of the most powerful state of Europe, in spite of the South German alliance she had formed against him, almost against the wishes of King William himself he hurled Prussia into war against three times her number, and with the grim determination of a man who knows he is risking all, he struck the fatal blow and Austria fell as Königgrätz it was no more. But his genius did not end with the rapidity of onslaught or the audacity of attack; behind the smoke of Sadowa was the shadow of the master hand of the statesman. Hanover Hesse-Cassel and other German states were brought over to Prussia. Unknown to the French secret alliances were formed with the South German states and Prussia became the recognized head of Germany. The effect of this was seen in the liberals who had

33-4-14

once hated Bismarck with a perfect hatred came over to him in a body. Prussia and the third Teutonic [illegible] took the first place on Europe: William, the most revered monarch; Von Moltke the most renowned strategist, Bismarck the most distinguished and autocratic statesman of modern times. But what said Bismarck. When they heard; now, they hungered; he was deaf & blind; his inflexible purpose never wavered. "No matter" said he "whether I succeed or not I will walk in the path I recognize as best for the Fatherland to the very end undeterred, whether I earn love or hatred thereby" Long ere the discerning eye of the chancellor had seen the cloud on the western horizon. The Czar first hated the Teuton; this was the hour of Bismarck's greatest problem was received with [illegible] at Paris. Negotiations concerned the seizing of Luxemburg & France were pondering before the Austrian war. Had Napoleon been sharper he might have seized the fringe when Prussia's back was turned but Bismarck outwitted him and now

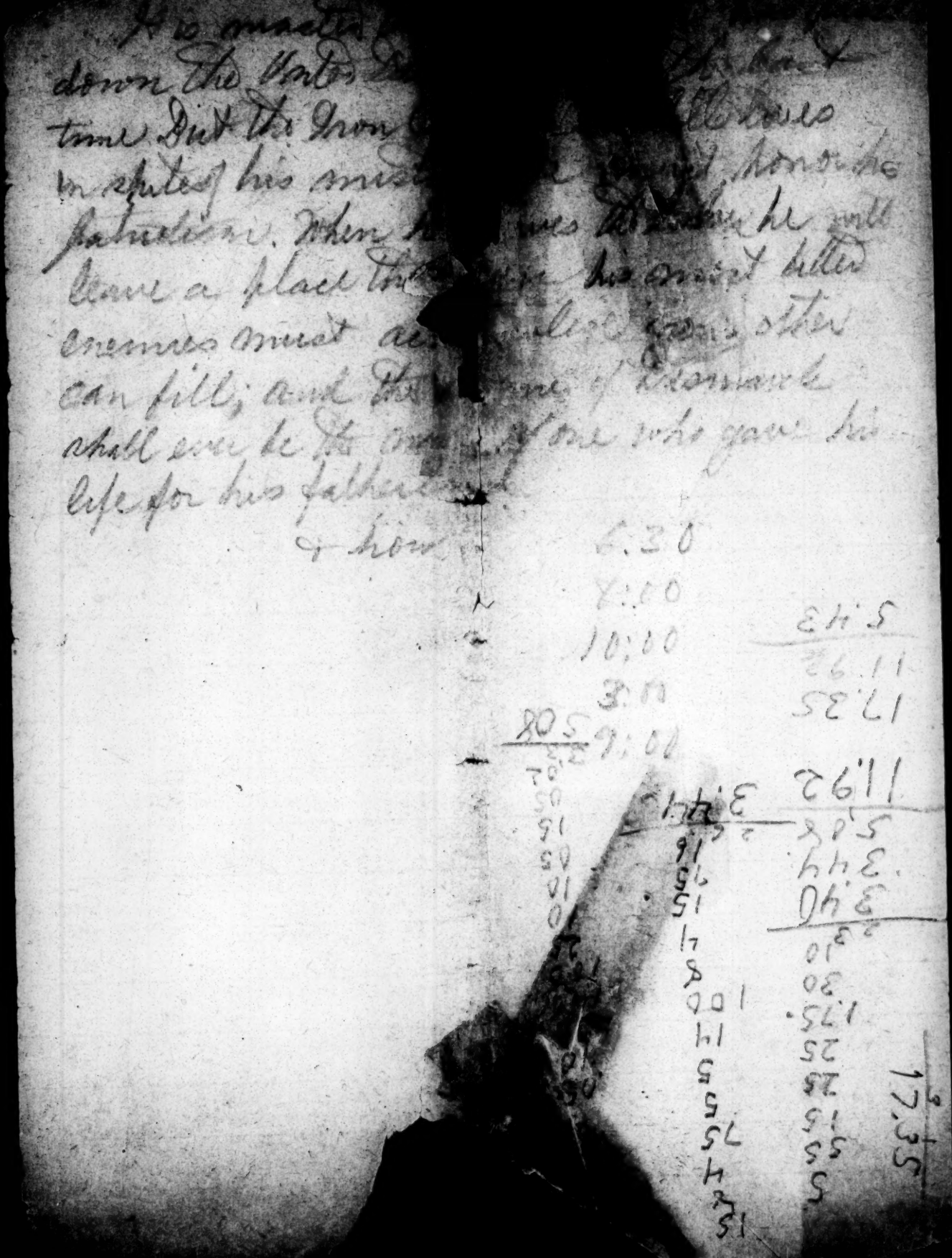
with Austria at his feet sent back word
"Not an inch of German soil." Right on the
heels of this came the news of the fall of the French
empire in Mexico and the cedure of Austria to
France's people. Was the glory of France all de-
parting? The murmurs of discontent grew
louder and louder, the imperial throne was
trembling, Napoleon must do something;
but strange news comes to Versailles; for-
sooth Leopold of Hohenzollern will reign in
the Escurial, and the Emperor fiercely stroked
his mustache, "what!" said he, "what!
a Hohenzollern on the south of France too!
It cannot it shall not be" Bismarck saw
the storm coming; he was ready for it ~~he~~
careful however that France should
be clearly in the wrong and commence the war
The first demands of the French were granted
but the French blood was warm; they
became imperious and when met by a flat re-
fusal declared war. "Oh yes" said the affable
Baron de Beust "your majesty's armies are mar-
vellously ready for war. We will drink the health of your

33-4-16

unde at Berlin" and all the French nation
+said "Amen". But the Bavarian councillors had flamed to
fool on German soil. All Prussia was in arms;
The secret treaties with the South German states
became known; Mecklenburg began the talk
Sedan ended it, and a German Emperor of the Rhine
crossed the Rhine, a prisoner with Bismarck by
his side. In seven months Paris was captured
Alsace-Lorraine annexed, Germany Germany humiliated. Again Bismarck crowned victory with substantial fruit
and on the 18th of Jan. 1871, in the
Salles des Glaces of Versailles palace, where
Germany's dictators Louis XIV and the great
Napoleon had strutted and scowled, surrounded by his victorious hosts, William I of Hohenzollern
was proclaimed the first Emperor of Germany
by the grace of God and the genius of Otto von
Bismarck. The life of this powerful chan-
cellor illustrates the power of purpose. The force of
an idea; it shows to students of history
what a man can do if he will. "So near is grandeur
to our dust so near is god to man. But it
comes with its warning lest for example a lone

33-4-17

my good [illegible] advantage; let me raise a nation and forget the people, become a Bismarck and not a Moses. To the one object of his life [illegible] sacrificed even truth and Liberty. No lie was too [illegible] between [illegible] and success, no popular right but was hindered that [illegible] hand of iron. No one knows better than Bismarck that Bismarck is BISMARCK. His has gained a fearful power and he wields it; but in return for it he has made Germany a nation that knows not the first principles of self-government, that must have a Bismarck or after Bismarck the deluge. No man more than any other is responsible for making Germany a nation of thieves, for the ragings of Lassalle, the pressumes of [illegible] and the [illegible] of Bright. On a cold morning last March, the deputies of the Reichstag [illegible] bowed heads while a colossal figure in [illegible] uniform with bald head and [illegible] broke pushing the hard lines of his [illegible] mured that "His Master the [illegible] was dead" Lord now



COMMENCEMENT SPEECH DELIVERED AT FISK UNIVERSITY

JUNE - 1888

By

William E.Burghardt Du Bois

33-4-05

BISMARCK

Europe - the boundary of her nations fixed only by the sea, changed by every motive that can sway the human will: on the east Russia, the Slavonic giant stretching herself to the west with a force well-nigh irresistable; on the west England fearful of her Indian empire; France, ephemeral, impulsive, longing for revenge; on the south, Italy, Austria and the Balkan, awaiting the avalanche and the struggle for existence, in the north the German Empire, the keystone of European power. The Fate of Europe is in Germany and Germany is Bismarck. The Man of Iron, one of the strangest personalities the world has ever seen; brilliant, stubborn; - reckless, careful, a patriot, a despot: the Man of One Idea. Stirring times were those when the Iron Chancellor crowed in his gaunt, old home three score and ten years ago; wars and rumors of wars rocked his cradle. The spirit of Liberty had risen in arms at the sound of the Marseillaise and the great breast of Europe had heaved with the mighty paroxysm. Germany was torn - Germany did I say? Bah! a handful pf petty quarreling principalities with powerful Austria on one hand and unknown Prussia on the other. Napoleon had lived, had conquered Europe, had humbled Prussia, already humble enough, till a Queen, a daughter of Hohenzollern, pled for her fatherland on her knees and pled in vain. But the time came when an Emperor rose in his stirrup, the flush of victory passed into his eyes, but at night a peasant met a wan and haggard man wandering through the fields of La belle Alliance and he said "Who art thou?" and he answered "Napoleon" and the peasant held his peace. The little Corsican had met his Waterloo and Prince William of Prussia had won his epaulets// when Otto Edward Leopold von Bismarck was lying in the manor of Schönhauser two and a half months old. In these historic scenes as a boy he reveled and grew up every inch a nobleman, hating liberalism, loving Prussia and honoring the king. (glance up) Glances of Chat strong character that

once proudly told a superior the H. von Bismarck was as good as H. von Anybody else, were seen when in those vast popular assemblies, where liberal vied with liberal in the audacity of their views, Bismarck, in spite of hisses and cheers defended the prerogatives of the crown. Here he began to see that the salvation of Germany as a nation lay in crushing liberalism and that upon the ashes of Austria or Prussia the German empire must rise. Immediately began to form that unbending purpose as he once expressed it: "I only care to see the word German instead of Prussian on our standard". Soon, amid the low murmuring of revolution there came a change in Europe. One wintry night a Chancellor of the Realm broke his rod and cried "The King is dead, long live the King!" and William of Prussia ascended throne three years before a kindred cry arose beyond the waters, "The South is dead; long live the South!" One year afterward, as someone has aptly said, William performed the greatest act of his life when he called Otto von Bismarck from his bear-hunting in Russia to be of the kingdom. Loud and long was the cry that went up from the German liberals; "Bismarck!" ~~and the~~ thinking of Napoleon III across the Rhine; "Bismarck; that is the coup d'etat!" And the ~~picture~~ showed that their fear of the man who had dared to flout the Divine Right of Kings in their faces at Frankfort was not groundless. With the unification of Germany before him, the first work of Bismarck was to crush Austria. His warrior king began the reformation of the army, and Bismarck contemptuously overriding the constitutional rights of the Diet, stood at his back. The shrewd statesman was too wily to let Austria choose the time and circumstances of the war which he saw was inevitable, but seizing on the Schleswig-Holstein dispute as a pretext, in defiance of the public opinion of Europe, being out-voted 5 to 1 in his own Diet, in the face of the fact that Austria was one of the ~~three~~ most powerful states of Europe, in spite of the South German alliance she had formed against him, almost against the wishes of King William himself, he hurled Prussia into war against three times her number, and with the grim determination of a man who knows he is risking all, he struck the fatal blow and Austria fell at Koniggratz to rise no more. But his genius did not end with the rapidity of military preparation or the audacity of attack; behind the smoke of Sadowa was the shadow of the master hand of the statesman. ~~Hanover~~, Hesse-Cassel and other German states were brought over to Prussia. Unknown to the French, secret alliances were formed with the South German

33-4-06

states and Prussia became the recognized leader of Germany. The effect of this was wonderful. The liberals who had once hated Bismarck with a perfect hatred came over to him in a body. Prussia and the third Triumvirate arose to the first place in Europe: William the most revered monarch; Von Moltke the most renowned strategist, Bismarck the most distinguished and autocratic statesman of modern times. But what cared Bismarck. Then they hissed, now, they huzzared; he was deaf to both; his inflexible purpose never wavered. "No matter," said he, "whether I suffer defeats or not I will walk in the path I recognize as best for the Fatherland to the very end undisturbed whether I earn love or hatred thereby". Long since the discerning eye of the Chancellor had seen the cloud on the western horizon. The Gaul yet hated the Teuton; the rise of the house of Hohenzollern was received with ill-concealed chagrin at Paris. Negotiations concerned the ceding of Luxemburg to France were pending before the Austrian War. Had Napoleon been sharper he might have seized the prize when Prussia's back was turned, but Bismarck out-witted him and now with Austria at his feet sent back word, "Not an inch of German soil!" Right on the heels of this came the news of the fall of the French Empire in Mexico and the ceding of Venetia to Francis Joseph. Was the glory of France all departing? The murmurs of discontent grew louder and louder; the imperial throne was trembling. Napoleon must do something. But strange news comes to Versailles; forsooth Leopold Hohenzollern will reign in the Escurial and the Emperior forcely stroked his mustache; "What," said he, "what a Hohenzollern on the south of France, too! It cannot, it shall not be!" Bismarck saw the storm coming. He was ready for it, careful however that France should be clearly in the wrong and commence the war. The first demands of the French were granted but the French blood was warm. They became imperious and when met by a flat refusal declared war. "Oh, yes," said the affable Le Boeuf, "Your Majesty's armies are more than ready for war. We'll drink the health of Your Majesty's uncle in Berlin" and all the French nation said, "Amen." But the Berlin councellors had planned too well. They scarcely set foot on German soil. All Prussia was in arms. The secret treaties with the South German states became known. Weisenburg began the tale, Sedan ended it; and an Emperor of the French crossed the Rhine a prisoner with Bismarck by his side. In seven months Paris was captured, Alsace-Lorraine annexed to

33-4-07

33-4-08

Germany, France humiliated. Again Bismarck crowned victory with substantial fruit and on the 18th of January, 1871 in the Salle de Glace of Versailles Palace where Germany's dictators Louis XIV and the great Napoleon had strutted and scowled, surrounded by his victorious hosts, William I of Hohenzollan was proclaimed the first emperior of Germany by the grace of God and the genius of Otto von Bismarck. The life of this powerful Chancellor illustrates the power of purpose, the force of an idea. It shows what a man can do if he will. "So near is grandeur to our dust, so near is God to man." But it carries with it a warning lest we sacrifice a lasting good to temporary advantage; lest we raise a nation and forget the people, become a Bismarck and not a Moses. To the one object of his life Bismarck sacrificed even truth and liberty. No lie ever stood between him and success; no popular right ever hindered that ruthless hand of iron. No one knows better than Bismarck that Bismarck is Bismarck. He has gained a fearful power and he wields it, but in return for it he has made Germany a nation that knows not the first principle of self government, that must have a Bismarck or after Bismarck the deluge.

(Cut from Speech)

The man more than any other is responsible for making Germany a nation of theorists for the vagaries of Lasalle, the pessimism of Schopenhauer(?) and the idealism of Hegel. On a cold morning last March the deputies of the Reichstag stood with bowed heads while a colossal figure in Prussian uniform and only a moustache hiding the hard lines of his countenance announced that his master, the Emperor of Germany was dead. "Lord now ——.

9 4 is the master
has passed down the
Unter den Linden for the last time But the Iron Chancellor still
lives In spite of two mistakes we must honor his patriotism
when he leaves us he will leave a place that even his
most bitter enemies must acknowledge none other can
fill, and the name of Bismark shall ever be the name of
one who gave his life for his fatherland
And —— now

The Financial South

Although all of us like money, yet there is an undefined prejudice against the money-maker. Perhaps this is natural for the science of Political Economy was in its infancy when Alchemy was flourishing in the full vigor of its manhood, when Alchemy had reached its dotage and when Bacon long since had crowned philosophy with his Novum Organum. It is the youngest science, and although we have gradually forced ourselves to accord due honor to Smith, Mill, Jevons and others in whose minds the science was conceived molded and brought near to perfection, yet to Dessemer, Ames, Vanderbilt, and Gould who have lent the awful might of their energies to the unfolding of the problems of wealth in practice, we have not only not accorded due honor, but have even heaped obloquy upon their names, have upheld them "to point a moral, to adorn a tale" If the U.S. owes much to the sturdy virtue

31-11-28

virtue of Washington, there are others to whom it owes more; for instance to those men who set the great grain fields of the West beside the Mechanics door in the East, the coal mines of Penn. in his wood-shed; who struck the moneter distance with the electric wealth and it melted into nothing. Heroes of war may save their country, but heroes of finance make the country worth saving. Surely when Mark Hopkins built the P. R.R. and treated that great monopoly of which demagogues sigh and moralize, he was carrying clothes to the naked, wealth to the penniless, Christianity to the heathen; when W.m H. Vanderbilt formed that mighty consolidation known as the N.Y.C & H.R.R.R., reducing the cost of transporting a barrel of flour from Chicago to N.Y. from $1.50 to 50¢ he was giving food to the hungry, putting down riots and saving the world from that horrible face, that last relic of barbarism, which men call war, but which God calls murder. Blessed are the Peacemakers. The North Atlantic has been

31-11-28

the field of the Financier in the U.S., & there he has accomplished a grand work. The circumgation of the Atlantic & Pacific have met a Breakage, and the West, no longer new and undeveloped is a field of sharp competition The South is to be the future theatre of finance in this country. To day, freed from its former bounds, it opens for the first time its wonderful wealth of forest hill and dale to the world, promising an El Dorado grander than the wildest dreams of the early Spaniard. Here, young men, is a field for us, a sphere of usefulness, a call & which we have no more right to neglect than a call to the Ministry. We acknowledge there are, have been, and will be many unadulterated rascals engaged in money-making; but are they only found there? If you are seeking a profession filled only by upright and honest men" you are but a stranger here heaven is your home"! Duty summons us to that field where we can best serve the world and its creator. It is not our business to dodge temptations. We each have a hole to

31-11-30

fill and the round peg won't fit the three-cornered hole. If a man cannot make money to the glory of God he is no Christian and the sacred pulpit itself cannot sanctify his work. When God created wealth and brains he meant them to be used and increased. We need more men of principle in the N.Y. Stock Exchange, in the U.S. Senate, in the Nashville banks. We need more financial missionaries, more men like Peter Cooper and Geo. Peabody who could put their hands in their pockets and hand Fisk. Fiske a few thousand dollars, I tell you they would be greatly appreciated by the faculty of Fisk tonight. Finance is the mighty factor that will settle the race problems of the South. Christianity, Education & Hygiene, are needed, are demanded for the true advancement of our people; but the minister can't live on air nor the doctor on love, the teacher's influence will be small @ $15 and $20 per month, the scholar can't always depend on Northern charity for an education, and unless the Colored

31-11-26

Georgia receives more cash in the future than in the past, he'll starve. When Negro capitalists own lands and railroads in the South, then, and not till then, shall we need school of Law Medecine and Dentistry. The interests of humanity call you to this field. What has been honorable in the past, it will be in the future in just such proportion as the comforts of peace exceed the barbarities of War. May you help to increase the race of divines, but may never a Lazarus be found at your door." ~~And when to Christian teachers lawyers~~ & doctors we can add Christian money makers then from the millions of the new South, white & black, high & low, shall go forth a cry "Now is the Winter of our discontent made glorious summer"

We, the students of Fisk University recognizing the need of on our part of a close cooperation with the faculty in matters of discipline and mutual interest, and knowing that the honor and reputation of the University depends largely upon our individual efforts, in order that hereafter our duties and our privileges may be more carefully attended to, and that the name of Fisk

31-11-25

in the past is hereby

Resolve that a University Senate be elected consisting of four young men from the College department two young men from the Normal department

[1890]

Jefferson Davis as a Representative of Civilization.

Jefferson Davis was a typical Teutonic Hero; the history of civilization during the last millenium has been the development of the idea of the Strong Man of which he was the embodiment. The Anglo-Saxon loves a soldier -- Jefferson Davis was an Anglo-Saxon, Jefferson Davis was a soldier. There was not a phase in that familiarly strange life that would not have graced a mediaeval romance: from the fiery and impetuous young lieutenant who stole as his bride the daughter of a ruler-elect of the land, to the cool and ambitious politician in the Senate hall. So boldly and surely did that cadaverous figure with the thin nervous lips and flashing eye, write the first line of the new page of American history, that the historian of the future must ever see back of the war of Secession, the strong arm of one imperious man, who defied desease, trampled on precedent, would not be defeated, and never surrendered. A soldier and a lover, a statesman and a ruler; passionate, ambitious and indomitable; bold reckless guardian of a

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peoples' All -- judged by the whole standard of Teutonic civilization, there is something noble in the figure of Jefferson Davis; and judged by every canon of human justice, there is something fundamentally incomplete about that standard.

I wish to consider not the man, but the type of civilization which his life represented: its foundation is the idea of the strong man -- Individualism coupled with the rule of might -- and it is this idea that has made the logic of even modern history, the cool logic of the Club. It made a naturally brave and generous man Jefferson Davis -- now advancing civilization by murdering Indians, now hero of a national disgrace called by courtesy, the Mexican War; and finally, as the crowning absurdity, the peculiar champion of a people fighting to be free in order that another people should not be free. Whenever this idea has for a moment, escaped from the individual realm, it has found an even more secure ~~footing~~ hold in the policy and philosophy of the State. The Strong Man and his mighty Right Arm has become the Strong Nation with its armies. Under whatever guise, however a Jefferson Davis may appear as man, as race, or as nation, his life

can only logically mean this: the advance of a part of the world at the expence of the whole; the overweening sense of the I , and the consequent forgetting of the Thou. It has thus happened, that advance in civilization has always been handicapped by shortsighted national selfishness. The vital principle of division of labor has been stifled not only in industry, but also in civilization; so as to render it well nigh impossible for a new race to introduce a new idea into the world except by means of the cudgel. To say that a nation is in the way of civilization is a contradiction in terms, and a system of human culture whose principle is the rise of one race on the ruins of another is a farce and a lie. Yet this is the type of civilization which Jefferson Davis represented: it represents a field for stalwart manhood and heroic character, and at the same time for moral obtuseness and refined brutality. These striking contradictions of character always arise when a people seemingly become convinced that the object of the world is not civilization, but Teutonic civilization. Such a type is not wholly evil or fruitless: the world has needed and will need its Jefferson Davises; but such a type is incomplete and never can serve its best purpose

until checked by its complementary ideas. Whence shall these come?

To the most casual observer, it must have occured that the Rod of Empire has in these days, turned towards the South. In every Southern country, however, destined to play a future part in the world -- in Southern North America, South America, Australia, and Africa -- a new nation has a more or less firm foothold. This circumstance has, however, attracted but incidental notice, hitherto; for wherever the Negro people have touched civilization their rise has been singularly unromantic and unscientific. Through the glamour of history, the rise of a nation has ever been typified by the Stsong Man crushing out an effete civilization. That brutality buried aught else beside Rome when it descended goldened haired and drunk from the blue north has scarcely entered human imagination. Not as the muscular warrior came the Negro, but as the cringing slave. The Teutonic met civilization and crushed it -- the Negro met civilization and was crushed by it. The one was the hero the world has ever worshipped, who gained unthought of triumphs and made unthought of mistakes; the other was the personification of dogged patience bending to the inev-

itable, and waiting. In the history of this people, we seek in vain the elements of Teutonic deification of Self, and Roman brute force, but we do find an idea of submission apart from cowardice, laziness or stupidity, such as the world never saw before. This is the race which by its very presence must play a part in the world of tomorrow; and this is the race whose rise, I contend, has practically illustrated an idea which is at once the check and complement of the Teutonic Strong Man. It is the doctrine of the Submissive Man -- given to the world by strange coincidence, by the race of whose rights, Jefferson Davis had not heard.

What then is the change made in the conception of civilization, by adding to the idea of the Strong Man, that of the Submissive Man? It is this: the submission of the strength of the Strong to the advance of all -- not in mere aimless sacrifice, but recognizing the fact that, "To no one type of mind is it given to discern the totality of Truth," that civilization cannot afford to lose the contribution of the very least of nations for its full development: that not only the assertion of the I, but also to the submission to the Thou is the

highest Individualism.

The Teuton stands today as the champion of the idea of Personal Assertion: the Negro as the peculiar embodiment of the idea of Personal Submission: either, alone, tends to an abnormal development -- towards Despotism on the one hand which the world has just cause to fear, and yet covertly admires, or towards slavery on the other which the world despises and which, yet is not wholly despicable. No matter how great and striking the Teutonic type of impetuous manhood may be, it must receive the cool purposeful "Ich Dien" of the African for its round and full development. In the rise of Negro people and development of this idea, you whose nation was founded on the loftiest ideals, and who many times forgot those ideals with a strange forgetfulness, have more than a sentimental interest, more than a sentimental duty. You owe a debt to humanity for this Ethopia of the Outstretched Arm, who has made her beauty, patience, and her grandeur, law.

[1890]

Cambridge

Jefferson Davis as a Type of Civilization.

—•—

Jefferson Davis was a typical Teutonic hero; the history of civilization during the last millennium has been the development of that idea of the Strong Man, of which he was the embodiment. The Anglo-Saxon loves a soldier — Jefferson Davis was an Anglo-Saxon, Jefferson Davis was a soldier. There was not a phase in that fantastically strange life that would not have graced a mediaeval romance: the fiery and impetuous young lieutenant, who stole as his bride the daughter of a rich ex-Governor of the land, [to the wars—

precedent, would not be defeated
and never surrendered. A Roman
and a lover, a statesman and a
ruler, passionate, imperious,
~~overbearing~~, and unconquerable, bold
reckless wayward & profligate
— judged by the whole standard
of Puritanic living stands
there is something noble in the figure
of Jefferson Davis: and judged by
the Canon of human justice
there is something grandly
triumphant about this character.

I would not desire to, not the man,
nor the idealization by the human
mind. It is the ~~man~~ strong
man — Individualism complete
with the rule of Might: the word
meaning core of the I, and the

Whenever this idea has for a moment left the individual ideal realm it has found an even more secure foothold in the policy and philosophy of the nation: the strong man and his mighty right arm appearing as the strong nation with its armies. Hence the ever increasing and more rapidly increasing respect now that advance in civilization is the use of one race on the ruins of another; that the only way for a new nation to introduce a new era with its work is by means of the sword! The constantly decreasing "room" in the world for civilization — a circumstance only possible when the aim of the world is not the advance of all but of one, — not civilization but Teutonic civilization

being here a mere part, serving to the advancement of a part not of the whole, as this are found in the world moving in a more perfect condition?

It must have occurred that the Rod of Empire has in the days named found the South. In every country, however, there is to play a prominent part in the world — in Southern South America, S. America, Australia and Africa, a new nation has a more or less prominent part. This circumstance has however attracted but incidental notice, for wherever they have come or wherever their lot has been many circumstances have been unfavorable.

the glamour of history the rise of a nation has ever been typified by the Strong Man crushing out an effete civilization: that Barbarity ousted ought like devils Rome. when it descended Gallic hordes and drunk from the Rhine north has ever entered human imagination. Not as the mere warrior came the Negro, but as the cringing slave. The Teuton met civilization and crushed it - The Negro met civilization and was crushed by it. The one was the hero the world has ever worshipped, who conquering a new world - powers with the boldness of unrivalled self-confidence, won triumphs without thought of mistakes and made Mistakes with

who gained unthought of triumphs and made unthought of mistakes

such unparalleled audacity, that the world ~~since~~ rarely ~~will~~ think of their proper names. The other was the personification of a corpse for three days, & the miserable ~~and~~ waiting. Virtues in strong minds, serving, in ~~the~~ women & hopeless apprentice ship, they were examined and prized by no mistress past. They never win the thirsting of Nature, & never ~~have~~ heard ~~from~~ those beloved of Zeus. In whose victory, we seek ~~the~~ the element of the true definition of Self, and Woman and free, ~~but~~ but we ~~are~~ to the general mean view of subordination, depend from command, easy rules or stupidity, such as the world never knew ~~&~~ we free. This is the one which by it was

means must play a part in the
world of tomorrow and this is the race

with posture patient pleading
have gone to sunning their heads
and duller and sitting up their
household gods before they have set up their house-
hold gods. This is the nation ~~to which~~ whose race
I contend has ~~not~~ gracefully ministered an
~~world~~ which is at once the check
and complement of the Saxonic
~~Jefferson Davis~~ strong Man. It is the doctrine
of the submissive Man. — given to
the world, by strange coincidence,
by the race of whose rights Jefferson
Davis had not heard.* The Zenton
stands today as the champion of the
idea of Personal ~~Liberty~~ assertion. The Negro as
the peculiar embodiment of the
idea of Personal Submission
either alone lends to abnormal
development — or else Despotism

on the one hand

which the world has just come to
fear and yet sneakingly admires
or toward Slavery, on the other hand which the world
and yet which yet is not wholly despicable.
despises. No matter how great and
striking the Teutonic type of im-
petuous manhood may be, it
must resign the one purpose-
ful "Ich dien" of the African
for its sound and just develope-
ment. In the use then of the negro race
and the development of this idea you

From this point of view civiliza-
tion presents itself not as a proc-
ess of homogeneity. the evolution of one idea
of St Edmunds-
bury, one Jefferson Davis, not the
triumph of one great nation, not
as an analysis with the fusing
out of every nation not reaching
an arbitrary standard, but rather
as a process of synthesis of all
whose nation was founded on the truest
ideals & who took those ideals with the most
assurance have most

whose own nation was founded on the worst ideals of a Jefferson Davis, & who

than a sentimental interest
more than a sentimental duty.
You owe a debt to humanity for
this Ethiopia w/ the Outstretched
Arm — ~~on whose countenance was~~
~~not the least trace of negro was no~~
~~expression~~ — who has made
her beauty, patience, and her
grandeur, hers.

Zizis

You cannot speak this in ten minutes,
and should cut it down, accordingly. Your
title does not give your subject; or are
there two subjects? The first part is the best,
but throughout strange words appear now & then,
and sprawling sentences. You do not
bring out your point strongly &
once for all

(FRAGMENT)

slave. The Proton met civilization and crushed it – ~~the Negro met~~ civilisations and crushed it – the Negro met civilisations

1/0/62

Carlyle.

I have made bold to say a word to you tonight partly because I have something to say and partly because the inspiration of your presence means so much to me.

We as the architects and builders of a new nation — the hesitating blacksmiths of a unique and burning Idea, are apt to think that our position is so unusual and unheard of, that there is little in the world's wonderful storehouse of thought that can light the darkness of our path. No more fatal mistake could be made. Wisdom is one never repeats itself, but none the less there is a certain one new to all thought which makes the thinker of the first century prime minister to the thinkers of the last, and they in turn but moulders of the central ideas of the nations to come. In casting about therefore for some part of the message of the ages which should be especially applicable to you and me at this moment, I have finally chosen my text in the very first chapter of the

33-1-131

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gospel according to Thomas Carlyle.

I do not know when Carlyle was born or died and I do not care. Such a soul belongs to no petty day or year. It is ~~an im-~~ part and parcel of the soul of that eternal Spirit of the Time whose life is not measures by years. Thomas Carlyle was a gruff old lovable bear, who arose in a night when every man was steeped in his own selfish ends; when out every corner leaped the dilettante and the fool; when idleness and daze was in fortune's 7th heaven of the hour; when men seemed to think money had a soul and therefore loved better than their wives and children; and when even he who joined the church and prayed loudly, did as a sort of insurance against ~~death~~ any lack of bread and honey in the world to come. You have seen this spirit — you have felt it: it is the same spirit that is saying to you to night: what is the use of all this strife and sweat; wherefore worry and vainly endeavor to fill a larger niche in life than I am: in Heaven's name, why should I spend the best and brightest years of my life in a preparation which at last

33-1-132

an invitation to futile ill, in spite of all good might possibly bring to others; it is the spirit bringing hundreds of young Negroes to breaking-point with enthusiasm and aspiration, and then coldly breathes on them, dangles at them breezes them tightly into government pigeon-holes and leaves them there to die like fools; you recognize this spirit do you not? well this was the spirit which Carlyle cursed and hated: he stood on the mountain top and shrieked and screamed, swore and called names, spoilt English and defied rhetoric all in order to rouse a listless generation to resurrect forgotten ideals and to tell men and women to go to work! The nobility of effort, the long continued, wearying, never ending effort, the imperativeness of eternal strife, the divinity of sweat — this was the gospel according to Carlyle. He says + I have spoken rather frequently because the message of Carlyle was too great to be expressed in anyone else but himself. Let me make this abstract concrete by saying what does Thomas Carlyle mean to you, to me — tonight?

33-1-133

In the life of every one of you the desire & Work has clashed with the desire of ease. You would like to get a 10 year educational training, But you would like & get it in a year, you would like & make the most of your lives, but unfortunately you would at the same time like to have the ~~very best time~~ most pleasurable life possible: & the two things are not compatible. Here comes the crucial point in every man's life — it is a real conflict — a stubborn contradiction which no one can escape and at these crossroads the hero & the man part company. Perhaps in no other city in the world is the temptation for young men to shirk the awful earnestness of life — to sink in the dilettantism and pleasure seeking — so great as here. But as great as the temptation is yet the opportunities for the larger manhood & womanhood are simply wonderful. You are surrounded by educational institutions, libraries, museums, art galleries, theatres, the wonderful news of a great government, the contact of master minds — a perfect paradise for the scholar and a fountain of instruction for the earnest man. And yet here I have heard the wail of complaint — of lack of knowledge

here - of lack of consideration there ——
Bah - what of that! What does man who
has the world in his grasp care for the
meteors that escape him - what does the
monarch of the sphere of the 7 stars & solar
years care if some little stars of the universe
shine out for him? Turn your back on
evils you can't not right, & press to work
that is calling so loudly & clearly. I remember
four years ago, how four young men, in a
Southern University, used to use the front
steps of their dormitory to build castles in the
air. Those men are here tonight — every one
of them with the consciousness that there is
some pleasant in life which they have missed
— many things undone which might, have
been accomplished — some four sighing maidens
still sigh — but nevertheless, every one of those
men has done something: Every one looks
back as on slow but sure steps taken
toward making their lives the heritage of ages
to come. And they shake hands and are content.
So thus the shind of Socrates & Moses, of Ernest & Carlyle ... has called them — is calling them - is calling you

33-1-134

we are living we are dwelling
in a grand & awful time
in an age or ages telling
To be living is sublime

33-1-136

I wonder how vividly you realize this and how much it will eventually take hold of & fashion your lives — yes & your deaths — for it will make all that world of difference between lying down to pleasant dreams & the death ~~Faust~~ Goethe envy of

Selig der &c

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF EUROPE

c. 1894 Incomplete

Some Impressions of Europe

I trust I have not committed the unpardonable sin in daring at this late day to say anything about Europe. I have two excuses: first, some things in this world have been decided so often and so well that most people know nothing them. In spite of all our foreign abroad we remain often more ignorant of Europe than China ~~& India~~ for the simple reason that we supposed to know the former

33-2-91

...would require any [illegible]
merely saying that I am
quite aware of the enormity
of my transgression in daring
to add anything to what every-
body has said about Europe
I believe the sin is unpardonable
and I shall not seek to expiate
it

My object is to tell as
simply as possible the story
of a two years travell in Eu-
rope. I shall not hesitate to
tell you many things you al-
ready know — in fact I have
little or nothing new — and my
ultimate object is simply to
make you see a small bit
of what I saw as I saw it.

And first why does one
go to Europe or [illegible]. Of course you

original in all its advances — India
and China have often forestalled her
in philosophy and the arts, but
it is the glory of Europe to have
taken into her culture all that
other civilizations have furnished
and for 3000 years to have
so added to it that to day European
civilization is not only a synthesis
of all that was good in the past
but on the whole is the best
fruit of the human understanding.
European culture is today of
course larger than Europe —
Australia, India and America
are seats of its latest development
For spite however of all transplanting
the civilization remains at bottom
and essentially European and
we can understand and rightly
appreciate their institutions
laws and customs only as we

33-2-104

Some Observations
of Europe

A trip to Europe is today something within the reach of most well-to-do people. For anyone therefore to be bold enough ~~impressions~~ to retail impressions of so well known a lands can only be excused by unusual opportunities of observation or unusual conceit I have in reality neither of these excuses and have been only been tempted into inflicting my thoughts upon you

recognize them as growths and offshoots of that parent trunk ~~in Europe~~. For this reason we visit that country — to know it and through it to understand ourselves

33-2-105

To appreciate however all or even the large part of what Europe has done we must do more than look — for the greater deeds of men and nations are invisible. Here is where the average tourist makes his saddest mistake: that is to visit this greatest of lands without a careful acquaintance with its history. I pause for a moment to bring this strangely interesting history back to your minds, not because you do not know it, but because you

ambitions of several jealous
or hostile cities. The task of recon-
ciling the differences of hostile
peoples so that great nations could
pursue great ends in peace and
quiet — This was the mission of
the Roman state. Rome did not
come in a vulgar sense conquer
Greece — rather Greece, that is
her literature and art, conquered
Rome and thru her the world.
This Greco-Roman culture with
its wonderful accomplishments
ruled Europe until it was al-
most crushed & swept out of
existence by the horde of bar-
barians that came reeling down
drunken & ignorant from the
Northern forests. The Teutons
they brought to be
sure material capable of wonder-
ful development, but their first
advent resulted in utter shameless

33-2-18

Some Impressions of Europe.

~~The day has gone by when~~ the American who has visited Europe is no longer a very exceptional being. Nearly every well to do citizen feels it his duty to spend a few months of his life abroad, if not for ~~his own~~ the sake of doing, at least for the sake of the folks at home taking for granted, therefore, that most of the younger people here will some time or other visit the other continent

obliteration of culture and decency which we call the dark ages. Finally however the Graeco-Roman culture conquered and became in the hands of the modern nations of Europe what we call modern culture

33-2-107

I have been using the rather indefinite words "culture" and "civilization" without attempting to explain what I mean by them; I have done this with purpose for so complex, important, and far-reaching are the things institutions and ideas comprehended under the word "civilization", that it is difficult if not impossible to give an abstract definition of the word: it is better to study it in the concrete: for this reason let us start for Europe.

I regard it as most fortunate that between us and the land that

means so much for us, about
10 days of the most unique ex-
perience, that is, the ocean voyage.
Here for a period of some length
a large number of people of
the most diverse character habits
and history are thrown into close
companionship under the most
unusual surroundings: and strange
to say the centre of interest in a
sea voyage is not the sea but ~~the strange developments of~~ human
nature. For the changeless circle
of sea and sky that surrounds
~~does not after the first spell~~
~~of novelty~~ the vessel soon loses
~~the people~~ never
its novelty. The first act of the
drama is always an awful
and general attack of sickness
which serves ~~to~~ thoroughly to intro-
duce the passengers, and is after-
ward a useful topic of conversation

33-2-108

on which most people agree.

I sailed from New York in mid-July and about 2 weeks later landed at Rotterdam, Holland.

Holland is a distressingly neat well ordered little mud puddle, situated at the confluence of the English French and German language and inhabited by a stolidly busy set of good folk, ~~and~~ a large and innumerable windmills number of black & white cows. Here ~~I got~~ one meets the first three strange ideas of Europe: The slowness its foreign tongues & its art-collections. One realizes there is more time & space here — there is less of that hurrying and annoying, that breathless rush and roar that characterizes so much of our life. This slowness often takes the unpleasant form of delaying ~~your~~ one's trunks or making ~~you~~ one wait ~~for~~ a week for a draft on

33-2-109

London as I ~~had~~ was compelled & once; but one realizes too that it enables the husband & see his wife and children a bit oftener, it allows time for the dinner to digest after its eaten and allows whole families & go wandering out under gods skies & enjoy scenery which here is left & cattle and snakes. As & the new tongue which one ~~hears~~ finds on every hand it is indeed a strange experience & hear human souls in new clothes. To hear not only great thoughts but the smallest ideas the mutterings of the day and the kitchen utensil changed in & unknown and apparently unknowable jargon. One gets lonesome with an awful lone-someness — you start & ask a police-

33-2-110

man about the street and suddenly remember that he must understands; your neighbor affably discusses the news of the day with you, then looks surprised because you can't understand a word he's saying. The street-signs are so ~~strangely~~ beautifully and wonderfully made that you can scarcely tell a tea-dealer from an apothecary, and even if you do happen upon an oasis where English is spoken, it is apt to be a kind of English quite beyond your comprehension. It will take you long to learn and appreciate the new habits and customs you there meet, it will take long to learn the peculiar beauty and adaptability of a foreign tongue, but there is one

33-2-11

of the new ideas that even the most prosaic American in some degree appreciates; and that is that Europe preserves some things not because they pay — not because they are "dry" but simply because they are beautiful. You cannot wander thro' the imposing galleries of the Royal Museum at Amsterdam with out realizing ~~Catching some faint echo of Emerson's Rosemary~~ that the beautiful is as true as the good

~~If eyes were made for seeing Then beauty is its own excuse for being.~~

Turning now from the still homely life of Holland leaving behind it long straight canals, it decorous rows of tall trees and its fine old stolidly lazy windmills, I sought the

33-2-112

Some Impressions
of
Europe

I have no thought of saying anything very new to most of you tonight, because these are days when a European trip is quite a common occurrence. I give these few ~~thoughts and~~ observations therefore because they are mine, and as part of the experience of one who was born and bred among you

the worlds most famous river
— the Rhine. God has not perhaps
done more for the Rhine than
for ~~the~~ our own Hudson but
when on this earth God and
Man join hands to make a
great & beautiful thing, we
have a result which makes
Creation smile. Here ~~we~~ is have a
river, to whose wonderful natural
beauty is added all the romance
and glamour which a 1000
years of history story and legend
have woven round her hills
Her green waters are bubblin
with the breath of other centu
her vine covered hills are clad
in stone & ivy and the very
about her is suggestive of tho
thousand years of stirring a
forming, ~~of~~ ...ding & ..., o

33-2-13

the Rhine. It is from Rotterdam to Cologne a placid calm and not particularly striking stream; but before Cologne we come [illegible] in the distance those two mighty towers of the most magnificent gothic edifice in the world — the cathedral of Cologne. 500 hundred feet above the valley rise these colossal monuments to the infinite cunning of the workmen and the solemn grandeur of the church. To wander in the soft gloom of this vast temple, to hear the swelling of great organ & the cadences of the chanting priests — to realize that you are standing here upon the work of 5 centuries, all this is a fit introduction to the famous valley of the Rhine. As we now continue the ascent of the Rhine

33-2-114

it beauties begin to unfold. The mountains creep nearer and picturesque villages appear Here lies Bonn with its famous & aristocratic university nestled on the right, and then comes a succession villages half clad in their ancient walls and towers, great ruined castles with their staring windows & ivy clad battlements, little dark & lonesome towers, ~~great~~ rambling convents, and pretty churches Everywhere are memories of the mighty history of the land; there is the impregnable fortress of Ehrenbreitstein rising sheer 570 feet above the rushing river which has figured in all European wars; yonder is the Königs stuhl where many of the old

33-2-115

Emperors of Germany were elected and nearly every castle has its tale of the thirty years war the french revolution or the ruthless march of the wonderful Napoleon. Then come the fairy tales: there are the famous rocks of the Lorelei below which the Rhine gold is buried & above which sits the famous maiden combing golden hair & enticing the fishermen into the rapids that rush & roar at her feet. There is the famous old castle which Byron calls "The castled crags of Drachenfels" and the beautiful ruins called the Brothers, whose story perhaps will give some idea of the legends of

33-2-116

Rhine. On two spurs of rock
near the ruins of two old ivy
covered castles. In the first castle
~~These~~ once upon
a time lived the old Knight
Bayer von Boppard, Lord of
Liebenstein, his two sons Hen-
rich and Conrad, and their adopted
sister, the beautiful Hildegarde.
Now it happened that both
brothers fell deeply in love with
the foster sister; ~~and~~ the chival-
rous Henrich determined to
let his brother win the prize
and he himself departed on
a crusade to the Holy Land.
So Conrad won Hildegarde's love
and the aged father build the
twin castle of Sterrenberg for the
pair, ~~and~~ on the neighboring peak.
He died however before the nup-
tials were celebrated and Conrad

33-2-117

becoming restless and jealous of the fame his brother was earning in the Crusades, postponed the wedding and departed for the holy land to joine in the ~~Crusade~~ wars. Long weary ~~years~~ days Hildegarde awaited in the lonely castle above the murmuring Rhine, the return of her lover only to have him come back after ~~long~~ years with a Grecian bride. The broken hearted girl did not complain — she refused & let Wernich avenge her, reconciled the bullying & feach old Conrad & herself retired to the convent below the castle & die as a nun. The Grecian wife tired of her exile, deserted her husband, Conrad & Wernich died, and now only the gloomy castles stand there & tell their little world-tale

33-2-118

of love & ambition.

We have now traversed the more famous part of the Rhine — old Frankfort and Mainz lie ~~behind~~ in the distance Bingen, fair Bingen on the Rhine is on the right and here before us is the famous ~~statue~~ statue of New Germany — the Germania of the Niederwald. Let us pause here and consider for a moment the new country we have entered. We are in one of the oldest and truest lands of Europe: here, the half-wild German Arminius led his hordes against the trained roman legions and defeated them: and here ~~was~~ arose as late as 1871 within the memory of us all a new nation, the German empire — to day one of the foremost

33-2-110

powers of Europe. This land is one especially instructive for us: for here is a land which clings to the traditions of the past: Monarchy, hereditary aristocracy, + paternal government, boasts today + has a right to boast that she has done as much for civilization, + that too as well, as the most blatant of Republics.

33-2-120

Let me just remind you the more recent history of Germany: ~~Every~~ Nearly every one of the thousands of ruined castles that dot + beautify Germany today were once the seats of ~~some~~ petty independent and warring sovereignties. ~~It had before it the old question which antedates the world~~ City fought city, noblemen killed each other, Electors were cheated

and bribed & Kings went to devastating war over petty trifles. The authorities of law and order as represented by the elected Emperors melted to a shadow, until with the breaking out of the thirty years war it seemed as though anarchy & license had conquered civilization. What was the remedy? It was the same for this great nation as it is for this ~~town~~ State, for this little ~~church~~ village & for ~~that~~ this ~~secular fossil~~ university: each one knows that by the constitution of the world and ~~the~~ human jealousy ignorance & thoughtlessness of people it is impossible for everyone to have his own way: all must ~~sacrifice~~ some kind of their ease their comfort & their ideals to the common good of the ~~the~~ family, the ~~Church~~ students, the ~~town~~ Univ.

33-2-121

& the creation
& which they belong: all of
course will not do this: the lazy
will shirk, the envious refuse to
work & the fool will not know
enough: the result of this will
only be that others must bear
more than their burden, unthanked
& unhonored for it: but they are
the world-makers: they are the
heroes that raise life out of
its depths of pettiness & mean-
ness & the blue of God's own
sky: they, the creators of todays
of lifes, who are ready to go
down into the blood & dust of its
battles. The modern history of Germany
is the history of the efforts of a heroic people
& its heroic kings to raise
a nation torn by petty jealousies
& little bickerings into the unity &

33-2-22

fulness of a great national life: I am bound to the republican form of government by birth and education, but I must say that if there ever existed a race of divinely appointed Kings, it is certainly those monarchs of the House of Hohenzollern, who gave the world the Prussian state & German nation of today. The process by which this was done is one of the heroic chapters of history. A little despised country in North Europe which the great powers used to divide up for their amusement got the one idea of the unity of Germany in its head & this Prussia, poor & unimportant as it was worked toward this ideal with unabated energy for nearly two centuries: it supported a vast standing army, it laid enormous taxes and it obeyed leaders who were worthy of obedience. Those

33-2-123

leaders to were no shirks: said the tireless Frederick the great as he sadly looks upon the broad acres of Sans Souci, "when I lie beneath the sod I shall at last be without care." The builders of this state builded until at last ~~there arose a great~~ Prussia arose as a great power in Northern Germany menaced by Austria on the east & France on the west. What shall the man do whose only road of advance is hemmed in by his enemies? conquer them — thus said the foremost statesman of Prussia, Bismarck. I saw him once — it was early last February in Berlin.

33-2-124

We must not linger too
long in Germany — we can
as to the people
only notice their personal
courtesy, their love of honor
and the devotion of the country
as a whole to their traditions
of monarchy & aristocracy
Our appearance in the land is most
interesting: for up on the
North west lie the historic old
commercial cities, the brick
Lübeck, Bremen with it fine
old Council Hall, busy Hamburg.
The capital is Berlin, the best
Governed city on earth, tho' homely
and commonplace in external
appearance. It sets like a great
hard island amid billows
of sterile sands and pines
that stretch away — away until

33-2-125

at last they roll against the fertile fields and neat farms of Saxony. Here lies the famous ~~City~~ city of Dresden on the Elbe — a broad low shift river, crossed by mighty stone bridges, and bounded by visions of wooded hills and towns In Dresden ~~These~~ is the famous distine Madonna of Raphael, copies of which you all have seen — the Mother of God coming out of heaven with the wonderful Child in her arms. From Here one can ride to the South through narrow valleys with mighty rocks, dotted with busy factories & mining works until we come to the hills & fields of Bavaria where

33-2-126

THE ART AND ART GALLERIES OF MODERN EUROPE

Wilberforce Athletic Association, c. 1894-96

in 1890 -

The Art and Art Galleries of Modern Europe.

I purpose tonight to tell you something of the Art and Art Galleries of Modern Europe, not from the standpoint of the artist or art critic, but from the standpoint of one who loves beautiful things and whose good fortune it has been to give a passing glance at ~~nearly all~~ many of the great art collections of the modern world.

We who take interest in the ~~Wilberforce A.A.~~ training of men believe steadfastly and conscientiously in the full rounded development of man. We believe that there can be no sturdy moral growth without deep intellectual training; and we believe too that there can be no true lasting moral worth and mental development without healthy physical life; and we believe that all exceptions to these propositions merely prove the rule. But these three factors of life are not coordinate; the physical development of man is not an end in itself but a means to an end; the great underlying life principle which conserves life for the sake of those great ends which make life worth living. Therefore tonight the Athletic Association asks you to listen not to a desertation on physical culture but rather to a talk on one of the three great ends of living for the attainment of which healthy muscular manhood is the first prerequisite.

49-3-1

Three things in life beckon the human soul: the Good, the True and the Beautiful. We hear of the good everyday - hear of it somuch in fact that we sometimes become deaf from very hearing and forget that simple goodness is the end of all moral strife; and that it is just as impossible to be

a Christian and be bad, as it is to be ~~black~~ full and ~~white~~ empty at the same time. Again we hear much of the True; theobject of our being here in school, theobject of all right training, the object of all science is to search out and make known the real Truth about the world we live in. But there is a third something - a third dimension in life without which we cannot truly live: it is the Beautiful. Goodness is a matter of the Will power, Truth, a matter with which the mind deals; but the heart and the emotions deal with the Beautiful. We immediately see how inexpressibly broad a field we have here, how infinitely varied in aspect and product and with what tact and delicacy it must be cultivated and fertilized. It is always extremely difficult to teach young people to give proper attention to the beautiful things of life, to realize that the object of all life is to make the universal beautiful, so to use the Good, that we may realize the Beautiful in the True. And yet it is a problem how to bring this central fact before the many varieties of charcater which are represented here. The first place of such training is of course the home - the picture books of early years, the paintings in the parlor, the decorations of the bed room, the mother's Sunday clothes - all these are the materials out of which the youth must form his ideals of what is beautiful. How important then are the little decorations of home, and how easily can a hideous combination of colors, or a tawdy picture make a man an aesthetic idiot for life. Unfortunately we as a people are just beginning to build our homes and consequently many of us have missed the vast educational

49-3-2

power of baeutiful surroundings in childhood. These must train themselves by the stud of beautiful things in after life. For this purpose the first great art school is Nature: here ~~at Wilberforce~~ in Angwela we are surrounded by an art gallery which treasures countless masterpieces, and yet there are dozens of us who will go through this coming Springtide and see nought but dirt and water - unmindful of the ~~awful~~ glory of the sunsets beyond the western ~~meadows~~ hills, unmindful of the daily panorama of sun, and clouds and sky.

Thus far I have attempted to bring to your minds the fact that the Beautiful is one of the great ends of life and that we can train ourselves to appreciate the beautiful things in life and even discover beauties hidden to untrained hearts. One gallery of the beautiful I have said is the world about. I now come to the second great reservoir of the Beautiful, which we call Art: Art is beauty created by man; it is something of which a human soul conceives, a human hand executes and all human hearts everywhere acknowledge beautiful. Take for instance ~~this bit of~~ a little flower If I ask you why it is beautiful you could not tell me - it simply is beautiful it raises pleasing sensations - a sort of mental satisfaction almost indescribable. Again take another work of Art - a great building. I remember sailing along a blue rushing river, once, when suddenly rounding a bend, two dark and mighty towers seemed to shoot into the air, capping a wilderness of graceful fretmork and mighty buttress, standing there in that calm August day like twin giants. It was the Cathedral of Cologne. Why was it beautiful? "If eyes were made for seeing
Then beauty is its own excuse for being.

49-3-3

And yet some reasons one may give are ?

Why was it beautiful - was it not because of the thoughts it raised in me? The awe, the wonder, the feeling of strength, the lust of creative manhood, and yet withal the sweet symmetry of life? Take a wonderful painting, Possibly, but if so it is no more than is it beauutiful because it imitates a beautifu thing? ~~O, no that~~ is a photograph, not a work of Art. A real masterpiece of art is beautiful ~~only~~ what it creates, in proportion to the emotions it raises in the hearts of its beholders.

Let me illustrate. At the National Galleries in Berlin there hung once a picture. It was a strange wierd thing in grey and blue with great long necked swans sailing down a river. We had all viewed it when the young lady of the house, who was a wee bit strong minded, expressed her opinion and said, Why that picture is simply absurd - who ever saw swans with necks like that?" But one of those present said: ~~what~~, that makes no difference - suppose no such swans ever did exist: so long as the artist succeeds in embodying a great idea in creating a beautiful thing, is not this object accomplished? Is an artist a mere photogra her of chicken's heads? No: Art does not imitate nature, but nature imitates art. Or to put it better both strive toward one vast Ideal, the infinite beauty of the other world.

H9-3-4

If then true art is to be measured by our own emotions, how necessary it is that those feelings be capable of responding to the highest, that the nature of the beholder be so nicely attuned that it responds to the lightest touch and most subtle harmony of the work of Art. Let me illustrate Suppose we have ~~these~~ are two pictures: a mere chromo, the other ~~is~~ an excellent work. ~~by~~

~~the son of Bishop Tanner.~~ What is the difference? Perhaps some of you would do not see any difference - if so it would merely means that your aesthetic nature - your perception and appreciation of really beautiful is in sad need of training: some of you might instinctively feel that these paintings are of different degrees of ~~merit~~ merit and yet could not give a reason; finally a few of you could immediately say: the master iece is cunning in execution - in light and shade, in harmonious colers, in careful painting: the other is inharmonious and glaring; the masterpiece has unity of idea,— It is not that it exactly imitates ship and sea - one who had never seen either would get the same idea of strength and beauty. On the other hand, the other picture is overdone - the underlying idea is evident but it is too broadly and crudely brought out - there is none of that nice suiting of means to end which is so important.

H9 - 3-5

If now you have some conception of what the Beautiful in life is, of how nature and Art strive to create beauty and what a masterpiece of Art should be, let us now ask how are beautiful things preserved from the rust and decay of earthly life. We know that Nature preserves itself through continual renewal, helped and hindered by the hand of man. We see for instance how God strives to keep our fine campus beautiful and how some of the students ~~the University~~ city strives to make it ugly ~~as sin~~; how the eternal beauty of Nature refuses to be covered by the hideous neglect of ~~our ravine and~~ roads & hills & meadows & by the heaps of nastiness we dump ~~into it~~ on them for the sake of unsightliness and disease. But I am not to speak of the preservation of the beauties of Nature ~~z~~ - though it were

indeed a fruitful theme - but rather of the preservation of works of Art.

I suppose that not one half of the thousands of people that visit Chicago or New York know that there ~~is~~ are an Art Galleries there - of those who know it, few visit them - fewer study: and yet here is a little attempt to preserve a few beautiful things. That is what an Art Gallery is and whenever you go to Chicago, to New York, to Philadelphia, and Boston - go to the Art galleries not rushing through pell-mell, but go sit down and look at a beautiful picture a half hour each week: it is an education, soul training which nothing can surpass. Then remember when you see these galleries, that these are but faint echoes of the great galleries of the world, where the masterpieces of the world's greatest artists are hung. The galleries of the World's Fair were wonderful and yet even there not a single one of the world's greater masterpieces of art were hung. Only in Europe can we study the art of the world. There are in Europe today 10 great collections of works of Art, which I will name in the order of their fame: The Louvre which occupies that mighty series of palaces in Paris situated at the head of the greatest avenue in the world ~~the Champs Elysees,~~ the great collection of Rome centers in the palaces of the vatican near the greatest cathedral, St.Peters. Third, the famous collections in the Pitti and Uffizi palaces at the lovely city of Florence in the valley of the Arno. Fourth, the great collection at the Zwingen in Dresden, Germany . Fifth, the galleries of the Alto and Neue Pinakothek at Munich; sixth, the collections of the strangely beautiful sea city of Venice, Seventh, the fine new galleries at Vienna, Austria

49-3-6

Eighth, the great Dutch collections at Amsterdam. ninth, the National Museum at London opposite Trafalgar square. Tenth, the collections at Antwerp, Belgium. Of these I have visited all except that at Antwerp. Besides these ten greater collections, there are numberless minor collections each one larger and more important than anything we have in America: for instance, the collections at Berlin, Madrid, Naples, Frankfurt, Milan, at Cassel, Düsseldorf, St.Petersburg,etc, etc. All of these I have seen except those at Madrid and St.Petersburg.

First now, I want to tell a little about the history of the more famous of these collecthons and then something of their arrangements, etc finally I shall take upa few of the great masterpieces. Let us take for instance the great Munich gallery. It has been formed by the union of 3 collections of pictures. First of those collected in the 16th and 17th centuries by the early Electors of Bavaria who encouraged such great masters as Albrecht Dürer, and such art centres at Nuremburg. Second the great collection of Dusseldorf were during the wars following the French Revolution carried bodily to Munich to keep them from going to Paris; 3rd, when the monasteries and churches were suppressed at Cologne in 1805-1810 the great paintings were taken to Munich, so that today we have here a vast collection of 1,400 pictures arranged in 12 saloons and 14 cabmites adn housed in a magnificent hall called the Alto Pinakothek. So the celebrated Dresden gallery was begun about 1750 by Augustus the III, King of Saxony; while the collection of Italians date back to the Renaissance. Thus you see these collections of pictures are not mere chance things collected in a day or a decade, but are centuries old, inter twined with the history of

49-3-7

the nations, fostered by loving care an standing today as great monuments to European civilization.

Whose works, now are enshrined upon these great altars e ected to the Infinite Bauty of the world? Perhaps many of you know the names of the world's greatest artists, but lest some do not I am going to name twelve great masters - the Dii Majores of Art and every one of you should learn their names.

Michael Angelo, Titian, Raphael, Phidias, Lionardo, Corregio, Murillo, Rubens, Rembrand, Velasquez, Van Dyke, Durer.

Let me tell just a bit of each one of these: Michael Angelo was born in Tuscany Italy, 1475 and died in 1563. He was a born artist and under the patronage of the Medici in Florence executed many noble works. I never tired while in Rome in gazing at his ceiling in the Sistine Chapel and his famous statue of Moses with beard and horns you all know. Raphael was born at Urbino, Italy in 1483 and died at Rome in 1520. He is universally considered the greatest of Italian painters if not of the world's artists. His masterpieces are copied the world over: that pretty little round picture of the Madonna and the child and St.John, which you so often see, hangs in the galleries of Flor nce; the wonderful canvas of the Transfiguration is at Rome, andothers of his strangely beautiful conce tions of the Christ child are at Munich. Titian is the great master of color and is also an Italian. His masterpieces are in Venice and Florence. Phidias was the great Gree sculptor who adorned the Parthenon and taught the carver of the Venus of Milo. Lionardo was another Italian the first great pioneer of

the Renaissance and modern painting- a universal genius. Correggio, Murello and Velasquez are Spaniards whose works are chiefly in Spain although Murello's celebrated little beggars are at Munich. Rubens and Van Dyke are Belgians and their paintings - especially Rubens are all over Europe and among the best known in the world. These may be seen at Dresden, Munich, Antwerp and Vienna. Rembrant is the great Dutch master of ligth and shade, the wonderful yellow light of whose pictures have been the despair of imitators. Abrecht Durer is the great German painter born in quaint Nuremburg in 1471 and his house I have seen, still standing - a careful conscientious pioneer in German art. Let me now call your attention to certain great masterpieces of art; the Venus of Milo, by Praxitales, the Moses of Michael Angelo , the Sistine Madonna by Raphael the Cathedral of Cologne or Meister Gerard, the Descent from the Cross by Rubens, the tribute money by Titian, the Beggar Boys by Murello ~~and~~ the Night Watch by Rembrandt, and the portrait of Charles I by Van Dyke.

I shall begin with the Cathedral of Cologne, the most magnificent Gothic edifice in the world. I then pass from architecture to sculpture and from sculpture to painting. Here is a picture of the Cathedral of Cologne. Look at it and as you look let it grow larger: let the bold cruciform structure swell beyond the little confines of this romm and of this building - imagine a vast structure three times the length of this building, three times its width ,and three times its height with two mighty towers, the highest in Europe, 512 feet in height or twice as high

49-3-9

two buildings like this

~~as the University and Normal buildings~~ set on end one on top of the other. The original foundation stone was laid on the 14 august 1248 and from that time it has slowly grown through the centuries, now desecrated by war now honored by kings until at last October 15, 1880, the first Emperor of new Germany and his prince and Furst Bismarck celebrated the completion of the vast work. Between the years 1842 and 1889 alone $3,600,000 were spent on the work. As a result we have not one of those tawdy eyesores which meet American eyes as the result of the expenditures of millions, but a beautiful harmonious symphony in stone every part of which bears its relation to the other parts and to the whole and all of which goes to embody a great and otherwise inexpressible conception of the beautiful. The blazing marble of Milan's fretted cathedral is wonderful, Westminster Abbey is venerable, Notre Dame is historical, but Cologne is grand. *

From the desire to decorate great monuments of architecture like this first arose in the ancient world the branch of art known as Sculpture. Let us then turn to the Venus of Milo by Peraxateles, ~~a rough outline of which is before you and~~ replicas of which you have all seen. This is probably the most famous single statue in the world and stands today in the galleries of the Louvre at Paris. Starting from the Arc de Triumphe, that bold monument built to the glory of the First Napoleon, you swee down the broad magnificent avenue of the Chamws Clysees. ~~I have seen many streets in many places, but none that rivalled the avenue of the Chamos Elysees in Paris.~~ Coming at last to the Tuilleries, you pass the works of marble statuary and past groups and gay and polite Parisians until at last you approach great piles

44-3-10

of buildings in the draceful renaissance architecture and passing by wings and through quadrangles you enter the famous galleries of the Louvre - without doubt the greatest art collection of the world. There, in a little room as large as perhaps one of the parlors and hung in black velvet, stands a single marble statue, armless and maimed, nicked and disfigured, yellow with age and yet with all one of the most perfect works of Art which the perfect Greek world has handed down to the 19th century. The statue was probably the work of the great Greef soulptor Poraxateles ~~y~~ lay buried for centuries in the little island of Melos in the Mediterranean, and was finally exhumed in 1820, and brought to France. Fortunately no one has been allowed to spoil this masterpiece by attempting to restore its lost parts. Through all its obvious deformity its beauty still shines. It is a full length figure larger than life representing Venus the Goddes of Love, or the Wingless victory "grandly serious, and almost severe" - the simple darpery resting on the hips" and "displaying the perfec symmetry" of the massive beautiful frame and the whole conception has that mysterious dignity and unapproachable ness which is the genuine expression of the divine.

~~Salle de la Venus de Milo, dedicated to the "Venus of Milo, the most celebrated of the treasures of the Louvre (No. 399).~~ a great culture has said; This is the only statue of Aphrodite handed down to us which represents her not merely as a beautiful woman, but as a goddess. The form is powerful and majestic, and yet instinct with an indescribable charm of youth and beauty while the pure and noble expression of the head denotes the goddess's independence of all human requirements and the calm self-sufficiency of her divine character. The fact that this beautiful work, notwithstanding its great excellence, is not one of those which have been extolled by ancient authors, affords us an approximate idea of the beauty of those

49-3-11

lost masterpieces which formed the great marvel of antiquity.

The statue was found in 1820 by a peasant in the islnad of Melos now Milo, at the entrance to the Greek archipelago, and sold for ~~[illegible]~~ $1250 to the French Covernment.

I have coupled with this another masterpiece of ancient sculpture - the Victory of Samothrace.

~~The Nike of Samothrace, on a pedestal representing the prow of a trireme~~ This figure, found in 1863, was originally erected in memory of a naval victory won by Demetrius Poliorcetes about 305 B.C. The much mutilated statue represents the goddess on the prow of a vessel, in the act of sounding the signal for battle upon her trumpet. In dignity of conception and in the masterly handling of the voluminous drapery, this sculpture is perhaps the finest extant work of early-Hellenistic art.

There is something more however in both these statues than their over-mastering grace and beauty: it is the story the y tell of the Greek ideal of healthy womanhood. These are pictures of women, strong, tall, muscular, with that peculiar grace and rythm which comes from unharnessed freedom of movement. The modern world has almost lost that ideal of beauty. Look at the waists of these women - manifestly graceful and yet a modern dressmaker could not clothe them. We have put before us all sorts of unhealthful cooking deformities, called fashion fiddle and so perverted has modern taste become that a natural strong and healthy woman is almost ashamed because she is not delicate and fragile and swan-like. Notice the foot on the Venus of Milo - broad, strong and made for walking. She could not get a decent shoe in the city of Augusta. Does this not teach us soc~~e~~thing? It surely tells us that if the young women of the Negro race wish to be really beautiful and happy, it is not mere beauty of face and length of hair that they must cultivate, but that health,

#9-3-12

strength, and symmetry of form which simply cannot be had by following the prevailing fashions of dress. * which is beyond all the most beautiful thing about a human physique

The works of architecture which statutes like these and like the Laocoon group embellished in Grecian times are still among the world's greatest buildings, as for instance the Parthenon, pictures of which you have often seen. After the Greeks no masterpieces of sculpture appear for a thousand years; then the Italians began through their great genius, Michael Angelo produced numerous great works. One of these is his statue of Moses. A few copies of this with the picture of the master I am distributing. Michael Angelo was born in Italy in the wonderful 15th century and was a youth of 17 when Columbus discovered America. A prince found him playing among the statuary of his gardens and taking him to his palace educated him in art, until he became as sculptor, painter and opet, the greatest of the great artists of his day. His record of work ~~his~~ wonderful, he carved this statue of Moses, he made a statue of David, painted the great picture of the last judgment and built the Church of St.Peter's at Rome. No man before ever put so much poetry in stone: here sits the man who walked and talked with God, the tables of the divine law in his hands, the great beard coiled and wound in his fingers, the horns of superhuman power on his forehead and the eyes dreaming away toward the Wromised Land which he never saw. *

49-3-13

After the Greeks had come to the making of statues a part from buildings, they soon began to paint them statutes and color them from life; this through the Greeks and Romans led insensibly to the art of painting - an art which reached its finest development in the 16 and 17th centuries of the modern world. I suppose if any artist were asked to name one picture which all things considered was justly entitled to be called the most famuos in the world he would answer: the Sistine Madonna by Raphael, which today

stands in the gallery of Dresden, Germany. This is an altar piece first painted for ~~th~~ a church at Piazenca, Italy about 1515, and purchased in 1753 for $45,000--- a ridiculouslm small sum compared with its worth today. The picture is eight feet high and six feet wide and represents the Virgin and Christ Child, the saints Sixtus and Barbara and two cherubs. Let me read Professor Springer's Criticism of the Picture: " A curtain has just been drawn back and the virgin issues as it were from the depths of heaven, awe-inspiring, solemn, and serene, her large eyes embracing the world in their gaze. The idea of the sudden revelation of a hitherto concealed mystery could not be more effectively expressed. "Below are two cherubs pictures of naive innocence; at either side two saints contrasted in age and sex, expression and movement, supplementing each other with admirable effect." Sixtus commending himself to the virgin's mercy - and the beaming face of Saint Barbara represents the joyful enthusiasm of the redeemed" I have spent many minutes watching this picture and I do not think that I can ever forget the large misty eyes of the Mother of God as she steps upon the clouds with the Wonderful child in her arms. *

The Assumption by Titian is an immense picture hanging in the gallery at Venice, near the square of St.Mark's. I used to imagine that the Avenue Champs Elysees in Paris was but a ~~classified~~ glorified image of that monn beam road to the stars which we have all seend through our childish tears. And if it is then I can imagine no better ending for that celestial way than the Piazia of St.Mark's at Venice, with the gilded domes and glistening turrets of the marble church the endless columns and galleries and brilliant shops and the ~~throun~~

44-3-14

thousand of whilring doves which in this city of water find this their only resting place. Near St.Marks hangs Titian's masterpiece the central figure of which is faintly outlined - it represents the assumption of the Virgin May - surrounded by holy men and angels, she rises toward God and no mortal mother ever had that look of divine happiness which hovers on the lips of Titians Madonna.

I have not been able to secure copies of this, the greatest of Titian's pictures but I have brought you two specimens of his work - one of which - the tribute money is well known. The subject is a familiar one : the keen Jew-hating-Roman and Roman tribute approaches the master and asks "Is it lawful for Jews to pay tribute unto Caesar?" The master asks whose image and superscription is on the penny and says "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's but unto God the things which are God's." The other picture is the less know Madonna of the Rabbit. Titian one of the world's great artists was an Italian like Raphael and Michael Angelo and lived at the same time. At 10 years of age he went to Venice and studying art began a brilliant and profitable life. His picture is among those distributed.

49-3-15

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You will notice how much this golden age of Italian art deals with biblical and religious subjects, the Christ and Mary his mother, the saints, prophets and apostles. It is the glory of the Catholic church that she made beauty the hand maid of religion and enriched the world with noble conceptions of goodness and purity. However there were soon men who began to see the beauty in every day life and to paint it - to look round

on earth and sea and children and men and paint them in life. This began in the Flemish school of painters in little Belgium, with such masters as Rubens and Van Dyke. To be sure they painted religious subjects, like Rubens' wonderful Descent from the Cross - but they made the figures human and everyday so that one felt the touch of flesh and blood. Then by easy transition they painted portraits of men, like Van Dyke's great portrait of Charles the First, the king whom Oliver Crmwell beheaded. Rubens who was born in Westphalia in the 16th century and educated partly in Italy was a prodigious wonder and painted over 200 great paintings some as large as a wall of this room. Van Dyke was a pupil of Rubens and especially celebrated for his portraits. *

From Italy the study of beauty reached north to Belgium, and from Belgium to Holland. Holland is a curious bit of mud north of Europe stolen froo the sea by a sturdy homely people. And there arose then a set of men who painted life as they saw it - every day themes and perhaps the greatest of the painters was Rembrandt. He was a miller's boy born at sleepy Leyden the same year that the English settled Jamestown, he was a good-hearted fellow, always in debt , always at work, painting his wonderful yellow lights. His largest and greatest work is the "Nigth Watch" - but you can get but faint idea of it from the black and white print. You should see it as I saw it in a burst of brilliant color, at the end of the long hall in the gallery at Amsterdam. It is 11 x 14 feet and it represents the assembly of a company of militia. Because of its energy and action and wonderful play of light and shade it is noted as one of the great pictures of the world. Rembrandt himself was a handsome young fel-

49-3-16

low and he knew it and often painted his own portrait. This specimen is by himself.

Finally painters even turned to the slums and the gutters to find the pictureque and striking and here is Murieglo, the Spanish painter's, celebrated beggar boys which the world has long admired.

I have of course described these pictures knowing that it would be hard for you to realize the beauty of the originals without seeing them. Nevertheless these outlines will help you and if you never see the pictures themselves you can, if you will, have in each of your homes copies of such great masterpieces - not cheap and vile caricatures, but real valuable copies which cost but little and are lasting sources of pleasure. This sentence I have used cost I can't each.

This brings me to urge in conclusion that you should early learn to appreciate and surround yourselves with beautiful things " A thing of beauty is a joy forever". -this has a deeper meaning than we imagine because we so misuse the word beautiful; But things of real lasting beauty: bits of ~~rare~~ china, graceful furniture, pretty wall paper, neat dress, little pieces of statuary and above all beautiful pictures - these things will add enough to your lives to make even your sorrows curves of grace in a crooked world. Not in evil, not in idleness, not in sensuality, comes the real fulness of life; pedantry is not learning, extravagance is not art and yelling is not religion - but all lifeis one striving toward the Eternally Beautiful.

49-3-17

Whichever lives and loves

One God, one law, one element,

And one far-off divine event

To which the whole creation moves.

H9-3-18

A Program for a Sociological Society

By W. E. B. Du Bois
Atlanta University

1897

Speech at Atlanta, 1897

I desire this afternoon to read to the First Sociological Club a candid criticism of their work and a suggestion for its future activity. I do this the more boldly because I am a member of the organization and as such must bear my part of the responsibility for its shortcomings; and at the same time I speak as an outsider, for in the year that I have had my name on the rolls I have had given me but one opportunity to share in the work of the club. I always hear with a certain shiver of the formation of a club for any kind of sociologic work, for my experience has taught me that the percentage of absolute failure among such clubs is very large. The trouble is apt to be that the persons forming clubs for social reform have very vague ideas of what the science of sociology really is, and what is the real aim and object of their striving. Consequently it can easily happen that they drift aimlessly on until the members begin to wonder whether it is worth while to waste so much time doing nothing. I fancy I have seen in this club something of this same tendency, and it seems to me that the great need of this organization is a clearer conception

33-1-69

ms

to aims & more practical & persistent work & accomplish these objects.

I have therefore chosen for my subject ~~The Law~~ A Program for a Sociological Society. and I want to divide what I have to say in ~~four~~ six parts. 1st I want to show what Sociology is. 2nd What the science has accomplished 3rd By what method its work has been done. 4th How the material and knowledge thus collected can best be utilized. 5th What the society has already accomplished & why. And finally what this society might & ought to do.

1st What is Sociology.

There was a vast revolution which took place in the early part of this century, that is too often forgotten by educated people. It came after that terrible upheaval of human institutions which we call the French Revolution, after the orgies of Robespierre, Danton, & Marat, and became finally the great instrument that freed Europe from the grasp of the Arch-tyrant Napoleon. This revolution was the industrial revolution of the 19th century. It began in the 18th century, when the science of chemistry was first well & established, when Geology gained a

33-1-70

sure foundation, when Dudley showed the world how to dig canals uphill, when iron began to be smelted by coal instead of charcoal & above all when James Watt turned a tea-kettle into a steam-engine. Such epoch-making inventions ~~have~~ changed the civilization of the world and with the dawn of the 19th century came an industrial revolution – factories started up towns grew, commerce expanded, capital increased, the world market widened. Against such a mighty movement Napoleon Bonaparte set himself when by his celebrated Continental System he sought to cut the trade of England & the continent. ~~He~~ It was not Waterloo it was not the European coalition that overthrew him, it was the new commercial spirit of the age ~~that smote him~~ and the sea If we regard this industrial movement more carefully we shall see that of all departments of human industry the manufacture of cotton made the most gigantic strides in this epoch. The ancient world dressed in wool, the middle age in wool & linen, the modern world dresses largely in cotton. The

33-1-171

series of inventions that made cotton manufacture possible are a curious example of coincidence. Between the years 1775 & 1825, Arkwright, Hargreaves, Cartwright and Eli Whitney had changed the spinning wheel into the factory and made the southern United States the cotton field of the world. *

This industrial revolution had serious consequences: first it fastened American slavery in this country & made emancipation more difficult, & the Negro problem more baffling; more than that in all lands it gave rise to & intensified those intricate questions of life & death & civilization which we call social problems: human beings were, by the new concentration of industry, crowded into centres of population & the difficulties, diseases & moral adjustments of human life became intensified & more patent to the eye. Crime, poverty, disease, prostitution, ignorance, & death began to assume threatening proportions. Men came to be attracted to these sinister phenomena & ask what they really meant, how far they were remediable & how far inevitable.

There was then but one science which undertook the study of the phenomena of human action

& that was the science of political economy
But this science was limited in scope: it
began in the 17th & 18th century when the phenomena
of money & international trade first assumed
importance & confined itself & simply &
a study of wealth: it asked how goods
were produced, how they were distributed among
the producers, and how their owners exchanged
them for other goods. It thus took into account
only a few human activities under stable
conditions of society. The industrial revolution
however had greatly changed conditions, &
brought a distinct demand for wider
inquiry into the causes & scope of human
action — deeper search for the reasons of
present conditions & the intelligent application
of such knowledge & methods of social re-
generation. This was the beginning of the modern
science of Sociology.

Sociology is therefore the name given
& that vast field of inquiry into human action
as manifested in modern organized life
It cannot study all human action under
all circumstances but that human action
which by its regularity gives evidence of the
presence of laws. & What these laws are we

33-1-23

hardly know, ~~yet~~ and yet we do know that there are in life curious & noticeable coincidences — rythm in life & death, a working out of cause & effect, evidence of force action & reaction, which cannot be ignored or neglected — Many eminent men still insist that this mass of partially digested facts cannot be called a science — and indeed if you mean by science, a body knowledge with definitely stated laws, and carefully systematized fact then Sociology is not yet a science & may never become one. But if you ~~do~~ mean by sociology a vast & fruitful field of inquiry into the mysterious phenomena of human action, which has yielded evidence of the ~~re~~ working of scientific laws & some extent, & promises much for the future — if such a work deserves, as many think, the name of science then sociology is one of the greatest of the Sciences.

But it is impossible & tell what a Science is merely by defining it — the definition is the last thing that a science discovers — indeed it can truthfully be said that no science can be fully defined until it is perfect

until its work is done. The best ~~def~~ explanation of a science then is a description of the sort of work it is doing & what it has already accomplished. I come therefore to the second point in my talk

II What has Sociology done?

33-1-35

Sociology has studied the proportionate number of the two sexes in the different countries, the number of people of different ages, the ~~average~~ number of births each year in different localities, the number of deaths from various diseases, the size of families, the average number of rooms in dwellings, the extent of illiteracy, the number of communicants in the different churches, the occupations which men pursue, the income from their work, the way that income is expended; the number of the blind, deaf, dumb, and insane, the extent & degree of poverty, the prevalence of suicide, the extent & kinds of crime, the characteristics of criminals, the migration & distribution of population, the distribution of property, etc. Moreover it has sought to generalize much of this mass of facts & show how all these actions & phenomena tend to a certain rythm & regularity which we call the social group. In the social group the distribution of the sex & age of the individuals remains continually about the same despite birth & death, & the rate of birth & death

22-1-28

various so little that it can be predicted within limits. The income, occupation, expenditure & crime tends in the same way under forms of law. This so-called social law seems partly voluntary, partly involuntary, but in all cases its regularity is much greater than the casual reader dreams. These social groups in turn combine & form that higher generalization which we call Society. Society is simply a general name for the regularities of human action — for the general fact that when 50, 100, or 1,000,000 live together they do not act irresponsibly or at random but according to well-known maxims, social forces & laws.

All this that I have said can best be illustrated by a few actual examples: In Europe for instance repeated investigation has proven that for every 1000 males there about 1024 females. This is characteristic of old countries. In the U.S. on the other hand there are only 952 females for every 1000 males. In the older eastern states however we should expect to find conditions approaching

those in Europe — & sure enough there are 1005 females & every 1000 males. To show the significance of such facts let us go a step furth: we find in the city of ~~Baltimore~~ Baltimore 1310 Negro women & every 1000 men, we can immediately say this is surely an abnormal situation & must have something to do with the large number of illegitimate births in that city.

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Statistics of age show that in normal countries ~~the go~~ about one third of the population is under 15 years of age, yet the nations vary considerably: for instance take the children under 10 years of age: in England they form 24% of the population, in France only 18% among the Negroes of this land 28%. Turning now to the old people 60 & over & we find that they form 7% of the population of England 13% of that of France, & 2% among our race. Such differences simply mean poor family life among our people.

The statistics of births & deaths are always of great interest & consequently liable to misuse

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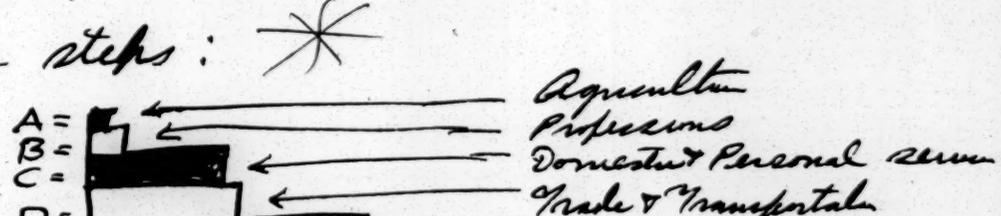
we may have two especially marked types: a population with a low birth-rate & low death-rate like Sweden or a population with a high birth rate & high death rate like the American Negro. The latter is a sign of a low standard of culture — early marriage, illegitimacy & neglect of the laws of health; the former is, namely a sign of high civilization — postponement of marriage until the support of a family is assured, & life according to the laws of hygiene. So in the same country the character of a community may easily be approximately fixed by measuring the number of people in every thousand that die annually a death-rate above 26 is high: while one above 30 points to grave dangers. The rate may be as low as 14 as in Norway. The average death rate of Negroes in cities is 34.

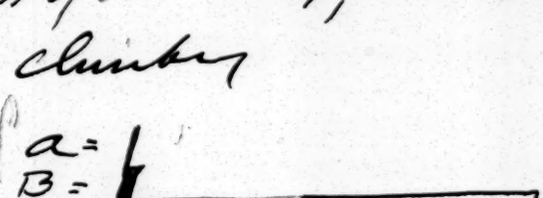
The statistics of marriage are interesting. In Europe out of every 1000 persons of all ages about 15 marry every year. The average age of bride grooms in England is 28 — of brides 26. In Russia 58% of the brides are under 20

~~While in Scotland 69% are between 20 & 30~~
~~& in Norway 28% between 30 & 40.~~

Where sociological inquiry reveals great differences in the conditions of different groups of people this is usually evidence of some unseen cause which makes the variation. For instance, we can represent the occupations of the people of Philadelphia by the following set of door steps: *



- If however we represent the occupations of the Negroes of that city, we find the steps have to climb



What is the meaning of this striking difference? It is explained fully by one comprehensive word SLAVERY. Thus history writes itself in figures & diagrams.

In the matter of crime sociology had done some of its best work; let us notice

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only one — the connection of crime & age:
In Germany for instance it has been found that
~~15 1/2 % of the crimes are committed by men between~~
~~21 & 40. And in all countries it~~ 15% of all
persons between 21 & 40 have been convicted
for crime, 9% of those between 40 & 60 & 7%
of those between 12 & 18 years of age. Further
analysing these figures it is found that the most
criminal age is between 20 & 30. and among
young unmarried men. Taking for instance the
Negro criminal in the Eastern Penitentiary of
Penna. ~~they were of the following ages:~~ we
find the remarkable fact that 67% of them
were under 30 years of age & 11% under 20.

Using such minute & detailed statistics
sociology has built up the theory of the social
group. The county village is a social group
— it population distributed in a certain normal
order as to age & sex & original condition, its
birth & death rate regulating the increase of population.
There is some crime, a school, a church; ~~then~~ the
the village store ~~with trade goods~~ ~~with the trade~~
~~goods~~ The population is divided ~~as~~ among different
occupations, social classes make a faint appearance
and there is a general public opinion which repre-
sents & synthesizes of like ideas. Such a group may

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groups & a city or to a nation, but as it gro
we note certain peculiarities: it forms within
itself other smaller groups for special purposes
— clubs for amusement or Reading, church societ
associations of capital & labor called shops or
companies or factories &c. These sub-groups
we might call organs for carrying out the
special work of society, just as the tissues of
the body form here a heart and here a
an eye & serve the whole organism of the
body. This we refer to when we speak
of society being organized — of course this is
but an analogy for the organization of
society is far from complete & individual
free will must ever hinder that consummation
in this world. Nevertheless advance in civiliza-
tion is to a certain extent advance in the
perfecting of the organization of society.

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Such is the work that Sociology has ac-
complished. It is to be one only a beginning:
our statistics are woefully imperfect, & crude,
our methods of observation crude, and the material
at hand is largely an unclassified mass of facts
whose the value of which is various & uncertain.
Nevertheless gigantic strides have been taken
in the last 10 years, something has been done &

the outlook for the future is bright. This brings me to the third point I wish to discuss, viz.,

III The Use of Sociological Material

The interest in social reform & general betterment which animates so many excellent people of day must not be mistaken for the science of ~~social reform~~ Sociology. There are many people who have a vague desire to right wrongs, help the needy & reform the vicious. Unfortunately these people in very many instances are ignorant of the results of scientific research in these lines — they do not know the value & meaning of statistics & they often waste money & energy, or do absolute harm, either by attempting the impossible or ~~trying the possible~~ by antiquated or discredited methods. If anyone should inform an ordinary citizen that chemists had discovered a new element, Argon — he would very well or bravo! and be done — he would not attempt to discuss the matter or draw conclusions — he is no chemist & does not attempt to be. If he wishes to use the results of chemical ~~to~~ research he seeks the advice of a chemist. In the realm of sociology however the case is very different:

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tell a man that the death rate of the Negroes is
36 and immediately he is ready to discuss
the matter write articles form clubs, & send
money although he knows that he is not
an expert in statistics or a student of sociol-
ogy. What ought to happen in this case is
clear: the man ought to say candidly
I know nothing about death rates — is
36 high or low or medium? What has been
the history of the variation of death rates? How
do the death-rates of different peoples compare
with this? In fine a sensible man ought
to ask What does a death rate of 36 mean
what in the light of the expert statistical
knowlege & the careful sociological research
of the last quarter century, is the proper in-
terpretation of this figure 36, which otherwise
is to me a Sphinx & an Enigma.

The cultured & thinking part of the
modern world is gradually & surely coming
to this position. The first thing people ask of
social reformers now is not how earnest
are you or how great is the need of reform
but rather what do you know about the
actual situation & how does the best of your

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interpret these facts. Men recognize the fact that such expert opinion may err but they are coming to see that the occasional error of men who give their life & knowing is not as dangerous as the perpetual error of men who guess or dogmatize. The facts & the means of the facts are then the first steps in modern social reform.

How now shall the mass of intelligent people who have no time & be experts put themselves in position & ~~know~~ use the materials collected by sociologists in the gradual work of reform? We can best answer this by seeing the work done in reform during this century.

One of the first movements was the English abolition of the slave-trade: for this the House of Commons collected a mass of statistics — the number of ships engaged, the amount of capital invested, the methods employed & capture slaves, the routes of sailing, the number transported the death rate among slaves & sailors &c. They sought to the history of the subject, the general conditions, the opinions of experts & statesmen & when they began to legislate on the subject they knew what they were doing & no nation had done so much to stop Negro slavery as these same Englishmen who studied the matter

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so thoroughly. Again take the matter of prison reform. When the question was first agitated there was'nt a crank in England or America that had'nt an opinion & a panacea — it was do this, do that, make their punishment as severe as that of galley slaves, treat them as unfortunate victims of society; make them work hard, let them lie idle; hang them, give them tracts to read, &c. Society has outgrown this: gradually here & there we have collected facts — not how someone thinks a plan might work, but how the plan actually did work when it was tried; we have studied criminals instead of taking it for granted that we know them, we have watched crime instead of theorizing about it & then with this material we have tried careful experiments — experiments in housing prisoners, experiments in punishment, experiments in work & diet; until today no intelligent man thinks of aimlessly giving advice as to crime — he knows that this is a subject for experts — a subject still dark, with much to be learned, but still a realm where the dawn of open work is past. In the matter of classification perhaps the greatest advance has been made

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the classic example of the worlds attempt
in the matter of giving alms is the History of the
English poor law. In the 14th & 15th century
England took no particular public care of
paupers save to make them stay in their
own parishes & left the matter of relieving distress
to their wants. The result was ~~disorder robbery~~
and violence. ~~The~~ The 16th century these followed
vagabonds & beggars increased alarmingly.
This state of affairs England tried to remedy
by laws ~~to attempt~~ designed to suppress
pauperism & punish beggars. The penalty
for vagrancy ~~& beggary~~ was whipping & branding
with a hot iron, & a second or third offense
was punishable by death. Soon men
began to see that such wholesale legislation
would not do & some provision was made
for the poor who could not work. In
the 17th & 18th century pauperism continued to in-
crease & in place of rigor sentiment began
to rule England. It became easier to live as a
pauper than as a laborer & the poor taxes in-
creased enormously. Finally in the 19th century
the state has begun to apply scientific methods
to the question of pauperism. Instead of relief to
the poor it aims to discover the causes of poverty,

The classic example of this is the history of the English poor law. At first England frowned mercilessly on beggary & poverty & whipped & branded & hanged the poor devils. Then she melted into sentiment and coddled & stuffed her paupers until it seemed as tho' all England moved on a begging. Finally the State bethought itself to ask Who are the paupers, what makes pauperism, how can we decrease it &

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& help people & help themselves? For this reason it uses the statistics, studies social conditions, organizes charities, avoids duplication of work, detects impostors and seeks in as many ways & know the causes of poverty & apply intelligent & scientific remedies. The world is still far from solving the problem but we are much nearer than we were in the 17th & 18th centuries.

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Thus sociological interest is daily used by all kinds of social reforms: the organizers of children societies, of schools; those who seek & help the deaf & the blind, those who want to get work for the idle; saving banks & building associations are established on careful & by ascertained principles, model homes built for tenants — indeed this is the age when lasting & effective reform has become systematic & scientific & has replaced sentiment & theory.

The question now comes

What Has the First Sociological Society done.

I want to be perfectly frank in this matter & to say plainly that in my opinion this society has done nothing. I know we have organized — we have held meetings. We have

had pleasant social gatherings & we have talked. But of actual work accomplished either in the line of knowing just what there is to be done, & just how we are to do it, & what there is to be learned as to method from the sociological work of the day, and above all of actual accomplished work, it seems to me perfectly fair to say that this society has done little more than nothing. Indeed I have several times seriously asked myself whether I was justified in attending those meetings & whether there was a reasonable prospect of an end of aimless talking & a beginning of definite doing. We seem to me in the first place to have no clear idea of what the society is for; we seem again to have a tendency to bother away precious time on trifles, we seem to forget when we are discussing ways & means that all this is not mere theory but that definite information of the experience of others in the work & of the general state of scientific knowledge on most of these points is easily obtainable And finally we seem in the hazy out of our definite practical work for committees & have not the faintest shade of an idea of enormous difficulties & infinite complications

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of some of the subjects we undertake. To particularize
at the last meeting the subject for discussion was
the influence of small tenement life on
children — a subject of the deepest importance
& of wide influence. There is a perfect mass
of material on the subject — studies, maps & plans,
vital statistics, statistics of dwellings & occupations,
measurements of children's bodies, experiement as
& mental aptitude, inquiries into home life —
indeed I could with out difficulty gather
right here in Atlanta a hundred volumes
of material on the point to be discussed. If
a sociological society had been going to dis-
cuss that subject what would one reasably
expect the trend of the discussion to be? They
would expect first that the general conditions
of slums would be explained: Both the maps
of London would be exhibited & studies show-
the physical environment; The Hull House maps
& papers would have been taken next; some-
thing would have been said of the slums of New
York & Philadelphia. Then the general question
of children would be approached — what physical
surroundings are necessary & the lack of them
there would be illustrated by the death rate of
children in slums; the moral demands of
child life would be touched upon & criminal

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statistics adduced to show how youthful criminals are bred in the slums; finally we would have the evil social effects — lewd talk, illegitimate children, prostitution, personal uncleanness, the spread of disease & the like. There are some very elementary matters connected with the life of children in slums which any consideration of the subject must take up. But beside this the central part of the discussion ought to have been the slums of Atlanta: we ought to have had the map of several a typical alley showing the size & relation of the houses, the number of rooms, the number dwelling there, & the number & sex of children; the general characteristics of the families, the ~~the~~ ability of the children in school or at work, the number of deaths in the alley in a year, the kinds of diseases, and a general history of the alley. From one to five such studies might have been made.

Such is what we might reasonably expect in the discussion of this subject by a club which calls itself sociological. And yet I doubt if any member of this society went from that discussion with a single new fact or idea. No body had studied the subject, no body knew anything about the matter, noone had any information

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& unfair. About 2 days before the meeting in the midst of a busy week's work I was informed that I was selected & discuss a subject which experts have been studying for 10 or 20 years. And when out of sheer respect for the intelligence of these members I mildly protested that two days was not enough time for such a subject — the society blandly waved its hand, & said "why you had three days".

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I remember last year at the Atlanta Conference the president of this society gave an outline of this organization & a list of its committees. It must confess it made a splendid showing; but there was one fact that the president omitted & mention & that was that ~~not a single~~ very few of those committees had done any good worth mentioning. ~~I said to myself well the work~~ Was this the fault of the president: he had urged the society again & again to do actual work & the society did attempt & help the Atlanta Conference, but of all the bad reports that came out that conference that of this clubs was the worst. If it had not been for the personal work of Dr Butler & Mr. Mathews the Atlanta Conference would have had to omit Atlanta from the cities investigated. I said to myself however this society is young yet — next fall the ~~for~~ work

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will begin. And lo! at the first meeting I attended the club was adopting a new constitution. I must say I was somewhat disgusted — what to me meant I thought of a new const. when we have done nothing under the the old one. A constitution is not worth the paper it is written on unless it is backed by deeds & given the deed & I care not whether we have a const. or not. ~~The~~ one of the objects of the new const. was said to be the facilitating of the organizing of other sociological clubs in other cities. I would as soon think of my baby advertising & teach person to walk — why he can't walk himself.

After the new constitution was adopted the same difficulties appeared as last year in the apportionment of work & committees. One afternoon last year we casually discussed the matter of crime. In a moment the discussion spread — we swept thro' the calendar of crimes in 15 and attack the subject of criminals; passing then a moment we sailed gaily & the matter of punishment, then & slums & education, then & the the conduct of courts, then & color discrimination, then to the situation of the south & to the negro problems. A library of 10000 volumes would

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not have covered the matters we lightly discussed in that afternoon and then as it was opening my eyes in wonder, we suddenly appointed a committee & charged it with the whole matter. Does anyone wonder that we haven't heard from that committee since? It is my candid opinion that if we had appointed a committee of 10 persons & given several thousand dollars & expend they could not possibly have accomplish the work we gave them in less than 300 years.

The trouble is we despise the day of little things — we neglect little movements, small efforts, tentative experiments & throw ourselves blindly against adamantine walls which have withstood the assaults of philanthropists for centuries. We had a simple program of work laid before us: it was suggested that we make a careful map of the Negro slums of Atlanta & see how they are situated with ~~to~~ regard & the various agencies for good. This was not theory or experiment — it was simply analogous to a great work now being done in New York city. Yet this society virtually shoved the plan by appointing an endless committee

& give pastors of various churches advice as & their mission fields in the city. The chairman of the committee protested at the time that this method of attacking the matter would not do — but no! we must have the committee. And of course the committee never reported for it had nothing & report. Several times other promising deputate proposals for small beginnings have been made but no sooner were they launched than someone proposed something else, another pointed out that this method would not reform everybody & make the sunshine 24 hours in the day & the whole plan became amended & blocked & died a peaceful death in committee

To sum up then: We as a society are not sure what we ought & do; and we have made clumsy & ineffectual attempts & do a mass of things without a knowledge of the facts or of the well-grounded theory of the subject. We add & our membership in a hap-hazard way forcing people & join who simply come & visit; we appoint committees & distribute work in a way equally accidental & thoughtless & above all we yield & the temptation & talk & discuss when we nothing & say.

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But enough of criticism. I know it is much easier ~~the~~ to find fault than to avoid fault — to pick flaws in work done than to do work. And yet candid criticism has its place — it lies at the root of all reform & after all in this devious world perhaps the trouble is that we stray so little rather than that we err so much.

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Let me therefore turn to the last point I wish to consider

VI What this Society might & ought to do.

The aim of a society of this kind ought to be to furnish accurate information to such agencies as are engaged in the work of social reform, to endeavor to increase the cooperation between those agencies, and to ~~endeavor~~ seek to establish new agencies for reform in neglected and unknown fields of effort. Let me take up these 3 things in order:

First I say, this society should aim to gather facts and information for its own & others use. I was once planning an elaborate piece of investigation in regard to the Negroes of a certain city, when I came across a woman who could if she would give me much valuable matter. She looked at me suspiciously & said "What's the object of this investigation?"

simply to get at the truth" I answered. "Do
you hope to do anything after you get the
facts" said she "We simply collect the facts"
I returned "Others may use them as they will"
"Then you are trying ~~simply~~ only to get facts
& not to better things" she said "Yes" I again
answered. "Humph" she replied & I'm still
waiting for that information. Now this illustrates
well the attitude of many minds toward
careful & systematic collection of minute facts.
Men are so filled with ideas of reform that
they haven't time to study the abuses which
they seek to abolish & baldly assume that
they know all about them. One of the most
baffling things about the Negro problem today is
the fact that so many people in this country
are absolutely convinced that they thoroughly
understand it. Especially ~~to~~ is every Negro
supposed to be born with a thorough under-
standing of this intricate problem in all its
bearings. And yet a moments thought will
convince us all of our ignorance. How many
of us here really know very much of the history
& present condition of the 8 millions of our race
in this land? We call the "Negro problem" certain
facts of personal experience, joined to some reading

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& general information & to a good-deal of great.
There is not one of us that does not need
to study thoroughly & minutely any part of the
subject which we propose to work upon. This
Society should be a centre for gathering and
information in Atlanta. We ought to begin to
study thoroughly comprehensively & minutely
the Situation of the Negroes of the city — we ought
to become a bureau of accurate information
for all facts connected with the Negro — wealth
& poverty, business & labor, crime & pauperism
charity and reform, homes & streets, migration,
wages, occupations, marriage & divorce, illegitimacy
education, Church-organizations, other organizations
— every general fact which bears upon the
~~present~~ condition of the Negro in this city, past
& present ought to be carefully collected &
recorded, and now & then published. We should
follow the history of alleys, compile a careful
list of the worthy poor, study minutely the
abode & history of the criminals, keep an eye
upon orphans & homeless waifs — in fine
no fact or condition should escape the eye &
pen of a society whose chief business it is
to know the social problems they seek to solve.

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For this ~~information~~ work we should have committees, and every member of the organization be ~~to~~ a member of some committee. Each committee should work under a chairman & the chairman ~~should~~ coned ~~taught~~ if he can 33-1-92. & appoint sub-committees. At every meeting it should be the work of each committee & report some carefully ascertained facts & this committee & & report in writing not orally. The facts may small or unimportant they may be a study of a whole district, they may be historic data, illustrative incidents but allways accurate, always reliable and always designed & teach us more of the actual situation of the people & guide our feet in matters of reform.

These committees should be standing committees & no other committees ought & be appointed during the year, save in very exceptional cases. The committees should be appointed on such subjects as Poverty, Crime, Health, Homes, & Churches, Education, Occupation The defective classes, Wealth, Reading &c. — That is, simple comprehensive fields where much may be learned.

2nd We should endeavor & increase cooperation among the various agencies for social betterment among the Negroes of Atlanta: these agencies are the Churches, the schools, the secret & ~~benev~~ benevolent societies & the benevolent efforts of various kinds. Our object here should be not & needless ~~useless effort~~, not & interfere in the work of others, but by speedy information & pointing out fields of action we should seek reduce the duplication of benevolent work & a minimum & get the widest good fellowship & cooperation possible. Mothers meeting, lectures, circulating libraries, savings associations & general reform work could in this way be spread by sheer contagion thro' the various church-constituencies & communities. This society should stand ready & send & every single church in Atlanta two three times a year competent persons & explain & the members some elementary matter of reform — ventilation, the use of water, sewing-schools, hygienic cooking, reading, saving, &c. In this way effort could stimulated in existing agencies toward betterment of present conditions ~~& this work this should an executive committee under the~~ ~~direction who should arrange conferences with officers of various societies~~ & become a sort of federation of benevolent counsel of Negroes ~~& finally this society should endeavor to find out what fields of reform are entirely~~

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For this purpose there should be an executive committee under the chairmanship of the President which should arrange meetings & conferences, & tell us what other movements are doing & seek to build gradually a central board which would federate all the benevolent effort of the city among Negroes and cooperate with similar efforts among Whites.

Thirdly the society should endeavor to find out & explore fields of reformatory effort neglected by other agencies, or forgotten or unknown. And should seek here to inaugurate ~~up~~ new movements for betterment. In this work however great care must be exercised. Our committees ~~are our~~ stand for ears open to all sounds from every where & letting no whisper escape. But our efforts at actual reform must not be thus dispersed. ~~Not we~~ We cannot reform the whole world at once. We must concentrate our efforts: one thing at a time & that a small thing; careful tentative effort, feeling our way slowly, making no failures

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& take no back road sleds & above all remembering that permanent reform is slow work & that 10 years in such work is a mere bagatelle. One thing at a time then & let that one thing take our whole strength. We might for instance do this: each of us here might contribute to the committee on School a book suitable for children to read. We each might get a few friends to give similar books. Then this with a modest little library of say 25 or 50 volumes properly labelled, cared for might be placed in one of the public schools & circulate for a month. Then in another school for a month, then in another. Next year we might collect another small library — in 10 years we might thus place in every ~~the~~ school house in the city a circulating library & begin to send some to the county school. — simple work, nothing great, no wholesale manufacture of saints, nothing to wave our hands about or yell, but Work, Reform & advance such as in the past has built nations & empires. When this enterprise was well started & in charge of the proper committee — or possibly given over to some special organization, we could

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begun another & larger effort — but slowly carefully. We could start a movement toward a penny savings bank. Not a money making institution, but a benevolent enterprise & encourage thrift run on business principles. We could select in the city three or four Negroes whose reputation for honesty & probity was unquestioned If possible we would ask three or four interested white men & act with them & form the directing board of a Negro Penny Savings bank. Each church could be induced & hold meetings & hear talks on thrift & little things. The various schools — Spelman, Atlanta Baptist, Clark Morris Brown or other could preach a crusade of saving at chapel exercises. At ~~each~~ several of the larger colored stores, a small stand a tin box & a padlock could be placed & a member of the committee on saving could preside from 8 & 10 p.m. on Wednesday & Saturday night. Bank books with stamped receipts could be given out. The enterprise would flourish for a while then it would die down but we would not die down — more lectures, more talks, tracts & posters, a notice in the Constitution & habits of saving would begin

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to grow & know
we should gradually, where to place our
branches — how & encourage people. In ten
5 years we might have $200 or $300 in
deposits; to 10 years $2-3000. In 15 years
we might hire modest quarters, use our
money for a building association or surrender
the whole work to a special society. — Nothing
great in such a movement — nothing to take
ones breath away — it has been done a hundred
times in other cities among other people &
in a few cases among Negroes — but the
the true way — which does not necessarily
call for a constitution on paper but it
calls for a certain mental & moral consti-
tution in us which is too often lacking.

I might easily go on naming a
hundred different methods of work — distributing
contracts, offering prizes in the schools & churches, a com-
prehensive system of neighborhood visiting, careful
organized & persistently conducted series of mothers
meetings & fireside schools, temporary care of waifs
& foundlings, shelters for friendless girls, ~~at these~~
~~& nursery &c~~, a social settlement house in the slums,
— all these and many more — not all at once

not all in a year but slowly gradually doggedly — such work lies before.

Finally as to our meetings we must stop throwing away time in endless senseless & aimless talk. We are here for business. First we want information on local conditions from the chairmen of committees & chairmen having nothing to report ought to be made to feel thoroughly ashamed for their neglect & carelessness. ~~After the~~ The reports should be brief, definite, & contain actual data. We do not want essays on what ought to be done but what your committee actually has done & when it did it & how it did it & what the result was. We ~~have~~ do not want vague general statement but definite, brief, concise records of date place & deeds. After these reports & a short discussion of the meaning of these facts then we should turn to the work of the meeting: somebody who ~~knows about it~~ has studied something & knows about it & has his knowledge in a shape to impart clearly & somewhat more briefly than I am doing, should then take the floor & teach us something either in sociological theory, or in efforts of

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other lands or cities, or in local
We do not want general essays, or
boy papers — but facts & information &
carefully weighed opinion. When we can
go knowing more than when we came
& better prepared for work. If noone has
such a paper prepared, then let us take
one of the dozens of excellent works on
social questions & ready read passy it
from hand & hand & discuss it. Or
let us adopt a text-book & study the
subject we profess & know some thing of.

If in a half-century we thus increase our
knowledge of social conditions & start a few move-
ments & better abuses then this club will
deserve well of the nation.

Fellow-workers the Negro problem
is in this room — between these four walls
& it is the question as & whether the best
class of intelligent Negroes can so cooperate
in unselfish effort as & better in some
degree the condition of the Negro masses.
Among the masses we have problems but
not Negro problems — these are problems of

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crime, of poverty, of sexual lewdness
of ill-health, of heredity. The Negro problem
is the question whether those who have raised
themselves above the dead level of degradation
can do as other nations have done —
cooperate, investigate, sacrifice & lift as
they climb.

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A PROGRAM FOR A SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

By W. E. B. Du Bois

Atlanta University
1897 — 1899 is more likely FB

I desire this afternoon to read to the First Sociological Club a candid criticism of its' work and a suggestion for its' future activity. I do this the more boldly because I am a member of the organization and as such must bear my part of the responsibility for its' shortcomings; and at the same time, I speak as an outsider, for in the year that I have had my name on the rolls I have had no opportunity to share in the work of the club. I always hear with a certain foreboding shiver of the formation of a club for any kind of sociological work, for my experience has taught me that the percentage of absolute failure among such clubs is very large. The trouble is apt to be that the persons forming clubs for social reform have very vague ideas of what the science of sociology really is, and what is the real aim and object of their striving. Consequently it can easily happen that they drift aimlessly on until the members begin to wonder whether it is worthwhile to waste so much time doing nothing. I fancy I have seen in this club something of the same tendency, and it seems to me that the great need of this organization is a clearer conception of its' aims and more practical and persistent work to accomplish these objects.

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I have therefore chosen for my subject A Program for a Sociological Society, and I want to divide what I have to say in six parts. First I want to show what Sociology is. Second- What the science has accomplished. Third - By what methods its work has been done. Fourth - How the material and knowledge thus collected can best be utilized. Fifth - What the society has already accomplished and why. And finally what this society might and ought to do.

1st. What is Sociology

There was a vast revolution which took place in the early part of

this century that is too often forgotten by educated people. It came after that terrible upheaval of human institutions which we call the French Revolution, after the orgies of Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, and became finally the great instrument that freed Europe from the grasp of the arch-tyrant Napoleon. This revolution was the industrial revolution of the 19th century. It began in the 18th century, when the science of chemistry was first well established, when geology gained a sure foundation when Brinley showed the world how to dig canals uphill, when iron began to be smelted by coal instead of charcoal, and above all when James Watt turned a tea-kettle into a steam engine. Such epoch-making inventions changed the civilization of the world and with the dawn of the 19th century came an industrial revolution - factories started up, towns grew, commerce expanded, capital increased, the world market widened. If we regard this industrial movement more carefully we shall see that of all departments of human industry the manufacture of cotton made the most gigantic strides in this epoch. The ancient world dressed in wool, the middle age in wood and linen, the modern world dressed largely in cotton. The series of inventions that made cotton manufacture possible are a curious example of coincidence. Between the years 1775 and 1825, Arkwright Hargreaves, Cartwright, and Eli Whitney had changed the spinning wheel into the factory and made the southern United States the cotton field of the world.

This industrial revolution had serious consequences: first it fastened American Slavery in this country and made emancipation more difficult, and the Negro problem more baffling; More that that in all lands it gave rise to and intensified those intricate questions of life and death and civilization which we call social problems: human being were, by the new concentration of industrys, crowded into centers of population and the difficulties, deseases, and maladjustments of human life became intensified and more patent to the eye. Crime, poverty, desease, pros-

titution, ignorance, and death began to assume threatening proportions. Men came to be attracted to these sinister phenomena nad to ask what they really meant, how far they were remediable, and how far inevitable.

There was then but one science which undertook the study of the phenomena of human action and th t was the science of political economy. But this science was limited in scope: it began in the 17th and 18th century when the phenomena of money and international trade first assumed importance and confined itself simply to a study of wealth: it asked how goods were produced, how they were distributed among the producers, and how their owners exchanged them for other goods. It thus took into account only a few human activities under stable conditions of society. The industrial revolution, however, had greatly changed conditions, and brought a distinct demand for wider inquiry into the causes and scope of human action - deeper search for the reasons of present conditions and the intelligent application of such knowledge to methods of social regeneration This was the beginning of the modern science of Sociology.

Sociology is therefore the name given to that vast field of inquiry into human action as manifested in modern organized life. It cannot study all human action under all circumstances, but thay human action which by its regularity gives evidence of the presence of laws. What these laws are we hardly know, and yet we do know that there are in life curious and noticeable coincidences - rythm in life and death, a working out of cause and effect, evidences of force action and reaction, which cannot be ignored or neglected. Many eminent men still insist that this mass of partially digested facts cannot be called a science - and indeed if you mean by science, a body knowledge with definitely stated laws, and carefully systematized facts, then Sociology is not yet a sciene and may never become one. But if you mean by Sociology a vast and fruitful field of inquiry into the mysterious phenomena of human action, which has yielded evidence of the working of scientific laws to some extent, and promises much for the future - if such a work deserves, as many

think, the name of science, then Sociology is one of the greatest of sciences.

But it is impossible to tell what a scienc is merely by defining it - the definition is the last thing a science discovers - indeed it can truthfully be said that no science can be fully defined until it is perfect, until its work is done. The best explanation of a science then is a description of the sort of work it is doing and what it has already accomplished. I come therefore to the second point in my talk.

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2nd. What has Sociology done?

Sociology has studied the proportionate number of the two sexes in the different countries, the number of people of different ages, the number of births each year in different localities, the number of deaths from various dis ases, the size of families, the average number of rooms in dwellings, the extent of illiteracy, the number of communicants in the different churches the occupations which men pursue, the income from their work, the way that income is expended; the number of the blind, deaf, dumb, and insane, the extent and degree of poverty, the prevalence of suicide, the extent and kinds of crime, the characteristics of criminals, the distribution and migration of population, the distribution of property, etc. Moreover it has sought to generalize much of this mass of facts and show how all these actions and phenomenas tend to a certain rhythm and regularity which we call the social group. In the social group the distribution of the sex and age of the individuals remain continually about the same despite birth and death, and the rate of births and deaths varies so little that it can be predicted within limits. The income, occupation, expenditure, and crime tends in the same way under forms of law. This so-called Social Law seems partly voluntary, partly involuntary, but in all cases its regularity is much gr ater than the casual reader dreams. These social groups in turn combine to form that higher generalization which we call Society. Society is simply a general name for the regularities of human action - for the general fact that when 50, 100, Or 1,000,000 live together they do not all act irresponsibly or at random but according to well-known

maxims, social forces and laws.

All this that I have said can best be illustrated by a few actual examples. In Europe, for instance, repeated investigation has proven that for every 1,000 males there are about 1,024 females. This is Characteristic of old countries. In the United States, on the other hand there are only 952 females for every 1,000 males. In the older, eastern states, however, we should expect to find conditions approaching those in Europe - and sure enough there are 1,005 females to every 1,000 males. To show the significence of such facts let us go a step farther: We find in the city of Baltimore 1,310 Negro women to every 1,000 men. We can immediately say this is surely an abnorman situation and must have something to do with the large number of illegitimate births in that city

Statistics of age show that in normal countries about one third of the population is under 15 years of age, yet the nations vary considerably: for instance take children under 10 years of age; in England they form 24% of the population, in France only 18% , among the Negroes of the land 28%. Turning now to the old people 60 and over and we find that they form 7% of the population of England; 13% of that of France; and 2% among our race. Such differences simply mean poor family life among our prople.

The statistics of births and deaths are always of great interest and consequently liable to misuse. We may have two especially marked types: a population with a low birth -rate and low death-rate like France or a population with a high birth rate and high death rate like American Negro. The latter is a sign of a low standard of culture - early marriage, illegitimacy and neglect of the laws of health; the the former is usually a sign of high civilization - postponement of marriag until the support of a family is assured, and life according to the laws of hygiene. Son in the same country the character of a community may easily be approximately fixed by measuring the number

of people in every thousand

of people in every thousand that die annually. A death rate above 26 is high, while one above 30 points to grave dangers. The rate may be as low as 18 as in Norway. The average death rate of Negroes in cities is 34.

Where socilolgical inquiry reveals great differences in the conditions of different groups of people this is usually evidence of some unseen cause which makes the variation. For instance, we can represent the occupations of the people of Philadelphis by the following set of door steps:

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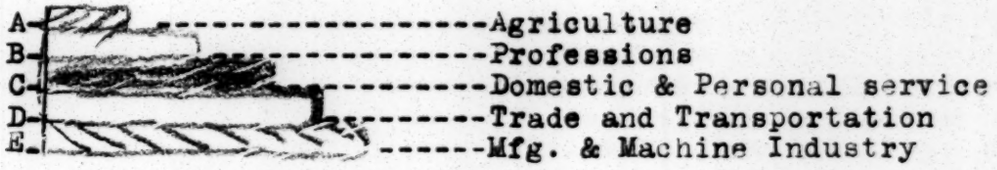

If however we represent the occupations of the Negroes of the city, we find the steps hard for climbing.

What is the meaning of this striking difference? It is explained fully by one comprehensive word SLAVERY. Thus history writes itself in figures and diagrams.

In the matter of crime, sociology has done some of its best work; let us notice only one - the connection of crime and age. In Germany for instance it has been found that 15% of all persons between 21 and 40 have been convicted for crime, 9% of those between 40 and 60, and 7% of those between 12 and 18 years of age. Further analyzing these figures it is found that the most criminal age is between 20 and 30, and among young unmarried men. Taking for instance the Negro criminal in the Eastern section of Pennsylvania; we find the remarkable fact that 67% of them were under 30 years of age and 11% uande 20.

Using such minute and detailed statistics sociology has built up the theory of the social group. The country village is a social group.

Its population distributed in a certain normal order as to age and sex and conjugal condition, Its birth and death regulating the increase of population. There is some crime, a school, a church, a village store. The population is divided among different occupations, social classes make a faint appearance and there is a general public opinion which represents of synthesis of like ideas. Such a group may grow to a city or to a nation, but as it grows we note certain peculiarities: it forms within itself other smaller groups for special purposes - clubs for amusement or reading, church societies, associations of capital and labor called shops or companies or factories and etc. These sub-groups we might call organs for carrying out the special work of society, just as the tissues of the body form here a heart and here an eye to serve the whole organism of the body. This we refer to when we speak of society being <u>organized</u> - of course this is but an analogy for the organization of society is far from complete and individual free will must ever hinder that consummation in this world. Nevertheless advance in civilization is to a certain extent advance in the perfecting of the organization of society.

Such is the work that Sociology has accomplished. It is to be sure only a beginning: our statistics are woefully imperfect. Our methods of observation are crude and the material at hand is largely an unclassified mass of facts, the value of which is various and uncertain. Nevertheless gigantic strides have been taken in the last 10 years, something has been done, and the outlook for the future is bright. This brings me to the fourth point I wish to discuss.

4th. <u>The Use of Sociological Material</u>

The interest in social reform and general betterment which animates so many excellent people today must not be mistaken for the science of Sociology. There are many people who have a vague desire to right wrongs, help the needy, and reform the vicious. Unfortunately these people in

very many instanses are ignorant of the results of scientific research in these lines - they do not know the value and meaning of statistics and they often waste money and energy, or do absolute harm, either by antiquated or discredited methods. If anyone should inform an ordinary citizen that chemists had discovered a new element, Argon - he would say very well or bravo! and be done - he would not attempt to discuss the matter or draw conclusions - he is no chemist and does not attempt to be. If he wishes to use the results of chemical research he seeks the advice of a chemist. In the realm of sociology, however, the case is very different: tell a man that the death rate of the Negroes is 36, and immediately he is ready to discuss the matter, write articles, form clubs, and spend money although he knows that he is not an expert in statistics or a student of sociology. What ought to happen in this case is clear: the man ought to say candidly that he knows nothing about death rates - is 36 high or low or medium? What has been the history of the variation of death rates? How do the death rates of different peoples compare with this? A sensible man ought to ask: What does a death rate of 36 <u>mean</u>; what in the light of the expert statistical knowledge and the careful sociological research of the last quarter century, is the proper interpretation of this figure 36, which otherwise is to me a Sphinx and an enigma.

The civilized and thinking part of the modern world is gradually and surely coming to this position. The first thing people ask of social reformers now in not how earnest are you or how great is the need of reform but rather what do you know about the actual situation and how does the best of expert opinion interpret these facts. Men recognize the fact that such expert opinion may err but they are coming to see that the occasional error of men who give their life to knowing is not as dangerous as the perpetual error of men who guess or dogmatize. The facts and the meaning of the facts are then the first steps in modern social reform.

How now shall the mass of intelligent people who have not time to be experts put themselves in position to use the material collected by sociologists in the practical work of reform? We can best answer this by seeing the work done in reform during this century.

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One of the first movements was the English Abolition of the slave-trade: for this the House of Commons collected a mass of statistics - the number of ships engaged, the amount of capital invested, the methods employed to capture slaves, the routes of sailing, the number transported, the death rate among slaves and sailors, and etc. They soughtthe history of the subject, the general conditions, the opinions of experts statisticians and when they began to legislate on the subject they knew what they were doing and no nation had done so much to stop Negro slavery as these same Englishmen who studied the matter so thoroughly. Again take the matter of prison reform. When the question was first agitated there wasn't a crank in England or America that hadn't an opinion and a panacea - It was do this, do that, make their punishment as severe as that of galley slaves; treat them as unfortunate victims of society; make their work hard, let them lie idle; hang them, give them tracts to read, and etc. Society has outgrown this: gradually here and there we have collected facts - not how someone thinks a plan might work but how the plan actually did work when it was tried; we have studied criminals instead of taking it for granted that we know them, we have watched crime instead of theorizing about it and then with the material we have tried careful experiments - experiments in housing prisoners, experiments in punishment, experiments in work and diet; until today no intelligent man thinks of aimlessly giving advice as to crime - he knows that this is a subject for experts - a subject still dark, with much to be learned, but still a realm where the day of guesswork is past. In the matter of charity, perhaps the greatest advance has been made. The classic examples of this is the history of the English poor law. At first England frowned fiercely on beggery and poverty and whipped and

branded and hanged the poor devils. Then she melted into sentiment and coddled and stuffed her paupers until it seemed as though all England would go to begging. Finally the state bethought itself to askwho are the paupers, what makes pauperism, how can we decrease it and help people to help themselves? For this reason it now uses the statistics, studies social conditions, organizes charitable societies, avoids duplications of work, detects importers and seeks in every way to know the causes of poverty and apply intelligent and scientific remedies. The world is still far from solving the problem but we are much nearer than men were in the 17th and 18th centuries.

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Thus sociological material is today used by all kinds of social reforms: the organizers of childrens societies, and of schools; those who seed to help the deaf and the bling, those who want to get work for the idle; saving banks and building associations are established on carefully ascertained principles, model homes built for tenants - indeed this is the age when lasting and effective reform has become systematic and scientific and has replaced sentiment and theory.

The question now comes:

5th. <u>What Has the First Sociological Society done</u>?

I want to be perfectly frank in this matter and to say plainly that in my opinion this society has done nothing. I know we have organized - we have held meetings. We have had pleasant social gatherings and we have talked. But of actual work accomplished either in the line of knowing just what there is to be done, and just how we are to do it, and what there is to be learned as to method from the sociological work of the day, and above all of actual accomplished work, it seems to me perfectly fair to say that this society has done little more than nothing. Indeed I have several times seriously asked myself whether I was justified in attending those meetings and whether there was a reasonable prospect of an end of aimless talking and a beginning of definite doing. We seem to me in the first place to have no clear idea of what the society is for;

we seem again to have a tendency to fritter away precious time on trifles, we seem to forget when we are discussing ways and means that all this is not mere theory but that definite information of the experience of others in the work and of the general state of scientific knowledge on most of these points is easily obtainable. And finally we seem in the laying out of our definite practical work for committees to have not the faintest shade of an idea of the enormous difficulties and infinite complications of some of the subjects we undertake. To particularies, at the last meeting the subject for discussion was the influence of tenement life on small children - a subject of the deepest importance and of wide influence There is a perfect mass of material on the subject - studies, maps and plans, vital statistics, statistics of dwellings and occupations, measurements of children's bodies, experiments as to mental aptitude, inquiries into home life - indeed I could without difficulty gather right here in Atlanta a hundred volumes of material on the point to be discussed. If a sociological society had been going to discuss that subject what would one reasonably expect the trend of the discussion to be? They would expect first that the general conditions of slums would be wxplained: Bootha maps of London would be exhibited and studies shown of the physical envirionments; the Hull House maps and papers would have been taken next; something would have been said of the slums of New York and Philadelphia. Then the general question of children would be approached- what physical surroundings are necessary and the lack of these would be illustrated by the death rate of children in slums; the moral demands of child life would be touched upon and criminal statistics produced to show how youthful criminals are bred in the slums; finally we would have the evil social effects - lewd talk, illegimate children, prostitution, personal uncleaness, the spread of disease and the like. Those are some very elementary matters connected with the life of children in slums which any consideration of the subject must take up. But beside this the central part of the discussion ought to have been the slums of Atlanta: we

ought to have had the map of several typical alleys showing the size and relation of the houses, the number of rooms, the number dwelling there, and the number and size of children; the general characteristics of the families, the ability of the children in school or at work, the number of deaths in the alley in a year, the kinds of diseases, and a general history of the alley. From one to five such studies might have been made.

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Such is what we might reasonably expect tin the discussion of this subject by a club which calls itself sociological. And yet I doubt if any member of this society went from that discussion with a single new fact or idea. Nobody had studied the subject, nobody knew anything about the matter, noone had any information to impart. About two days before the meeting in the midst of a busy week's work I was informed that I was expected to discuss a subject which experts have been studying 10 to 20 years. And when out of sheer respect for the intelligence of these members I mildly protested that two days was not encugh time for such a subject - the society blandly waved its hand, and said "why you had <u>three</u> days".

I remember last year at the Altanta Conference, the president of this society gave an outline of this organization and a list of its committees. I must confess it made a splendid showing: but there was one fact that the president omitted to mention and that was that very few of those committees had done any work worth mentioning. Nor was this the fault of the president: he had urged the society again and again to do actual work and the society did attempt to help the Atlanta Conference, but of all the bad reports that came into that conference that of this clubs was the worst. If it had not been for the personal work of Dr. Butler and Mr. Matthews the Atlanta Conference would have had to omit Atlanta from the cities investigated. I said to myself, however, this society is young yet - next fall the work will begin. And lo! at the first meeting I attended the club was adopting a new constitution. I must say I was somewhat disgusted - what do we want I thought of a New Constitution when we have done nothing

under the old one. A constitution is not worth the paper it is written on unless it is backed by deeds and give the deeds and I care not whether we have a constitution or not. One of the objects of the new constitution was said to be the facilitating of the organizing of other sociological clubs in other cities. I would as soon think of my baby advertising to teach persons to walk - why he can't walk himself.

After the new constitution was adopted the same difficulties appeared as last year in the apportioning of work to committees. One afternoon last year we casually discussed the matter of crime. In a moment the discussion sped - we swept through the calendar of crimes in 15 minutes and attacked the subject of criminals; pausing there a moment we sailed gaily to the matter of punishment, then to slums and education, then to the conduct of courts, then to color discrimination, then to the situation of the south and to the Negro problems. A library of 10,000 volumes would not have covered the matters we lightly discussed in that afternoon and then as I was opening my eyes in wonder, we suddenly appointed a committee and charged it with the whole matter. Does anyone wonder that we haven't heard from that committee since? It is my candid opinion that if we had appointed a committee of 100 persons and given several thousand dollars to expend they could not possibly have accomplished the work we gave them in less than 300 years.

The trouble is we despise the day of little things - we neglect little movements, small efforts, tentative experiments, and throw ourselves blindly against adamantive walls which have withstood the assaults of philanthropists for centuries. we had a simple program of work laid before us; it was suggested that we make a careful map of the Negro slums of Atlanta and see how they were situated with regard to the various agencies for ggod. This was not theory or experiment - it was simply analogous to a great work now being done in New York City. Yet this society virtually spoiled the plan by appointing an aimless committee to give pastors of var-

ious churches advice as to their mission fields in the city. The chairman of the committee protested at the time that this method of attacking the matter would not do - but no! we must have the committee. And of cours the committee never reported for it had nothing to report. Several times other promising definite proposals for small beginnings have been made but no sooner were they launched then someone proposed something else, another pointed out that this method would not reform everybody and made the sunshine 24 hours in the day and the whole plan became amended and blocked and died a peacefuly death in committees.

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To sum up then: we as a society are not sure what we ought to do; and we have made clumsyand ineffectual attempts to do a mass of things without a knowledge of the facts or of the well-grounded theory of the subject. We add to our membership in a haphazard way, forcing people to join who simply come to visit; we appoint committees and distribute work in a way equally accidental and thoughtless and above all we yield to the temptation to talk and discuss when we have nothing to say.

But enough of criticism. I know it is much easier to find fault then to avoid fault - to pick flaws in work done than to do work. And yet candid criticism has its place - it lies at the root of all reform and after all in this devious world perhaps the wonder is that we stray so little rather than that we err so much.

Let me therefore turn to the last point I wish to consider.

6th. <u>What this Society might and ought to do</u>.

The aim of a society of this kind ought to be to furnish accurate information to such agencies as are engaged in the work of social reform, to endeavor to increase the cooperation between those agencies, and to seek to establish new agencies for reform in neglected and unknown fields of effort. Let me take up these 2 things in order:

First, I say, this society should aim to gather facts and information for its own and others use. I was once pursuing an elaborate piece of investigation in regard to the negroes of a certain city, when I came across

a woman who could if she would give me much valuable matter. She looked at me suspiciously and said,"What's the object of this investigation?" "Simply to get at the truth", I answered. "Do you propose to do anything after you get the facts", said she. "We simply collect the facts", I returned, "Others may use them as they will" Then you are trying only to get facts and not to better things" she said. "Yes", I again answered. "Humph", she replied and I'm still waiting for that information. Now this illustrates well the attitude of many minds toward careful and systematic collection of minute facts. Men are so filled with ideas of reform that they haven't time to study the abuses which they seek to abolish and baldly assume that they know all about them. One of the most baffling things about the Negro problem today is the fact that somany people in this country are absolutely convinced that they thoroughly understand it. Especially is every Negro supposed to be <u>born</u> with a thorough understanding of this intricate problem in all its bearings. And yet a moment's thought will convince us all of our ignorance. How many of us hear really know very much of the history and present conditon of the eight millions of our race in this land? We call the "Negro problem" certain bits of personal experience, joined to some ready and general information and to a good deal of gossip. There is not one of us that does not need to study thououghly and minutely any part of this subject which we propose to work upon. This society should be a center for gathering such information in Atlanta. We ought to begin to study thoroughly,comprehensively,and minutely the situation of the Negroes of this city - we ought to become a bureau of accurate information for all facts connected with the Negro - wealth and poverty, business and labor, crime and pauperism, charity and reform, homes and streets, migration, wages, occupations, marriage and divorce, illegitimacy, education, church organizations, other organizations - every general fact which bears upon the condition of the Negro in this city, past and present ought to be carefully collected and recorded, and now and then published.

43-1-88

We should follow the history of alleys, compile a careful list of the worthy, study minutely the abode and history of the criminals, keep an eye upon orphans and homeless waifs - in fact, no fact or condition should escape the eye and pen of a society whose chief desire it is to know the social problems they seek to solve.

43-1-89

For this work we should have committees, and every member of the organization be a member of some committee. Each committee should work under a chairman and the chairman could if he saw fit appoint sub-committees. At every meeting it should be the work of each committee to report some carefully ascertained facts to this committee and to report in writing not orally. The facts may be small or unimportant, they may be a study of a whole district, they may be historic data, illustrative incidents, but always accurate, always reliable and always designed to teach us more of the actual situation of the people and guide our feet in matters of reform.

These committees should be standing committees and no other committee ought to be appointed during the year, save in very exceptional cases. The committees should be appointed on such subjects as Poverty, Crime, Health, Homes, Churches, Education, Occupations, the defective classes, Wealth, Reading, and etc. - That is, simple comprehensive fields where much may be learned.

Second, we should endeavor to increase cooperation among the various agencies for social betterment among the Negroes of Atlanta: these agencies are the churches, the schools, the secred and insurance societies, and the benevolent efforts of various kinds. Our object here should be not to meddle, not to interfere in the work of others, but by spreading information and pointing out fields of action we shoud seek to reduce the duplication of benevolent work to a minimum and get the widest good fellowship and cooperation possible. Mother's meeting, lectures, circulating libraries, savings associations and general reform work could in this way be spread by sheer contagion through the various church constituencies and communities. This society should stand ready to send to every single church in Atlanta

two, three times a year competent persons to explain to the members some elementary matter of reform - ventilation, the use of water, sewing schools, hygienic cooking, reading, saving, and etc. In this way effort could be stimulated in existing agencies toward betterment of present conditions.

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For this purpose there should be an executive committee under the chairmanship of the president which should arrange meetings and conferences, and tell us what other movements are doing and seek to build gradually a central board which would federate all the benevolent efforts of the city among Negroes and cooperate with similar efforts among whites.

Thirdly the society should endeavor to find out and explore fields of re reformatory effort neglected by other agencies, or forgotten or unknown. And should seek here to inaugurate new movements for betterment. In this work however great care must be exercised. Our committees stand for ears open to all sounds from everywhere and letting no whisper escape. But our efforts at actual reform must not be thus dispersed. we cannot reform the whole world at once. we must concentrate our efforts: one thing at a time and that a small thing; careful tentative effort, feeling our way slowly, making no failures and takin no backward steps and above all remembering that permanent reform is slow work and that 10 years in such work is a mere bagatelle. one thing at a time then and let that one thing take our whole strength. we mingt for instance do this: each of us here might contribut to the committee onSchools a book suitable for children to read. We each might get a few friends to give similar books. Then this modest little library of say 25 or 30 volumes properly labelled and cased might be place in one of the public schools to circulate fr a month. Then in another school for a month, then in another. Next year we might collect another small library - in 10 years we might thus place in every school house in the city a circulating library and begin to send some to the country schools - simple work, nothing great, no wholesale manufacture of saints, nothing to wave our hands about or yell, but <u>Work</u>, <u>Reform</u> and <u>Advance</u> such as in the past has built nations and

and empires. When this enterprise was well started and in charge of the proper committee - or possibly given over to some special organization, we could begin another and larger effort - but slowly, carefully. we could start a movement toward a penny savings bank. Not a money making institution, but a benevolent enterprise to encourage thrift run on business principles. We could select in the city three or four Negroes whose reputation for honesty and profity was unquestioned. If possible we would ask three or four interested white men to act with them and form the directory board of a Negro Penny Savings bank. Each church could be induced to hold meetings and hear talks on thrift and little things. The various schools - Spelman, Atlanta Baptist, Clark, Morris Brown and others could preach a crusade of saving at chapel exercises. At several of the larger colored stores, a small stand, a tin box, and a padlock could be placed and a member of the committee on saving could be placed there from 8 to 10 P.M. on Wednesday and Saturday night. Bankbooks with stamped receipts could be given out. The enterprise would flourish for a while then it would die down, but we would not die down - more lectures, more talks, tracts, and posters, a notice in the Constitution and habits of saving would begin to grow and we would gradually know where to place our branches - how to encourage people. In five years we might have $200 or $300 in deposits; in 10 years $2-3000. In 15 years we might hire modest quarters, use our money for a building association or surrender the whole work to a special society. Nothing great in such a movement - nothing to take ones breath away - it has been done a hundred times in other cities among other people and in a few cases among Negroes - but this true rising - which does not necessarily call for a constitution on paper but it calls for a certain mental and moral constitution in us which is too often lacking.

I might easily go on naming a hundred different methods of work distributy tracts, offering prizes in the schools and churches, a comprehensive system of neighborhood visiting, careful organized and persistently

conducted series of mothers meetings and fireside schools, temporary care of waifs and foundlings, shelters for friendless girls, a social settlement house in the slums, - all these and many more - not all at once, not all in a year, but slowly, gradually, doggedly - such work lies before.

Finally as to our meetings we must stop throwing away time in endless, senseless and aimless talk. Weare here for business. First we want information on local conditions from the chairmen of committees and chairmen haveing nothing to report ought to be made to feel thoroughly ashamed for their neglect and carelessness. The reports should be brief, definite, and contain actual data. we do not want essays on what ought to be done but what your committee actually has done and when it did it and how it did it and what the result was. We do not want vague general statement but definite, brief, concise records of date, place and deeds. After these reports and a short discussion of the meaning of these facts then we should turn to the work of the meeting: somebody who has studied something and knows about it and has his knowledge in a shape to impart clearly and somewhat more briefly than I am doing, should then take the floor and teach us something, either in sociological theory, or in efforts of other lands or cities, or in local conditions. We do not want general essays, or schoolboy papers - but facts and information and carefully weighed opinion. Then we can go knowing more than when we came and better prepared for work. If noone has such a paper prepared, then let us take one of the dozens of excellent works on social questions and reading it, passing it from hand to hand and discussing it. Or let us adopt a textbook and study the subject we profess to know something of.

If in a half-century we thus increase our knowledge of social conditions and start a few movements to better abuses then this club will deserve well of the nation.

Fellow-workers, the Negro problem is in this room - between these four walls and it is the question as to whether the best ~~club~~ class of intelligent

Negroes can so cooperate in unselfish effort as to better in some degree the condition of the Negroe masses. Among the masses we have problems but not Negro problems - there are problems of crime, of poverty, of sexual lewdness, of ill-health, of heredity. The Negro problem is the question whether those who have raised themselves above this dead level of degradation can do as other nations have done - cooperate, investigate, sacrifice, and lift as they climb.

43-1-93

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The Problem of Negro Crime.

Once upon a time I sailed along a mighty river. Green and fertile fields stretched away on either side, heavy with harvest and dotted with city, hamlet and town. Little boats glided past us hurrying to the great seas and as the morning mists lifted dark hills gathered and grew upon the horizon. The sullen waters beneath our keels murmured amid the rocks and then the great stern mountains rose and floated beside. As we slipped by one scarred peak, some one cried aloud and we all ran to the side and saw where high on its rocky top stood a lone half-ruined tower buried in ivy and tottering with age and we had scarce done gazing at it and picturing its thousand years of life when lo! on another peak arose a black castle wall moldy and old. And all that summer's day we sailed by ruined castles and fallen towers and the grim memories of portalment (?) and battlement that cluster round the Rhine. And as we looked there were those among us that whispered the tales that lay woven round each staring ruin: of war and pillage, murder and the red-waste of a blood-delighting age. It seemed all to strange to us to hear of robber baron and red handed tyrants here in the center of Europe in the shadow of the vast cathedral of Cologne whose twin towers rose before us like the mighty figures of God pointing upward. How swiftly time has run from the day when men fortified themselves against their neighbors and robbery was the past time of the well born. So it is that the carelessness of one age becomes the crime of the next and human civilization is written no more surely than is the record of human crime.

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For what were these ruined walls but the picture of an age when robbery was legal - when the government had no hand to stretch out and say to the hand strong barons who swarmed in South Germany, Thou shalt and Thou shalt not. When the public opinion of the age upheld murder and assault and vislence and when personal safety demanded massive walls and stalwart defenders. Looking back today 500 years to the Middle Age, we can no more truly trace progress than by noting how different today our own conceptions of crime and wrong and unlawfulness is from what it was in the 14th century. Our conceptions of right and propriety have been enlarged, our laws have widely extended their sphere and the catalog of those human actions which we call crimes has been enormously lengthened. And so strange to say as we look on the ruined castles on the Rhine and compare life in their day and ours, we measure our progress by the increase of crime - the larger number of actions we call criminal and the narrow sphere of that individual action which escapes public censure.

It is therefore with this thought in mind that I have chosen my subject ~~tonight.~~ there is no more significant measure of civilization that the character and extent of its crime. And I have chosen to ~~speak~~ write to you on the prevalence of crime among us, believing that if we would measure our past progress by the severest criterion our attitude toward law and order would be by far the truest basis of judgment.

I want then to inquire what crime means - what its true significance is as a social phenomenon, and as an indication of human culture; next I want

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to see how in the history of society men have sought to deal with crime and criminals in order both to punish and prevent. Then with the general knowledge, I want to ask specifically how much crime there is among us as a people, why it exists and what we as Negroes can do to prevent its growth and decrease its present proportions.

Many years ago a ship sailed from Savannah eastward and southward over the seas. Past Cuba it sailed, and past the great discolored mouth of the Amazon, across the line and under the southern cross. But as it rounded the Horn storms came and angry winds. Three days the ship tossed on the mighty waters and then with a cry plunged into the sea and only ten men lived to crawl, wet and weary upon one little rocky island in the South Pacific. There they were and there for perhaps months and even years they must stay; and in order to provide themselves with food, to protect themselves against the weather and keep on a steady watch for rescurers, there must be careful work and cooperation among them. The one of their number who carelessly let the fire go out was set upon by all and beaten to death ~~Why~~ Why? Because to lose fire meant death to all - it was a crime which threatened the very existence of the community. On the other hand gambling and fighting even when once it ended in murder - went unpunished, because that said the six survivors was a private affair. Thus in this miniature government there rose a system of laws, a list of crimes and a series of punishmen Why did the need laws? for self- protection. Why did they presume to call any action of their fellows a crime? Because it endangered the lives

of others. What ever these men firmly thought was necessary to their safet , was the law; and whatever infringed that law was a crime; and they punished such crimes so as to prevent their reoccurrence and insure the safety of all. This perhaps isa far-fetched illustration, but it is simple and shows what crime means to any community.

It means some action which an overwhelming public opinion in that comunity regards as dangerous to the existence wrosperity and comfort of all. If the community is simple and primitive these proscribed actions- these crimes, will be few: the taking of human life, the stealing of property and the abduction of women would gradually become the chief subjects of legislation. One can study the laws of such communities back in the third and fourth centuries when the barbarians who had descended upon Rome formed small groups governed by their own laws and customs. The tribes in Africa today have such simple criminal codes.

What effect now does advancement in civilization have on such criminal laws? Manifestly it multiplies them and makes them more specific. This is but another way of saying that the community comes to recognize that many other things beside murder, theft and adultery are dangerous to its best interests. Its view of life becomes larger and broader. It is no longer a question of life and victuals - but of personal comfort, the satisfying of growing wants, the guest of the good, the beautiful and the true. And so gradually all actions which hinder the objects of life, which bring general discomfort which hinder the satisfaction of wants which keep the community from the higher life are proscribed and frowned upon. Where public

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opinion is strong and well-nigh unanimous, many of these actions are proscribed as crimes; in other cases public opinion is divided and yet there is a strong feeling against certain actions. In still other cases while many recognize the hurtfullness of certain acts there is no active effort to stop them. They are merely called wrong. Thus you may see that as any community advances as its conception of life grows, its calendar of crime becomes longer and its attitide toward the distinctly anti-social acts - to wail deeds that increase the difficulty and discomfort and narrowness ou life among men, is more unbending and threatening and it seeks by every means in its power to reduce such crimes to a minimum.

This brings me to the next question namely, how have these communities punished the action which they denominated crimes? This is a most interesting line of inquiry and leads us back to making strange customs and ceremonies. Perhaps the earliest form of punishment for the person who dared transgress the law was to allow the injured party to wreak vengeance on the offend If one man killed another, the victim's son or brother had the right to kill the murderer on sight; and so in other cases of personal injury, the injureh man was as it were appointed to execute on the victim the popular vengeance. This was the origin of the blood feud - of that code of personal vengeance which has come down to our day in southern Italy and in the mountains of Kentucky. As communities became wiser, however, many objections arose to the blood feud as a cure for crime. First there were crimes which while they injured nobody in particular yet injured the whole community together. If public property was destroyed, if a man proved a traitor

in battle, the injury was patent to all and yet there was no natural avenger. Such cases therefore came to be punished by the official haed of the community the chief of the tribe, the Earl of the county, administered the punishment of the group. Even now as the group became more developed another difficulty was magnified, namely, that of ascertaining the guilt of the accused parties before punishing him. The rough rude vilagers of early times were not nice in these matters and let a general belief in the accused one's guilt pass for proof of it. The surest sign of advancing culture in such communities was a tendency to question such quick and dangerous conclusions and to secure by deliberation and ceremony some tangible proof of guilt. These early trails took curious forms. The earliest ones sought to discover guilt by witch craft and invoking the direct aid of God. Such methods are in vogue in many barbarous countries today. Some one is susected of a crime. The tribe is assembled and the priest enters the ring. His incantations begin with rythmic dance, a waving of hands, wild cries, quicker and quicker, wilder and wilder until the whole crowd is frenzied and suddenly in the midst of the orgy, the long lean finger of the priest points out the man whom he pronounces guilty of the crime. And so firm is the general faith in the priest that nothing can save the accused. Of course natural acuteness and insight enables the priest in many, perhaps the majority of cases, to find the guilty person. Soon however such methods degenerate into imagined crime, persecutions for witch craft and the like, until again the advancing community seeks new methods of determining guilt and punishment

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The direct appeal to God or the Ordeal was a method of trial in vogue in the Middle Age. In this form the accused person appeared before the assembled members of the community and was required to go through some public test to prove his innocence - to walk over hot plough shares, to plunge his arm in boiling water or some similar test. If he were uninjured he was innocent, if not guilty. Then too there was the trial by combat so suited to a war-like age. You have perhaps heard the beautiful story of the trial by combat which Wagner tells in his opera Lohengrin. The maiden Elsa has been falsely accused by her cousin Telramund of making way with her little brother, heir to her dead father's earldom. King Henry of Brabant seats himself under the great oak of Justice and Telramund confronts him. He accuses the maiden and cries " Here I stand, here is my sword and here before God will I make good my accusation." The king turns to Elsa, who bows trembling before him. ~~The~~ "Trial by Combat" cry the assembled warriors. And the king says, "Who shall be your champion to prove your innocence against Telramund by his sword?" And the maiden stretches her arms to the sky and calls for the shining knight of whom she has dreamed, to come and defend her. The heralds step forward and sound a blast upon the trumpets; but no one answe answers. Again the trumpets ring, Elsa peers anxiously into the distance but no one comes. A third time the blast sounds over the plain. Telramund smiles, when Lo! the music of the ~~swan~~ Swan is heard and away up the winding river comes a knight in shining armor to do battle for the maiden Elsa against the false Telramund. Fiercely they battle before the king until the shining knight heaves one mighty blow with his great sword and Telramund lies prostra

before him. Lohengrin had won the trial by combat and Elsa was declared innocent.

Such tales illustrate the curious custom that for many years made men prove their innocence by fighting. This custom is the fore-parent of the modern duel and street-brawl, and soon fell into disuse when men bethought themselves that the biggest rascal might also have the strongest arm and that innocence and weakness often go hand in hand. But all the time along with the Ordeal and trial by combat went more or less of an official examination before the assembled people when the accuser faced the accused and the accused had an opportunity to defend himself.

It was this feature of the trial that gradually grew and expanded with the greater wisdom and culture of the tribe until it entirely superceded in importance the more superstitious forms and ceremonies and became the real trial. Thus in the old shires of England in the 7th and 8th centuries, every year the town meeting of grown males came together and tried cases and determined the division of the land and the like. So too representatives of the towns met together in the counties annually and tried the more important criminal cases deciding the guilt of the accused by vote. Soon however difficulties arose. First, such a court could sit but one a year and secondly while the mass of people could decide as to the facts of the case they knew little of the law of the tribe especially as this grew more and more complicated. From these causes grew the custom of having as the presiding officer of the folk court a man learned in the law who decied as to what laws applied

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to the case; and secondly in selecting 12 or more men to meet oftener than once a year and decide upon the facts of the case. Thus we are brought to our modern form of criminal tribunal - judge and Jury.

What now was the object of trial whether by orgy, ordeal, combat or jury? Manifestly it was to stop those actions which the community deemed dangerous to its securit and happiness. Now the first step towards this was to detect b the most certain means who was guilt of the crimes. And we have seen how through a course of long years the machinery for this was evolved. the next task was to prevent a repetition of the act and the universal means resorted to for hundreds of years and still used for punishment. In the earliest times it was simple and strict compensatory punishment - an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth and a life for a life. This struck the primitive mind as exact justice and as the ideal prevention of further crime. And in their small group life, where all were near equality in wealth and strength and personal rights, this system might be admirable. But soon it became apparent that natural inequalities rendered the strict carrying out of this rule impossible - the eye of the weak camp follower was not an equivalent for the eye of the valiant warrior; the life of a half grown boy would not compensate for the life of a father of a family;one ox from the poor man meant ten times as much as one ox from the rich man. So the idea of Justice was modified and men sought to inflict on the criminal not the same but equivalent punishment and if possible to make him suffer every pang the victim had suffered. For many centuries even down to our day this conception

of the function of the government in dealing with crime has persisted. To this was early superadded the further idea of penalty - i.e. to increase the pangs of the perpetrator beyond those of his victim in order to deter him from such deeds and to over-awe others like him in the community. Thus death was a common punishment and many a code like Draco's was written in blood. Then torture was added - burning alive, dismembering the living victims, breaking his bones on the racks, blinding and torturing with hot irons - and such gross and horrible devices. These werefollowed by more refined and fearful tortures of the mind, the dungeon and solitary confinement, the single drop of water forever dripping on the head, the torture of kinsman and loved ones before the helpless victim - all these things the world has tried in order that the spectreof crime should become so sickening and terrible that few men would dare transgress the law.

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And still, strange to say crime did not decrease- nay, rather there arose that curious child of modern civilization the criminal class; the social class which preyed upon the mass of community and persistently perpetrated those acts which struck at the very foundation of stable government. It was not until the 18th century that the urightful paradox of this state of affairs seemed to strike the civilized world.

What is it, people asked, that causes crime and what can prevent it? As early as 1730 the English parliament began to enquire into prison life. In 1773 the great John Howard began his work. We think our convict lease system disgraceful and without doubt it is, but it is far better than the prisons of England a century ago. They were described by Howard as " a

disgrace to humanity: they were for the most part poisonous, pestiferous dens, densely overcrowded, dark , foully dirty, not only ill-ventilated but deprived alto gether of fresh air. The wretched inmates were thrown into subterranean dungeons, into wet and noisome caverns and hideous holes to rot and fester, a prey to fell disease bred and propagated in the prison house, and deprived of the commonest necessaries of life. For food they were dependent upon the daprice of their jailors or the charity of the benevolent; water was denied them except in scantiest proportions; they were half-naked or in rags; their only bedding was putrid straw reeking with exhalations and and accumulated filth. Every one in durance whether tried or untried was heavily ironed: women did not escape the infliction . All alike were subject to the rapacity of their jailor. and the extortions of their fellows . DDrunkenness was universal and quite unchecked, gambling of all kind was practiced; vice and obscenity were everywhere in the ascendant. Idleness, drunkenness, vicious intercourse, sickness, starvation, squalor, cruelty, chains, awful oppression, and everywhere culpable neglect - in these may be summed up the state of the jails of England when John Howard began his philnathropic work in 1773. Most of these prisoners moreover were not yet condemned but were merely awaiting trial. The punishment most usual when trial did come was death - death for murder, death for picking pockets, death for stealing sheep, death for forging a five dollar note; or perhaps in lieu of death transportation across the seas for life. It was thus that the mass of poor whites in Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia first came to

America. They were accused and covicted criminals torn from home and transported to America and their labor sold for a term of years. They were indeed att first nothing but slaves in Virginia and Caorlina and differed from the black slaves only thru the length of their service.

Such then was the theory and practice of punishment in one of the foremost countries of the civilized world- death, pain, misery or degradation for every transgressor of the law. Meantime however the world was changing. Men were thinking and asking each other questions - why were some men poor and others rich? Why were some privileged and others without rights? Why dids some always rule and others obey? Who gave kings or any other people the divine right that the great mass of the world should be miserable while a few were lapped in wealth and luxury? Under the very thrones of the magnificent Louis XIV of France and the stubborn Charles I of England, these questioning voices were calling- and after the questioning came strange muttering and then an upheaval and a crash which men called the French Revolution The central episode of the French Revolution which drenched Europe with blood 111 years ago was the attack on the Bastile - the great gloomy prison of Paris And the central thought of the Revolution was not to be sure crime and punishment but it was the more fundamental question as to the rights and destiny of the class of human beings who supply and make the great cirminal class. Thus from the French Revolution we date that wonderful change in the attitude of the civilized world toward great social problems. The 19th century asks not what shall we do with paupers - but what causes poverty? Not what

shall we do with the weak members of society - but what is the cause of their weakness? Not how shall we punish criminals, but what is the cause of crime? This distinction is so fundamental - so characteristic of this century and the century that is so near us that we must be sure we understand it. To the mediaeval mind the Thief was the object of the law; men looked on the cowering culprit and asked 1st, How can we make him repare the wrong he has done? 2nd, How can we make him suffer for his crime? 3rd, How can we keep him from repeating tie act? Thus the uppermost thought in men's minds with regard to crime and criminals was reparation, suffering, and fear. They forgot in this a far more fundamental query- Why is this man a thief or how can we make him and others like him, honest men? The 17th and 18th centuries sought to punish criminals - the 19th and 20th centuries seek to prevent crime. The Middle Ages having the one idea of Punishment before it sought to make that punishment as harsh and terrible as possible and met in spite of this failed to stop crime. The Modern Age having before it the idea of preventing crime and reforming criminals uses punishment simply as a means to an end and not as the end itself.

The first prevention of crime which the modern Age has insisted upon is the most careful methods possible of making the guilt of the accused persons clear and unmistakable. There are two formidable mistakes which courts of justice may make.; the one is to punish an innocent person, the other is to let the guilty escape. But of the two manifestly the most enormous is the first. The principal of ENglish common law is - Better ten guilty men escape than one innocent man should be punished. And the reason for

this is eas to see: the punishment of one innocent man means smmpathy with him, and inevitably, sympathy with crime. The slightest tendency in a community toward sympathy with crime is a tendency toward acquiescience in acts which will ultimately destroy or debauch that community. Rather, then let 10 guilty men go than gain for crime the sympathy which men have for an innocent victim of Justice. On the other hand if criminals begin to feel that they can commit crime and escape the penalty, crime will immediately and quickly increase. For these reasons we have built up in modern lands elaborate systems of police and detective assistance, courts, judges and lawyers, elaborate proceedings and costly paraphernalia; all for the sake of securing exact justice, punishing no innocent persons, letting few guilty ones escape and above all of preventing the spread and increase of crime either through sympathy or immunity. Vast sums of money are thus spent on our courts and when we complain of this, and rail at the delays of Justice remember the object is not simply to punish this forger or yonder thief or the other murderer, it is to prevent crime and exact justice even though tedious and difficult and costly is the best preventive of crime.

The second preventive of crime is punishment. But the modern idea of punishment is not retributive Justice or the infliction of pain - it is simply the prevention of crime. If it is found that the only method of deterring men from taking human life is the fear of losing their own lives in turn, then the lives of murderers must be taken by the state- quietly, solemnly and in private, with a due sense of the awfulness of depriving a

human being of life even though that being be a criminal. So too if a man persists in using his liberty so as to injure his fellows, his liberty must be taken away from him; and so through the catalog of crime the modern watch word is prevention and not retributory justice. Why? Because men have come to see the meaning of the great command- Judge not that ye be not judged. Yonder boy born in poverty and filth begotten in shame and trained in crime - who shall judge the depth of his guilt when he brains your father on the dark street to steal his purse - not you or I - only the judge of the world. And yet we can not sit idly by and permit highway robbery - no we can put this young out cast under watch and ward and say to him kindly but firmly -"Liberty is not for such as you". But can we stop here? No! The question still remains What is the real cause of such crimes? Who manufactures such criminals? At first the world looked to the criminal himself to answer these questions and in the English prison act of 1779 was the first result of these queries. This act established what we know as the penitentiaries. Few of us connect today penitence and the penitentiary and yet the penetentiary was designed to be a house of penitence. The idea of the Penetentiary as enunciated by its authors Blackstone and Howard is this: "By sobriety, cleanliness, and medical assistance, by a regular series of labor by solitary confinement during the intervals of work and by due religious instruction, to preserve and amend the health of the unhappy offenders, to insure them to habits of industry, to guard them from pernicious company, to

accustom them to serious reflection and to teach them both the principles and practice of every Christian and moral duty." In other words the basic idea of the penitentiary was to give the criminal the best possible chance to reform. Another step however was soon found necessary.

Manifestly criminals are not all alike as some people seem hastily to assume. Some are old hardened rascals who never will reform; some are young boys whose crime is rather ignorance and mischief than depravity; some are are women whom temptation and adversity have overcome, some have scarcely known what decent life is - others have made one misstep after a life of probity. Manifestly such men need differing treatments and the second step of modern criminal philanthropy looked toward a careful separation of the criminals- men from women, hardened thugs from first offenders, and especially children from grown persons. For children, homes and reformatories are gradually being provided, with the idea that here we are dealing with unformed characters who by means of education industry, and discipline may develope into normal and useful men and women. For first offenders reformatories are provsded in some instances and lighter sentences to encourage good behavior and appeal to the dominant Better Self.

Nor does the modern civilized world stop here. It still asks, How did these men come to be criminals at first? And Is it not cheaper and better to prevent men from becoming criminals than to try and lift them after they fall. So them turn their faces from the actual criminals to their surroundings to the classes whence they spring. And here first they notice

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that the great criminal class is recruited from young men between 18 and 30. How much then depends on the proper training of boys and girls that they mam properly pass through the ages of tem tation. his was one of the strongest arguments for the modern s stem of free schools. And finaley in the present decade the true meaning and wvast im ortance of home training as a preventive of crime is just being appreciated and movements toward saving the Home, pr tecting and making it the nursery of good citizenshi are seen to be fundamental in decreasing crime.

I have thus, ~~gentlemen and ladies,~~ by a long and perhaps tedious explanation sought to make clear to you what crime really is and what attitude the best thought and striving of the age takes toward it. I have done this in order that I may the more readily and clearly discuss the prevalence of crime among us, and its remedy. For often the simplest terms used in arguments and explanations are the very ones needing themselves elucidation and illustration. And so I have sought thus far to show you.

1st. That crime is a very important phenomenon in human advancement.

2nd. That those actions are branded as criminal whcih the community thoroughly believes are dangerous to its existence and comfort.

3rd. That for this reason crime must at all hazards be prevented.

4. The earlier methods of preventing crime were almost exclusively by means of revengeful punishment.

5. The modern method is to ascertain the cause of crime and if possible remove it; to try if possible to reform the criminal, and finally to use punishment merely as a means to the great end of preventing crime.

and finally the great means of reducing crime now in vogue are Penitentiaries, for criminals, reformatories for children and first offenders, universal free education for the masses, and the strengthening of home life throughout the nation.

I now turn to the final part of my task and ask "how much crime actually exists among American Negroes, what is its cause and how can it be prevented.

In 1890 over a quarter of all the prisoners in the U.S. were Negroes - that is 1/8 of the population furnish 1/4 of the prisoners.

Now there is of course no shadow of doubt that a considerable proportion of these prisoner were in jail because they were black and not because they were prisoners; that many others were there for longer sentences than they would have received had they been white. All this is true. Nevertheless it is also true, that the American Negro is producing far more than his reasonable proportion of the crime of the land.

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No sooner do I make this statement than someone says O yes! that is all very well - but is the number of prisoners a measure of the crime? Is not a Negro much more quickly convicted and sentenced to a longer term for the same offence than a white man? Suppose then to avoid this complication we leave the South ~~where~~ where the settlement of this great social and economic question of the rise of the freedman complicaties every other question and ask what is the case in the North where no charge of discrimination in the courts has been made?

If we take the Northern states, we find that there were 12 white prisoners to every 10,000 of the white population and 69 Negroes to every 10,000 of the Negro population. In the state of New York the Negroes contribute 5 times as many criminals in proportion to their numbers as the whites. Or to take one community, a city which has the largest Negro population of any northern city and stands in its absolute Negro population 4th among the cities of the United States- namely, Philadelphia. In Philadelphia 4% of

the population are negroes yet these Negroes furnish 8% of the arrests. Again between 1890 and 1895 of the 1,500 dangerous criminals sent to the Eastern Penitentiary from Philadelphia over a fifth were Negroes, yet Negroes form but 1/25 of the population. In other words, my hearers, there is no reasonable doubt but what the Negroes of the U.S. produce annually any where from 2 to 4 times as many criminals as their white neighbors. Compared with European countires, Northern Negroes furnish three ti es as any criminals . proportionately as England or France and considerably more than Ireland.

If we analyze these crimes we find that the great mass of the misdemeanors charged against Negroes are for stealing and fighting and that from these grow the more serious burglaries assaults, and murders. Moreover the perpetrators of these crimes are young- younger indeed than among the whites by an average of 3 or 4 years, bringing the dangerous criminal age among us down to the years between 18 and 25. I dwell on these facts, my hearers, because I want you fully to realize thier significance. I know the excuses, the justifications that crowd into our heads when we read these figures - but never mmind these; let us for the moment flatly face the fact that every year the army of half grown boys and girls who live the streets of Philadelphia, of Atlanta, of Savannah, of New York - your children, your brothers and sisters are sending their recruits to that army of 25,000 black prisoners who steal from their fellow men, fight and brawl upon the streets and rob and murder in the night. And the question and buring question we have to answer is ~~How can the state be saved from degradation~~ How can They be save from degradation, how can the state be saved the danger of these criminal deeds, and how,

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can the Negro people be saved the odium thrown upon them by this great and growing criminal class!

We have already learned in our review of the attitude of men toward crime that the first question the modern world asks of the transgressor is What caused the deed? And we seek not the temporary evanescent causes but the deep lying social forces that working eternally and ceaselessly below the shifting panorama of the day, determine and guide the movement of the age. What is it then today we ask that causes Negro crime? 100 years from toda the answer to this question will be simple and direct - and so it is today to those who see clearly through the blood and dust of social strife. Negro crime is the result of Negro Emancipation; whenever there occurs a social revolution crime follows as night follows the day. And the emancipation of slaves is the greatest of human revolutions. For what indeed do we mean by "social revolution"? It means the change of old customs and laws, the overthrow of old ideals, the raising of new goals of effort, the sweeping away of former means of livelihood, the rise of new problems of living, of family life, of wages, of income and expence; the building of new land marks, the forming of new ideals of culture, the adjustment of the new to the old, and the struggling and writing, and human joy and sorrow which follows every change of human interest and every pulse of human ~~fat~~ fate. Such a social revolution was the emancipation of the American Negro. To the whites it meant the overthrow of an industrial nystem, the sweeping away of accumulated wealth, the anger and despair that ever accompanies new

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social institutions and the bitter disappointment born at the bier of the Lost Cause. But this social upheaval did not stop there - it was even greater and more significant for the slave than for the master. He was in a moment raised from dependence to responsibility, from being cared for to caring for himself; from ignorance and forced task work to grappling with all the intricate problems of modern life - bread and butter, clothes, the home, the rearing of children, the saving of money, the plowing a new way amid a hurrying crowding world full of selfishness, greed and wrong. Not only this but problems of government and education and economic policy were thrust upon him before he could read his ballot, or knew what education meant or had any just conception of free labor.

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The result of this social upheaval was to bewilder and excite the freedman's son was far more dangerous and sinister He had behind him no restraining force of custom and reverence for surrounding social institutions; he had little or no education, poor or vicious home- traniing, and his hot youthful blood met at every turn a hostile rasping environment. The result was crime - it was bound to be crime, for what crime means is the fatal persistent lack of harmony between men and the world of work, thought and custom which surrounds them. Thus crime among Negro boys and girls comes from the difficulty of adjusting themselves to the requirements of the new social position of their race - the requirement of steady hand toil, of careful saving, of temperate spending, of pure family life, of careful rearing of children of submission to many sorts of petty insult and discrimination, of dogged

faithfulness and determination to learn - all these things the present surroundings demand as absolutely prerequisite to the Negro's success and inability to adjust one's self to these conditions means failure; and open rebellion against them leads inevitably to violence and crime.

Here then is the situation plain and clear before us. The Negro is responsible for nearly twice as much crime as his numbers warrant. The cause of this is the difficult environment which emancipation from slavery has thrown about the freedmen's ill-trained sons. The question now comes how are we to prevent this - How are we to train the Negro race so that in spite of the hard economic struggle before it, in spite of the distrust of its friends and jeers of its foes, it walk steadily and doggedly along the true path of progress avoiding on the one hand the slough of hopeless despondency and on the other the suicide of crime.

We have seen how large a place punishment has held in the annals of human crime. And we are therefore prepared to find that in a community like the south which has but newly begun to grapple with its great social problems the idea of revengeful punishment especially of Negro crime should have a large place. Moreover the lawlessness and disorder which always follows social changes has taken strong hold of the whites and this but complicates the situation of adding mob-violence to the methods of criminal punishment. I doubt if the best thought of the south fully realizes the deepest harm this rule of the mob perpetrates - namely the spreading of sympathy with crime among the masses of the Negroes. The most serious phase of the problem of

Negro crime is the fact that Negroes themselves do not realize its prevalence. So firmly has mob rule planted the conviction in their minds that accused Negroes are martyrs and not criminals. that it is well nigh impossible for those who see and fear the real dangers of spreading crime among us to impress the average Negro with the dangers of the situation. I have repeatedly in private and public talk sought to impress the fact that Negro crime is growing dangerously frequent, only to have my warnings answered by the dogmatic declaration " Not half the Negroes convicted are guilty". I believe that ~~Very well~~ & be the case in many sections ~~then~~, I answer; granted that the reports of Negro crime are just twice too large - even then the problem is vast and appalling and calls for earnest and effective action." Thus it is that mob violence and discrimination in the courst instead of stopping Negro crime are directly increasing it by giving the sympathy aid and comfort of honest law-abiding masses.

But beyond being careful not to be misled even by the wrongs inflicted upon us, you and I have little to do with the question as to how Negro crime should be punished. This is today the problem which the whites must face and we can only point out to them, as opportunity offers, the fact that revengeful punishment and torture has never succeeded in the world's history in stopping crime and suppressing criminals; that the one object which the state has in mind in dealing with crime is its prevention and that if crime has increased in the South plain common sense would point to lynching and the convict-lease system as one of its main causes.

But we have already learned that punishment is but one means of pre-

venting crime and if the means of punishing crime is still far beyond our control there are other means of preventhon and far more effective means which may be used. And the chief aim and end of this power is to insist upon and emphasize these means of stopping crime which lie in our own hands - which are neglected at our peril and lie waiting our future action because of our past carelessness. And the first means is The Home. Unless the homes of the Negro people are reformed, purified, and made places for the proper training of children this race can never hope to survive in its present struggle with modern culture. It is not enough to have food and fire and furniture, it is not enough to have clothes and money and fun; you must have order and cleanliness and discipline; you must insist on obedience and reverence, on regularity and punctuality, and truthfulness and honesty, you must make the welfare of our boys and girls an object of thought and planning you must know their disposition and correct their faults not by clubs and yells but by patient persistent firmness, by kind unbending love. You must not expect boys and girls to grow up, sprout and blossom with less daily care and attention than you give to your cabbages or your house plants. Eternal vigilence, unceasing watchfulness, unerring judgment must continually stand guard at the gates of the home, if carelessness, lewdness and crime are to be kept away. If your home is dirty and ugly and unpleasant, it will send dirty, ugly and hateful children into the world; if your home is gay and careless and wasteful it will add to the spendthrifts and idlers on our streets Pleasant, attractive and well-managed homes are the great light houses

which will guide our children past the rocks of the harbor of freedom and culture and truth. And such houses - naturally, but none the less unfortunately are too rare among us. Throughout the land our worse homes are poverty - stricken, dirty and immoral, and too many of our best ~~houses~~ Homes are nests of extravagance, ~~and snobbishness~~ and lack of discipline. To your ~~houses~~ Homes O Israel, if you will conquer the foe.

The second great preventive of crime is education. Some of the old enthusiasm for education born in war time has melted away, as was natural. But there are unfortunate indications that the rebound will go too far; we find parents careless in keeping their children in school, in compelling them to study hard and regularly, and in supporting the teachers in their efforts to enforce discipline and habits of real study. Much of the valuable time of teachers is taken up in explaining to disappointed parents why some careless young fellow who has whistled away his time for a whole year cannot go on with his class - when half that time spent in making that boy do his work every day would make him not only a scholar but a man. We miss in the present generation of school children evidence of training in thoroughness, regularity, and earnestness. We do not find habits of thought and reading such as must underlie education. And yet what is education but the drawing out of the child of all the ability and character that is in him, the full development of his best self - the broad building of the man and the woman. And how can we do this unless parents cooperate with teachers and the child is disciplined by both. This is the day of cultivated brains

(24-13-23)

do not be misled by other arguments, do not be beguiled into thinking that the 20 th century offers any fair substitute for a brained head and heart - the man today as yesterday who doesn't know anything is bound to fail, be he a judge or a carpenter. Educate your children therefore. I do not say it will make their success certain. Nay I am glad to acknowledge that many a Negro without training has made his mark in life ~~here in Philadelphia and~~ throughout the land; nay, too I freely acknowledge that many educated Negroes and many educated white men have disgraced their training and talents. But this I do maintain and the history of the world proves it - that when to an honest heart and a willing hand is joined a trained and cultivated head then all the world must cry "Behold the Man"!

The third preventive of crime is Work. Plain hard work, continued unceasing work though it be in sweat of brow and weariness of limb - work though it be in agony and pain, Work, though it be in disappointment and poverty - the lesson that you must impress upon your sons and daughters is that life means work. That there is no disgrace on earth equal to the disgrace of idleness. That there is no work so low and menial and despised as not to be infinitely preferred to idleness. I know we want our children to rise in the world; we are unwilling that they should remain in this land the hewers of wood and drawers of water. The ambition is laudable - is just, and yet remember the one thing that will utterly spoil your plans and ruin your hopes is to let your child once learn the lesson of idleness - once get used to loafing about waiting for something to turn up - to sitting in

[FOLLOWING PAGES MISSING]

the parlor pouting and lonnging because the particular kind of work w anted is not at hand. Pu t the children to work: let them plow, sew, cut wood, scrub or wash dishes, anything so they learn what God meant when he said "By the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread".

The fourth preventive of crime is Reform in social customs and the proper training of social classes. Simply because it is a custom for persons to get drunk on New Year's day is no reason why you should put the temptataon of drink in the face of your growing boy. Simply because your neighbor is wealthy or has a fine house is no reason why you should push your daughter to hell by letting her associate with her. Simply because you are afraid of being called "stuck up" or aristocatic is no reason why you should associate with questionable people, let your children run with foul-mouthed playmates or in any way cease to insist that the associates of decent people must themselves be decent. I know how much of injustice arises in the formation of social classes; I know on which flimsy and ridiculous pretexts men are admitted to or excluded from the companionship of others. With such groundless assumptions and social lines I have no patience nor sympathy but believe me my hearers, Social classes must exist as long as good and bad people live in the world and unless the Negro people quickly and unwaveringly draw the line between what is good and bad in their ranks and set their faces like flint against any or all attempts to obliterate or meddle with this line then instead of raising their worst classes up to the best, they will draw the

[INCOMPLETE]

Post-Graduate Work in Sociology in Atlanta University

c 1900

I propose to ~~bring~~ before this association tonight, a simple thesis of three propositions:

1st That outside their school work teachers ought to study

2nd That the present economic & social condition of the Negro is a fit subject of study

& finally that the Negro conference of Atlanta University furnish an opportunity for such study.

The unfortunate thing about any system of education is that it must be more or less artificial — more or less removed from real life and consequently there ever lurks in our modern systems of training the danger that the transition from school to work, from preliminary training to real life shall be so sudden & so great that the subtle delicate connection between the two shall be lost forever and that which should have trained the youth for life may indeed ~~lead~~ him into life more than untrained.

None know better the truth of these statements than you — for I speak tonight to a score of graduates — to those who on one fair morning have seen the Mountains of the Lord — the transfigured world with its halo of hope & aspiration & noble achievement. To you the question comes with deeper meaning than to others — the question: Where now is the Vision Splendid? Where now are the ideals of commencement morning? It is the shadow of the answer to the question that ever throws a certain sadness over graduating exercises; that ever forces us to mingle with the chorus of congratulation & god-speed the sad minor of warning & fear; that places in every graduate's essay vague references to the beginning of work, the entrance into real life, the end of some fair morning.

Here then lies the danger of graduation: for real mornings do not suddenly but gradually change to noonday; real beginnings do not come to sudden issues but lead slowly by each to realization. But in school life the danger of graduation — that on the very threshold of life comes

a sudden — somewhat artificial change ~~of life~~, a turning of the road, which is too apt to bewilder & mislead — so that the graduate of the Normal school & college cannot flounder about blindly for many a year & when he finds himself too often he has lost his youthful vision of life.

When therefore I ask of you as graduates of institutions of learning ~~are~~ where are the ideals & aspirations of your school days, I am really asking of you: How far are you carrying out & ~~realizing~~ fulfilling the preliminary training of youth? How far are you cultivating & developing that careful intellectual ~~training~~ culture the elements of which you received in school What have you done since graduation to make your commencement morning a real commencement of deep broad learning such as the few years ahead in the best of colleges can do little more than briefly initiate, If you have done nothing — if you have allowed your intellectual life & be narrowed down to & the daily treadmill of the school, the kitchen & the sewing fashion; — If those higher broader studies

1/10/57

which once awoke in you dim glimmers
of a vaster world about you, have been allowed
& struggle fade & die, then you have ful-
filled not the promise and the fears of that
commencement morning.

And too many of us — far too many
have fulfilled those fears ~~We~~, have caught in
school a faint revelation of the wonderful uni-
verse that hangs beneath the stars ~~We~~ have
followed spiders road past brave cities & smoky
mills & the seething throngs of men, till it sank
beneath the sea; ~~We~~ have heard the deep &
dark blue ocean roll against the shores
of other lands, stored with song & the deeds of
mighty men ~~We~~ have raised the dead
heros of old & listened to the tale of other
days; ~~We~~ have glanced at the foundations of the world,
have traced it's orbit round the sun; we have
sought & seen not on our souls & called some
echo of the mystery of life — & then suddenly
we have turned our backs upon all the wealth
& rich promise of this vision of life, we &
have settled ourselves for a life ~~That~~ work ~~This is lifeless~~
uncloud study, without thought, without intellectual

breadth or scientific eminently, without books & periodicals, with a simple social programme, of dress & bread & butter — & a life that is lifeless & a culture that is dead.

I have not come to rail at the man or woman who after some glimmer of liberal culture has narrowed his life ~~& thus~~ by it. I know to well the temptation that had led & the necessities that force the many into so hard a life; it is a hard thing & be thoughtful among the thoughtless, & be readers among a race of talkers, & find time for study & culture when it is so hard & earn a decent living. And yet we must; unless the Negro people have a cultured aristocracy whose leaven is deeper than a lot of high-sounding titles & silly degrees, & broader than the ability to make speeches, it cannot survive. The duty of making themselves such an aristocracy lies & day increasingly in the hands of the Negro teachers: they alone as a class have had the required elementary training & they alone have some leisure time. They must constitute themselves a class cultured in the 19th century manner of the term — broad in learning, ac-

aumants in scholarship, deligent + unwearied students, keeping in close touch with the best culture of the day + satisfied with no ~~the~~ accomplishment which is below the highest standards of the age. To day let us frankly acknowledge we have no such class of persons. Here and there we may find isolated cases — but a class united in plain living + high thinking, who are capable + hungry + keen upon the solution of the Negro problem trained scholarship + cultured judgement such a class the Negroes of the U S. have not yet evolved + until they do we need not — cannot look for the final solution of the greatest problem of humanity

And the creation of this class does not call so much for more schools + college as it does for discrimination on the part of graduates from present institutions. So long as these graduates surround + the temptation + ape the extravagant dressing + living of the leaders of the white world; so long as they try + live by showing off + by practising the arts of demagogueary among their simple minded people or so long as they let their efforts + earn bread + butter utterly absorb

& choke the intellectual life — so long will culture & civilization fail where it is most needed.

O Rome take this somewhat elaborate method of emphasizing the fact that it is the business of a graduate to study & to study beyond the narrow requirements of the elementary school curriculum which they teach. Often one graduation has no significance. They must carry out the work of intellectual development which the best school can only begin The truly educated man is he who has learned in school how to study & all his life what to study His commencement morning has in truth the commencement of his ~~true~~ education. And this he can do — in spite of crowded surroundings in the absence of all incitement & self-culture in spite of the demands of home & school & work, he can — you can leave time for self cultivation & self development — for the realization of some of the high ideals of your youth — you can do it because others have done it & above all because you must:

So near is grandeur to our dust
So near is God to man
When duty whispers low "Thou must"
The youth replies "I can."

Granting then that every truly educated person must have time to carry on careful earnest study along with his work, the next question is What subject of study shall be chose. One subject rather than many. He must chose because no one's life can compass the realm of human learning. Every day we see men specializing more & more — seeking more & more carefully not to know it all, but to know one thing thoroughly — to be master of one small subject. Herein lies the secret of modern culture — the division of employments, the specialization of thought & effort. The particular subject of your study depends on many things: on your occupation, your surroundings, your natural bent. It would be natural for a primary teacher to become interested in child psychology & to do something more than the dilettante work laid down in school journals. Country teachers have especial opportunity for botanizing

city teaches for history & sound studies. While each one of us has shrewd aptitudes & inclinations which will steer this or that path to our efforts

But one fact there is which binds us together with an interest deeper than life & broader than wisdom or surroundings: & that is that we are of one decent, children of a common sorrow & joint heirs to the same hard heritage And by the token of the black blood of our fathers there is & must be one respect above all others of eternal interest to us & that is the condition ~~of the Americas~~ & place of the Negro in the modern world. We have, I believe, been misled by shallow unintelligent discussions of this matter until we at times almost wish we might let the matter rest. But we cannot: & Englishmen England must have perennial interest — must centre their thoughts & aspirations must ~~God~~ consciously or unconsciously be the goal of all their thinking & striving. The centre of a Frenchman's world must be that vast & myriad minded nation — that

1/0163

that tragic history these beautiful cities which
the world calls France. And as to us
there is & can be but one thought & one
vast effort - the solving of the Negro problem

And yet we shut up this clear fact, it
is alarming & how little we are studying
the problem which we must solve. We talk
of it — rather too much, perhaps; we discuss about
it assuming such facts as please us; we care-
lessly take it for granted that every Negro is
born with an intimate & careful knowledge of
the situation & destiny of his 9 millions fellows
& that he knows any desired information
it is only necessary that he should open his
mouth. And yet no sooner is such a statement
made than its absurdity is apparent. How
many of us realize the enormity of this
problem? How many of us know that there
are today as many Negroes in the U.S. as
there were Englishmen in England in the time of
Elizabeth & as full as many as there are Spaniards
in Spain today? How many of these millions
have these people met who write essays on
the problem? And of these few hundreds which they

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have met, what do they know as to their condition struggles & their particular problems? What are people thinking of, who ~~they~~ jumble into one bunch & treat as one unwary mass the Negroes of Athens Ga, & Yazoo city, Miss. — the Negroes of New Orleans & Philadelphia, of South Georgia & California, of Texas & New York. The very fact that we do this shows with what careless ignorance we are attempting the solution of the greatest problem of the century. We must ~~do~~ put such slip-shod methods & careless ways, first ourselves know little, very little of the real condition of the Negro people & that consequently we must study that condition, minutely, faithfully & intelligently. If stones are worth microscopes & ~~human~~ organs & time & brains — if grass is worth trained experience & scientific knowledge, surely 9 millions of human beings are worth some discriminating intelligent attention from those who are so eager to dissect them.

Passing by the ~~historical~~ general & scientific aspect of this strange assembly of social phenomena, I wish to touch on one of the many problems now presented, one

which ~~are~~ is of peculiar significance to us as teachers: & ~~the chief of~~ this is the Problem of earning a living: The question as to how the series of young people whom we are annually sending forth from our school are going to be able to earn their bread & butter in a respectable way. It is nothing strange or unusual that this economic problem should be the question of questions for the Negro in the opening years of the 20th century. It is the logical fruit of slavery & always ~~will be~~ where there are freedmen there must be poverty the struggle for bread must be hard & the condition of survival is such economic cooperation as will furnish wages suited to the wants of the new laborer. We see this problem of poverty all about us in the south: on the one hand ~~brown~~ intelligence, ~~bodily strength~~ ~~necessary~~ skill & willing strength, on the other hand a rich land with its abundant resources only half-developed & its riches wasted every day — and yet in the midst of all this, poverty idleness & crime. Near is work to be done, here are workers who might

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do it & yet the scores of workers are idle ~~& [illegible]~~
& the means of the work undone

What does this mean - it means that the fault lies in the ~~system~~ organization - in the whole social situation & that unless we thoroughly understand & carefully study the delicate & intricate relations of this great group of men we shall not know how to train the head & hands of the freedmens sons & develop the rich resources of this land. Here then lies a field of study of peculiar interest & the teacher - the question of the economic situation & possibilities of the Negro. The most pressing of the numerous Negro problems

Thus far I have sought to say that it is the unpardonable duty of all & particularly of teachers to ~~pursue~~ along with their work some definite course of study. Next I have sought to point out that among the many courses of study which one might pursue none is more important than that which has for its object the thorough understanding of the Negro problem & especially of the present pressing problem of work. It is my final task

1/6/1927

I say something of the especial manner in which the teachers of Georgia may cooperate in a systematic study of the subject indicated

You will of course understand that I do not mean for a moment to assert that the study of social problems is the best study for all of you to pursue — I merely stand under the circumstance of our situation that it is of peculiar interest & value. Nor again do I say that the only method of effectively studying the Negro problems is their cooperation with the Atlanta Conference; but I do say that in unity there is strength & that only by continuous systematic effort covering wide areas & conducted according to the best & certified knowledge of the day, can we hope finally to gain such a knowledge of these social problems as will guide the statesman the philanthropist & the patriot. Such a centre of systematic effort the annual Negro Conference at Atlanta aims to be & as such needs your closest interest & trained workers. The study of society as it is carried on today ~~as it is carried on today~~ is a slow & difficult task. No sociologist claims to present in his science any exact formulae

system of laws & measurements as chemistry & astronomy — it is rather a great ~~vast~~ field of study where careful observers are daily counting measuring & searching — gathering the data which another age will systematize & interpret. To realize how intricate & multitudinous these facts are we have only to look about us. What is the real difference between the man that walked the streets of Assisi 300 yrs ago & the citizen of New York: the greatest difference lies neither in ~~his~~ clothing nor ~~his~~ culture but rather in their relations to their fellow men: the nomad arab is bound closely to a few score individuals by ties of blood — known in his life, his religion, his simply living; he works for them alone & knows none other save as enemies. But the citizen of New York is bound to the whole world by ties of commerce, work, thought & ideals. He toils for India & India toils for him; he works for Africa & Africa works for him, he thinks the thoughts of London, feels with Paris, & shakes with Vienna He is part of one great ~~vast~~ thinking whole which we call modern civilization. The vast & intricate relations of men — the mutual efforts & the subtle

object of that Mother Age in whose bosom we were nurtured — it is the mighty subject of human cooperation in modern society that the science of Sociology seeks to study. It does not ~~& does pretend to~~ understand yet thoroughly comprehended it & does not pretend that it has. It has ~~not~~ discovered no great & startling laws of human action & may never do so — but it has collected a mass of material of supreme interest & value, & of such a nature that no modern thinker who is interested in the condition & destiny of human beings can afford to ignore its method & results.

The Atlanta Conference seeks to apply to the study of the Negro problem the methods of sociological inquiry which the trained experience of the world has found most successful & it seeks to interpret the results in the light of similar ~~results~~ data obtained by students the world over. For the carrying out of this work we need trained workers; we need in every city & town in the South a group of intelligent and trained Negroes trained in social observation & in the

10/1/70

most accurate methods of social measurement
With such a set of machinery we could know instead
of guess, we could replace spasmodic excitement
with united purposeful action, we could repell
build assertion with sober fact: in fine we
could take the first step which a civilized people
must take before all others — the step toward
understanding
the Social problem before they seek to solve it.

It may seem to you at first a very
easy thing to carry out such a program
I speak feelingly & from some experience when
I say it is not. Out of all the millions known
to be interested in the American Negro, you would
be surprised to know how difficult it is to get the
cooperation of a few hundred in the collection of
accurate facts. When we send out 500 letters
from Atlanta University we count ourselves
fortunate if 150 of the persons addressed
take the trouble even to reply; & of these 150 replies
perhaps not more than fifty send replies
worth the making. Enjoying as I am the hospitality
of Athens I shall refrain from saying how
many letters I sent here but you
asking for a little
information not difficult to obtain before I received a

For this reason we are hoping that as the years go by larger & larger numbers of graduates who feel that they ought to continue systematic study will take advantage of the opportunities for post graduate study offered by Atlanta Univ & that they will particularly become interested in the department of History & Sociology of which the Atlanta Conference forms a part. We offer no special inducements for such students and ask the opportunity to study under guidance & the satisfaction of knowing that mental development did not stop with commencement

1/10/1723

reply. Suffice it say that in order to get the information as to Negro merchants collected by the Atlanta Conference last year we sent out and no less than 2500 communications and fully 1500 of these we have still to hear from. Furthermore the sort of information which we can ask for is seriously limited by the fact that our correspondents are largely untrained & unaccustomed to the careful accurate work required in such inquiries

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ment morning. If the department should grow there is the possibility of a summer school in social question & a wide & valuable development. Here then is the need here is the opportunity

We need ~~then~~ first to arouse among the thinking class of Negroes an interest in study for its own sake; we need to turn this interest more entirely but ~~largely~~ to some extent toward the study of the Negro problems & finally the Atlanta Conference would like to feel that it could rely on the teachers of Georgia for prompt careful & intelligent cooperation in spite of the fact that this will cost time trouble & effort. ~~And~~ Indeed only ~~in this way shall we emerge into the day.~~ We as a people are unbelievably waiting for some great movement — some

~~And especially do we want increasing~~ numbers of these young people & use their time in making themselves trained observers & valuable workers

Only by such unpaid & gratuitous efforts shall we ~~fellow teachers~~ emerge into the light. We continually

W2B. DuBois

33-3-132

1.

CASTE IN AMERICA.

There is a wide spread disposition to consider the negro problem as something apart from the life of the nation and extraneous to its other problems. I want in a few words to impress the fact upon you that the negro problems in America today are simply signs of a deeper national problem and not isolated phenomena; that were there not a single black man in this land, the essential character of this basic problem would remain to be settled and settled too, not by refusing to see it and keeping silent about it, but by resolutely attacking it. That problem is the spirit of caste that is arising in a land which was founded on the bed-rock of eternal opposition to class privileges.

32-3-132

2.

That classes should arise in any great and growing nation is perfectly natural and necessary. As long as men differ in gifts and appearance, in likes and dislikes, they will group themselves accordingly. But such class distinctions are very different from the system of class privilege and unchanging caste gradations which ever seeks to build itself on these foundations.

The excuse of caste in the first instance is always the shortcomings or deficiency of other people, but since even the high born are fallible and the low born capable of improvement, the result of a caste system is in the long run simply to enthrone over the destinies of the nation that particular form of immorality most prevalent among the ruling classes of the land.

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What today then is the character of our national immorality? It is without doubt stealing. The way in which the Sanai thundered command "Thou Shalt not Steal" is broken in this land is enough to make every honest American hide his head in very shame. We have an industrial system by which it is easy and not uncommon for the earnings of thrift, efficiency and genius to be seized and appropriated by the strong, the crafty and the impudent; we have a moral code which allows the theft of truth and the flaunting of bare-faced lies in our newspapers and periodicals without an effective protest from men who consider themselves good. And with

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this wide-spread moral degeneration staring us in the face, we are faced by unmistakable signs of the growth of caste and class privilege based upon the resulting inequalities of greater social and political power concentrated in the hands of the already powerful. There are to be sure, mighty counteracting forces, a vast spirit of philanthropy and a still sturdy ideal of democracy, and yet none but the willing blind can fail to see a growing half-voiced feeling throughout the country, that individual manhood and desert counts for less today in the land than it used to; that the phrase "upper and lower classes" has begun to mean something among us; that strong and influential groups are coming to view with impatience any sort of education for the young which is not calculated to perpetuate our present social and economic order, and that we have outspoken contempt for such lower races as have not risen to our degree of

33-3-141

moral obtrusemess. We are aware throughout the land of growing respect for snobbery. We are discretely silent or even mildly effusive over an open traffic in gilded maidens and foreign titles; we see greater and greater disinclination to remember humble parentage and the dirty finger nails of our grandfathers, and even our great and growing efforts at charity and reform are developing tendencies which make them quite as often agencies ~~of~~ for social separation as means of class obliteration.

This is nothing new in the world--it is as old as group life, and for that very reason, none the less dangerous. No sooner does the virus of caste distinction penetrate a nation's vitals than good and evil in that nation comes to be judged from the point of view of the privileged classes alone. Particularly is this altered view-point noticeable in the United States in matters of education. How shall the children of servants be trained? Once we said, as men, now we whisper, as servants and then ~~one~~ we shall have better service. How shall the children of mechanics be trained? As carpenters, we are beginning to think, and then we shall have better houses. This logic seems sound, and it is sound if house service and houses are the objects of national life; but are they? It is perfectly obvious to the mistress that good house service is sadly needed, but is it so obvious to the servant that her life ~~should be sacrificed to the whims of a modern society woman?~~ horizon should be bounded It is true that you want good

Limited to the Comfort of an old woman's brain.

19

33-3-143

houses in which to enjoy life, but has the artisan no right to some enjoyment of life outside the privilege of building houses for you? Here lies the eternal danger of class hierarchy and caste--a danger which in the past has ruined lives, overturned governments and buried civilizations. Today this noxious weed is springing up in America, right here in a land founded as a mighty protest against such world-foolishness. It is allowed to grow, but slightly molested, because its victims today are largely black people. But let us not be lulled by this fact into false security. The Negro problem is, ~~as I have said,~~ but the sign of growing class privilege and caste distinction in America and not as some fondly imagine, the cause of it.

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33-3-144

8

True it is, that in the race problem its growth is most startling and its philosophy least disguised. How shall we train the children of Negroes, this nation long has asked, and to many here today this question was already sufficiently answered before I rose--that is, by industrial and some secondary training. Why? Because the south is a great waste, a land with possibilities scarcely touched, a land calling for human toil and energy. How perfectly obvious to the poor black peasant of Mississippi that he should toil like a slave for board and clothes in order that the young ladies of Des Moines should be neatly dressed? Is it going to the white people of the South & the capitalists of the North that Negro labor should develop this wealth But in it is obvious

33-3-145

9

to solve his problem simply to increase his output of cotton and the efficiency of his work? No! His problem will only be solved as he is led to realize that he is a man, that life holds out to him vast possibilities, and that these possibilities may be reached through the agency of human toil and aspiration.

The object of every true system of human training is to impress these truths on the masses of men as rapidly and effectively as possible. This is the higher end of all education and the sole end of the higher training of men in colleges and universities. To deny this training to any class or race of human beings is to deny their essential humanity. And this is precisely what the reactionary leadership of the North, aided, I regret to say, by some good and distinguished ~~men~~ members of this Council -this is exactly what this leadership has for the last ten years been seeking to do. The work of Negro Colleges in the South has been ridiculed and belittled, their necessity doubted, their funds curtailed and their future clouded. The ambition of black boys to rise in the world has come to be regarded as menacing rather than laudable, and the black man today who dares to stand up and demand for his people those same human ~~regrets~~ rights which your fathers demanded for you---aye and by God and my father's black arms at last obtained---the Negro who today demands such rights for his people is being read out of the counsels of the safe and the sane; while aid and comfort is showered on such of us as are willing to out-Herod Herod

33-3-146

10

33-2-142

in reducing the rights and ambitions of ten million men to the privilege of being useful to white ~~folks~~ people

11 And yet the very men who are thus stifling the aspirations of a race and drying up the higher sources of inspiration, are the ones whose surpirse is greatest at the growth of Negro crime, forgetting that the shutting out of the light from above but emphasizes the darkness; ~~he has~~ forgetting that the closing of higher institutions of learning is never accompanied by the closing of lower institutions of depravity and death; that the increase of the cotton crop if unaccompanied by increased intelligence, broader justice and loftier ideals, will simply give unscrupulous landlords an even greater opportunity than they have today of stealing from their black tenants.

33-2-148

Among all the agencies at work for the uplifting of the south, the American Missionary Association ~~alone~~ has from the first taken the most unwavering stand for a system of real education for Negroes. It planted colleges for Negroes upon the very breast works of the struggling armies, before the smoke of battle had cleared

12 and it planted them not as luxuries or experiments, but on the one hand as foundation stones upon which to build a system of common schools and on the other hand, as great gates of opportunity through which the talented and ambitious sons of the freedman might escape from the midnight of slavery into the light.

These institutions and similar ones founded by other agencies, have stood now for a generation--they have sent 2500 ~~well~~ trained

graduates into the world, including 1400 teachers; 250 clergymen; 150 physicians and 600 men in the civil service, business and other higher avenues of life. They have directly and indirectly given light, inspiration and ideals to tens of thousands of other menm women and children; they have made industrial schools possible; they have taught the teachers of the public schools and above all, they have stood as a great intelligent force to calm the fears of the multitude, stimulate their striving, restrain their passions and inspire them to buy out of their poverty and in spite of force and fraud, the twelve million acres of American soil which they own today. Notwithstanding all this, there is a persistent attempt in the South, aided by certain elements in the North to establish a new slavery; to erect barriers of color caste; to reduce black labor to such economic serfdom as to be able to use this force as a club to keep white union laborers submissive. The first step toward the accomplishment of this program was to close the doors of college training and higher opportunity in the faces of black boys and to impress upon the race the utter futility of any attempt to escape from the barriers of race contempt and class privilege.

The program which has been so successfully initiated in the south has reacted with telling power on the North. Already there is growing a feeling that certain classes of white children do

From those false friends who are preaching among American citizens increased race or class segregation. The Good Lord deliver us.

33-3-181

15

not need high schools, that ~~good birth~~ social standing ought to bestow certain privileges by a sort of divine right and that the man who wrote the declaration of independence was a fool.

Such is the poison that is eating into the vitals of the nation. The relief is obvious. Let us ~~be~~ seek to make this nation honest ~~and~~ tell the truth. Let us resolutely check the granting of special privilege to the rich, the well born or the white. Let us ~~judge~~ class all men by their manhood and not by their color or their bank accounts, and finally let us open to all the gates of opportunity and keep them ~~wide~~ open.

James Oglethorpe

We have at Atlanta University this year a new institution known as the Oglethorpe School. ~~Our~~ We students as well as others often ask: Why is it called Oglethorpe? ~~They~~ We have a more or less dim recollection of James Oglethorpe as the founder of Georgia & yet this but increases the wonder for the history of this state has not meant so much & ~~this state~~ that they are usually disposed & remind themselves unnecessarily of it.

And yet James Oglethorpe is a person toward whom every citizen of Georgia black & white should turn with respect & affection

30-1-91

& especially young people like you ought & know something of his life & motives & deeds. After all there is but one guide in the darkness of life around us — in the shadowy shores of the Unknown & Forgotten that circle us & that is the lives of other men — the lives & experiences of those brothers of ours who have struggled & failed, struggled & triumphed just as we shall do.

30-1-67

James Oglethorpe was born in ~~1689~~ England in 1689. — at the end of that great 17th century that had meant so much to the world — at the beginning of a century that was to mean more.

In the 15th century the world had centered around the Mediterranean sea — here was the middle point of the universe and around "the tideless dolorous Midland sea" ~~the~~ stretched Europe Asia & Africa & the unknown & circling ocean. When came Columbus, bursting the barriers & the mist & discovering a new continent, the knowing of which shifted the world's centre & the Atlantic. During the 16th century this new continent was eagerly explored by Spanish French & English and in the 17th century the English particularly began permanent settlements. But all this must

30-1-68

not be read alone but always
with a knowledge of what was
transpiring in Europe & from
the European point of view
To be born then as was Ogle-
thorpe in the 17th century meant
many things — His father had
lived in the declining days of
the Stuart kings — Those fierce
stubborn men who succeeded
Elizabeth & Shakespeare and
tried to rule England carelessly.
Ere Oliver Cromwell defeated &
beheaded the first Charles, &
after ward the second Charles
played himself to death & his
brother James needed sorely the
good arm & fighting qualities
of the father of Oglethorpe & de-

30-1-69

30-1-70

Lord him again ~~the~~ William of Orange who came for his throne. It was but a year after William & Mary rose to the throne of England on the ruin of the Stuart kings, that the future father of Georgia was born.

In the swift sweet days of his youth there were stirring scenes in Europe The King of France - The Great Monarch was reaching his grasping hand over the world - seeking to crush little Holland, swallow Belgium, dismember Germany & conquer for Spain. So William of England fought him desperately, doggedly, until one day William fell from

his horse & died. And thereupon
Queen Anne, his sister-in-law still
fought the aged Louis of France
Now the mother of Oglethorpe
was as Johnathan Swift tells
us cynically "a cunning devil" and
a lady of much influence in
the court of Queen Anne, and
so saw well to the training of
her seven children. James
was well educated & sent to
College where he got a smattering
of those things necessary for a
gentleman at least to have for-
gotten, and then he entered
the army. ~~From~~ ~~At the~~

At the head of the army
was a splended fellow - Prince
Eugene of Savoy - the son of a French

30-1-21

Prince & the Niece of Cardinal Mazarin.
Angry with France he had sided
with Austria & then had helped
England fight the war of Spanish
Succession which we know
as queen Annes war. With
him young Eglethorpe at the
age of 15 fought & swaggered
over Europe, fighting the French
& the Turks and finally coming
home & his fathers house
& settle down at the age of
thirty.

It was a fine old home
he came to — a home still
standing. In front rich meadow
lands slope gradually & the
banks of the River Wey, while
behind the ground rises & a sheer

height, covered with noble trees, ~~and~~ through which glints the old sleepy town of Godalming"

Now life began in earnest. These first thirty years had been years of training when various paths stretched before the man: young rich educated & a soldier — he might have done many things: fought on in glory and blood through the never ending wars that stretched from the battle of Malplaquet to the battle of Waterloo; or he might have been a rich pleasure seeker, a wine bibber & a libertine after the manner of a day when an English dinner usually ended with all the men

dead drunk under the Table,
& when the shameless wishes
of an English king became an
English duchess & founder of one
of the greatest of the present families
of England.

These & other baths lay open
before this man but he turned
from them; not from any puritanical
spirit of self righteousness, but be-
cause other things interested him
more. And this is ever the way
in the world We rise not by
hating the bad but by loving the good.
— not by standing cold & unstimpled
before the world, the flesh & the
devil, but by finding greater & more
absorbing interest in the better
side of human life, & the higher
ideals of men.

In 1722 James Oglethorpe was elected to Parliament and for thirty years he was a member of that fine old assembly which is the mother of popular government in the modern world. Oglethorpe was not an interesting speaker but when he spoke he had something to say & so people got used to listening to him.

30-1-73

Now if one of you had been young & rich & had gone to Parliament in 1722 I wonder in what you would have chiefly interested? Let's see: George I was on the throne - a sleepy unintelligent German, Sir Robert Walpole was carrying on the government by wholesale bribery; a great speculation in the South Seas had recently failed

& moved thousands; there was
continual friction with Spain
& Frederick the Great & Maria Theresa
were fighting for central Europe —
here were questions then of govern-
ment, position, money & war &
interest an interesting young man.
Yet they did not chain him.
On the contrary he became chiefly
interested in jails. Now jails
in the early 18th century were
sad places — worse far worse
than the prisons & chain gangs
of Georgia & that is saying a
great deal.

"At this day we can hardly
understand how English law
punished alike and thrust
into the same dungeon thieves,
pirates, murderers, with the
man whose crime was debt —
debt incurred oftentimes as
security for some friend.

30-1-76

The jails of London were a disgrace to humanity. Fever, filth, smallpox, were encountered in common, while inhuman keepers plied thumbscrews and sneered at the sufferings of their prisoners.

"One Mr. Castell, a skilled architect and author ~~of an costly work, The Villas of the Ancients~~, became involved in debt, was arrested, and taken to a 'sponging-house' attached to Fleet Prison. not being able to compromise his debts, nor to satisfy the warden's demand for bribes, he was thrust into a ward in which smallpox was raging. Terrified with fear of the disease, he entreated to be sent elsewhere, even into the jail itself, but in vain. He caught the disease, and soon died, with his last breath charging the warden as his murderer. Castell was well known to Oglethorpe, who at once determined to do his utmost toward putting an end to such national

30-1-77

crimes. At the earliest opportunity he brought the subject before Parliament. That body appointed a visiting committee of fourteen members of the House of Commons, with Oglethorpe as chairman.

"They promptly inspected the various prisons and presented their reports; 'the details of some', says a historian, 'were too painful and loathsome to be repeated.' In the Marshalsea's ~~two~~ rooms, not sixteen feet square, were confined forty, and even fifty, human beings. 'The floor not being sufficient for the sleepers, half of them were suspended in hammocks, and so tainted was the atmosphere that they perished for want of fresh air. The sick wards were still worse. Along the walls boards were laid on trestles; under these boards one tier of sick men lay on the floor, on the dresser was another tier, and in the hammocks overhead another tier still. x x x x x x

RL-1-33 + you remember the Marshalsea from Dickens's Little Dorrit — in their low rooms

A day never passed without death; and in spring from eight to ten prisoners died every twenty-four hours. Many well-disposed persons left money for the destitute, but it was confiscated by the jailors. The wardens grew rich on bribes. Investigation proved that one jailor received in this way £25,000 yearly. He it was who loaded Sir William Rich with irons because of a dispute with him. The committee ordered ~~his~~ Rich's release, but on making another visit found him again in chains. Mr. Oglethorpe, as chairman of the committee, reported the matter to Parliament, and the barbarous warden was himself imprisoned.

30-1-79

"Pirates and abandoned ruffians were suffered to mix with the unfortunate debtors. Their conduct became so insufferable that some decent prisoners attempted to escape. They were detected, and the officers made it an excuse for resorting to the thumbscrew, forcing blood from finger-ends.

While Oglethorpe was chairman of this prison investigating committee he had been early about in his mind for means more than temporary of relief for the kind of persons who suffered unjustly not simply in prison but elsewhere. He faced, for the first, the greatest of modern economic problems: the Problem of Poverty. Someone has sagely said that poor people can be divided in three classes: God's Poor, the Devil's poor, & the poor devils. Now Jails are designed for only one of these three classes — namely the devils poor. Those people who will not support themselves because of their own evil ways. For these the state must undertake a system of

30-1-83

punishment, the aim of which is the reformation of the criminal — towards Thos Ogle Thorpe's parliamentary committee took some steps.

Another class, God's poor, are the worthy objects of help from their fellow men. This misfortune beyond their control they have lost their means of support & need aid. It is the third class however — the poor devils - who are oftenest forgotten. You cannot cure poverty in this world simply by punishment & almsgiving. There are a large number of people who are not vicious, nor can their poverty be laid to unfortunate accident. They are simply unfitted by character & education to succeed in the battle of life

under the given conditions. Either then their character must be changed by education or the conditions of life must be made more favorable. Oglethorpe was impressed by this last necessity and looked about for ~~most~~ a refuge suited to the poor debtor class of England in the 18th century.

And where else should he look for asylum but thither where all the world was then looking — America || Already the outlines of the New World were shaping themselves. The French were in the valley of the St Lawrence & the Shawnees in Mexico & the isles of the sea. The puritans were in Mass.,

30-1-82

the Quakers in Penna., the Catholics
in Md. & the Canaliers in Virginia.
Lockes new scheme of government
had been tried in Carolina
& there lay between the English
& the Spanish & the South of
the Altamaha stretching onward &
the Miss. a great fertile tract of
Country. The Spanish claimed it
& so did the english, & both
had sought & settled it but
failed and yet it was as Sir
Robert Montgomery wrote "the most
amiable country in the universe,"
Oglethorpe obtained a grant of
this land in 1732 from George II
& immediately appealed for
funds || Parliament gave £ 50,000, William

30-1-83

named it Georgia

Penn sent £500 from far off Penna.
& the trustees refused salaries & gave
of their private means. Indeed
as one historian has said:

30-1-84

"'The benevolent founders
of the colony of Georgia may
challenge the annals of any
nation to produce a design
more generous and praise-
worthy. They voluntarily
offered their money, their
labor, and time for promoting
what appeared to them the
good of others, having nothing
for reward but the inexpressi-
ble satisfaction arising from
virtuous actions.'

"Tracts were now distribu-
ted describing the climate
and products of the happy
land. The poet Waller pictured
it a veritable Eden, declaring
in his enthusiasm:

Heaven sure hath kept this
spot of earth uncurst,
To show how all things were
created first.

"The funds raised were to feed, clothe, arm, and transport to Georgia such poor people as they should select from those who offered to go. An account was opened with the Bank of England, where a register was kept of the benefactors and their donations. They also bound themselves to make an annual statement of receipts and expenditures before the Lord Chancellor and chief of the courts. Arrangements being completed, the trustees now announced that they were ready to receive applications from those who wished to emigrate. A committee was appointed to visit the jails and obtain the discharge of such poor prisoners as were worthy, carefully investigating character, circumstances, and antecedents.

30-1-85

Thus was Georgia founded & ~~in January 1733~~ 172 yeas ago last ~~this very~~ month, ~~& on the~~ ~~for from the day of the month~~ 700
Oglethorpe & his first band of Colonists landed ~~& saw the Site of~~ from Savannah
Landed in Georgia ~~on~~ the good ship Anne. || The sustaining of the naturally
colony was far harder than the founding for three ~~two~~ enemies
pressed them: & the earth day the Spaniards & for ten yeas Oglethorpe defended the colony
against them. & the next day the Indians & these Oglethorpe subdued by straight forward
honesty & courtesy. But the enemy & the North he did not subdue — & subdued him & drove him
wrongfully from his beloved colony: & that enemy was Slavery

30-1-86

From the very first Oglethorpe & the trustees had prohibited the slave trade & the importation of rum & the strongest liquors into Georgia, as Oglethorpe himself said "slavery is against the gospel as well as the fundamental laws of England. We resolved as trustees to make a law forever against such a horrid crime"

"This policy greatly displeased the colonists, who from 1735, the date of the first law, to 1749, did not cease to clamor for the repeal of the restrictions. As their English agent said, they insisted that 'in Spite of all Endeavours to disguise this Point, it is as clear as Light itself, that Negroes are as essentially necessary to the Cultivation of Georgia, as Axes, Hoes, or any other Utensil of Agriculture.' Meantime, evasions and infractions of the laws became frequent and

notorious Negroes were brought across from Carolina and "hired" for life." Finally, purchases were openly made in Savannah from African traders: some seizures were made by those who opposed the principle, but as a majority of the magistrates were favorable to the introduction of slaves into the province, legal decisions were suspended from time to time, and a strong disposition evidenced by the courts to evade the operation of the law". At last, in 1749, the colonists prevailed on the trustees and the government, and the trade was thrown open ~~under careful restrictions~~." This happened in

30-1-67

~~Slavery was allowed in Ga.~~
~~in~~ 1739, ~~& three years later~~
~~Oglethorpe~~ but Oglethorpes active
connection with the colony had
ceased when he left Georgia
in 1743 & in 1752 Georgia
became a crown colony & the
authority of the trustees ~~ceased~~ was at an end.

30-1-89a

Oglethorpe had spent some
$60,000 of his private fortune in
founding Ga., which parliament
failed to return him; indeed
had he not married at the
age of 55 a well to-do gentlewoman
he ~~would~~ might have himself faced
the inside of the debtors jail.

30-1-89b

His retirement life was peaceful
~~and~~ & varied in the main,
although he fought against the
young pretender and was commend

& opposed the threatened invasion
of France in 1744.

His public career ended with
his defeat as a candidate for
Parliament 1852. Thereafter
occasionally
he lived at home, as associated
with Oliver Goldsmith & Dr
Samuel Johnson and other literary
men. When the American
revolution broke out it is
said that Ogilthorpe was offered
a place in command of the British
troops but refused it; at any
rate when John Adams arrived
in London as American minister
he was invited upon by Ogilthorpe
who said "I am come to pay
my respects to the first American

Ambassador & his family".

For 2 years after the peace he still lived & the great age of 94.95, and ~~then~~ up till then was vigorous & healthy

As Bancroft has said:

The gentleness of Oglethorpe's nature appeared in all his actions. He was merciful to the prisoner; a father to the emigrant; the unwearied friend of Wesley; the constant benefactor of the Moravians; honestly zealous for the conversion of the Indians; working for the negro the panoply of the Gospel. He was, for a commercial age, the representative of that

31-11-83

chivalry which knew neither fear nor reproach, and felt a stain on honor like a wound.

Loyal and brave; choleric yet merciful; versed in elegant letters; affable even to talkativeness; slightly boastful and tinged with vanity — he was ever ready to shed blood rather than brook an insult, but more ready to expose life for those who looked to him for defense. A monarchist in the state, friendly to the Church, he seemed like one who had survived his times — like, the relic of a former century and a more chivalrous age — illustrating to the modern world of business what a crowd of virtues and of charities could cluster around the heart of a cavalier."

P8-11-15

[FOLLOWING PAGES MISSING]

Perhaps I can best end this little sketch of his career by quoting from his obituary ~~that~~ as it stands written in Cranham Church England: 97 days

" Near this place lie the remains of James Edward Oglethorpe, Esq.,
× × × × × × × × ×
Founder of the Colony of Georgia; which
(Founded on the ardent wish for liberty)
Set the noble example of prohibiting
the importation of slaves.
× × × × × × × × × ×
In the year in which he quitted
England to found this settlement,
he nobly strove to restore our
true national defences by
Sea and Land,
~~a free navy without impressing~~;
~~a constitutional militia~~.
But his ~~sole~~ affections were more
enlarged than even the term
Patriotism can express.
He was the friend of the oppressed
Negro. No part of the world
was too remote, no interest too
unconnected or too opposed
to his own, To prevent his

ST.FRANCIS OF ASSISI.

We have all been recently talking and thinking of San Francisco, that opulent, busy city which one day faced the shining western waters and next fell into poverty, death and ruin because beneath its feet the earth trembled. And then again in its staggering rise has been swept by greed and prejudice, and the throes of its new birth. Such strange catastrophe gives the whole world pause, it is not new, it is old, so old and yet ever and again we need to be reminded that back of the hurrying throbbing life of every city and every day lie the world -old things - birth and death, joy and sorrow, fraud and fear, human love and human hate - that these and these alone make life; and with these each life must deal.

We remember this all the more keenly in the case of San Francisco because of the magic spell of the city's golden history and because of the life of the man after whom this stricken metropolis was named: He

4-7-22

stands forth in the world's annals as one of those saints and prophets who sought to read life's riddle and tell the world its true unraveling. San francisco is the Spanish form of the name of St.Francis of Assisi and it is to this life and life teaching that I want to call your attention: tonight; The fullness of his young manhood and his riper years lay in the 13th century. That last great cycle of the Middle Age,700 long years ago. It is hard to picture the life of other years and other centuries, and tyet remember that there lived boys and girls then,throbbing with life as you are,listening and waiting for the call. It was the day of Dante and Philip the Fair;the day when Venice and Genoa were in the first flush of their glory,and the German Hansa towns were building their quaint and beautiful guild halls. All through the world ran the thrill of that restless striving and awakening;then it was that a boy was born in the sweet Italian city of Assisi,in Umbria,perhaps a hundred miles

422-7-14

north of Rome. His father, Pietro Bernadone, was a rich merchant trading to France, and while the mother would piously name the boy John, the father proudly called him Francis after his rich and beloved France, and showered his wealth upon him. Wealth then meant even more than wealth means now, and now it means much. Think of a handsome, red-blooded boy, born in the beautiful hills of a beautiful land, surrounded by luxury, pampered by his parents and flattered and bowed down to by all his little world. Accompanied by a crowd of gay young fellows he spent a glorious, roystering youth -fishing for trout and sturgeon in the mountain streams, dancing in the merry Springtime, drinking the clear white wine in Summer and feasting in the red Autumnal days.

Was not this a glorious life? Suppose that before you tonight stretched this glorious vista of wealth and laughter and gay abandon - would you not be perfectly happy? Probably you would. Probably for a time, life would be simply singing as it was for a time with Francis of

41-7-20

Assisi.

After that, however - if you were honest and unselfish, if you opened your clear eyes and looked upon the real world there would come to you as there came to this gay Italian 700 years ago a sense of vague discomfort, of unfilled destiny, of wasted power. There would rise a dim realization of the misery and sorrow of the world on which your strident gayety would fall almost as mockery, as blasphemy.

41-7-231

Not that it would seem wrong to be joyful but rather that your joy alone would not suffice - not that it would be wrong to laugh, but that laughter would not cure all the world's ills, and that the world has ills. Something would be lacking - a great dark void of crying want stretching forth out of the shadowy valley and up the tremulous sides of the great wide hills, crying, till souls must listen, even in their laughter - your soul and mine, the soul of Socrates and Jesus Christ, and the soul of St. Fran-

cis of Assisi.

This time of listening - of pausing, of sudden assumption of responsibility we call Commencement - the Beginning of Life. To some of you it ~~comes tonight~~ attaches in this celebration - to others it has come earlier than this ~~formal celebration~~ and still to others it will not come till many years have passed with their messages of warning and enlightenment. To Francis of Assisi it came just in his budding manhood and he paused in astonishment to ask these questions - old and ever new:

What am I? Ane what is this world about me? And this world andI how shall we live together in laughter and work?

So the youth sat him down in the sunshine and pondered - hearing the shouting of his companions afar, dreaming over the faint echo of music and seeing new meaning in ~~the~~ sun and river. What thought came to him? The thought of every awakening young soul. Is life joy? Yes and no - yes, because it is right to be happy and yet - no, because I cannot

[redacted]

41-2-232

be happy in the midst of a world full of misery. Is life wealth? Yes and no - yes, because wealth is but that stored and garnered work which ministers to men's wants, and yet - no, because there are human wants and aspirations that no heaped treasure can satisfy. Is life glory and fame yes and no - yes, for fame is the right reward of work well done and yet - no, for much of the world's greatest applause is given for work ill done and undone.

41-7-233

So the boy pondered as all boys ponder -not consciously and clearly, but subtly and half doubtingly. When he faced the gift of joy he threw himself into the mad vortex of delight and then slowly withdrew and looked on the pain and sorrow about him; when he faced the gift of wealth, he tossed away the gold lightly, spending like a prince, wearing his silken hose and velvet doublet, drinking and feasting until he noticed men starving by the roadside. He threw them alms, they seized them and were hungry again and in their dull eyes he saw a greater, deeper hunger - "not alms but a friend!", it cried.

It ~~cried~~. Then he faced the luring glory of fame; and what was fame in the Middle Age but war? He donned the warrior's flashing uniform - he heard the martial music swelling on the olive crowned hills of Umbria - he listened to the tramping of a hundred horsemen as they cried "Long live Assisi - down with Perugia!" Among the singing waters they thundered, drunk with the mad wine of conquest, in that great yellow Italian morning - but at evening they came wandering back. There was blood upon their garments, and the horror of murder in the souls. The damp sharp wind beat mercilessly on the naked misery of a soldier, dying in a wayside ditch, and Francis of Assisi paused and undid the chased and silver buckle of his velvet cloak and lay it gently across the wrtched man. And then all silently he rode into the night.

And that night he turned suddenly, swiftly, as all men turn at the turning points of life, crying "Not by wealth nor by violence but by my spirit, saith the Lord." And he meant by this that the joy of the world

11-7-234

was not to be gained by selfishness, not by force but by the broad bonds of human sympathy. And what was true seven hundred years ago - is it no true tonight?

Quaintly and cheerfully he began his life work. "Poverty shall be my bride," he said - poverty and beggary would he wed, and wandering human charity would be his life calling. He gathered a little band about him and thus St.Francis of Assisi became the little brother of the poor, a beggar and an outcast among men, a listener to birds and little children. Nor does all this sound as strange today as it did in the year of our Lord, 1208. We Americans have a certain contempt for the poor and unfortunate, but our attitude toward human misfortune is angelic beside the disdain of the 13th century. Then it was only the wealthy and well-born who were people. Beneath the knot of privileged aristocrats festered the mass of neglected and despised poor, beggars and unfortunates, poor workingmen, cripples, feeble-minded and insane, all too far below

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the world, the good rich world, for the world to notice. When Francis turned from his idle playing and spending of wealth, and his work of war and faced the bitter misery of the world; when he said: The greatest evil of Italy is Poverty, and I will make the Lady Poverty my bride - his proud father Pietro threw up his hands in horror and disgust. "Fool" he cried "to give up wealth, position and fame for a crazy cause - you are no son of mine." But Francis crossed his breast and cried "Pietro, Pietro Bernadone until now I have called you father but henceforth I can truly say with these "Our Father who art in heaven," for he is my wealth and hope. Out in the world then he wandered alone. His friends wagged their heads and laughed, as some friends will, but his mother waited. And then, not suddenly and triumphantly; but slowly in weary years and sickening strife, after defeat and ridicule, persecution and doubt, came the new deep revelation. Along the dusty Italian roads moved rough clad silent men, gentle of speech, preaching Peace and Patience, tending the

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wounded, relieving the distressed and reclaiming the erring. It was the first great mediaeval effort at social reform, at organized charity, at the work of the visiting nurse. It was the first great recognition in the Middle Age of the abject misery of the masses of men, the first listening to the wretched cry of outcast humanity.

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The pebble thrown widened in ever circling waves of good until the beggar of 1208 stood at the head of the vast movement which swept the Christian world, dashed its spray on the strongholds of Mohammed, and has lived even to our day. So St. Francis grew to busy, blameless, gentle life the friend of birds and living things, the helper of the poor and needy, a homeless wanderer, yet standing ~~between~~ before kings and the mighty of the earth; until after less than 50 years of life he found eternal rest on the vine-clad bosom of the Appenines, and the marks of the sorrows of

God, rested on his hands and heart.

Why have I brought you this old fashioned tale of the life of a mediaeval saint? Century after century has rolled by since his dust crumbled and floated in the mists that hover on the head waters of the Arno and Tiber. The world has changed in [redacted] hastening, hurrying hungry whirl of weal and woe -Why should we look backward rather than forward for our guiding star?

I have brought this life back to your memory to fix in your minds a certain attitude toward wealth and distinction, and the need and place of human training to emphasize this attitude. The lesson of the life of St. Francis of Assisi is not [redacted] the renunciation of wealth, [redacted] and the deification of poverty. It is on the contrary simply this great truth: The work of the world is to satisfy the world's great wants. Now the world wants material wealth, such as food and clothing and shelter, but this is not all, nor even [redacted]

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the greater part of its need. It wants human service and human sympathy, it wants knowledge and inspiration, it wants hope and truth and beauty, and so great are these greater wants that often their satisfaction demands in some St. Francis of Assisi an utter renunciation of much of the material good of the world, that its spiritual starvation may be satisfied. In the 13th century this was peculiarly true. So poverty stricken was the world in simple human goodness that it actually needed this more than it needed food and clothes, and to this need a brave unselfish man addressed himself. Today, in the 20th century the world is rich in material resources and richer too than ever before in spiritual content. And yet even today we are not so wealthy in human sympathy that we can turn our attention wholly to material wealth and neglect the greater wants of the world-soul. On the contrary, our very excess of material accumulation and deftness of process is additional reason for increased

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attention toward making men more intelligent, more unselfish and more broadly human.

Thus is it not clear that with all the change in time and circumstances there remains the same old questions of attitude toward life. What am I, and what is the world, and this world and I, how shall we laugh and work together?

Ever in this questioning the old human drama is acted again and again, on the hard grey bosom of the earth. Ever the joyous youth arises in the great dim morning of life and sees the golden lure of endless joy and wealth beckoning on the horizon.

Ever the blood of the growing man hears the wild trumpet blast of deeds and fame, and ever then in life's commencement comes the still small voice of wisdom "Not by wealth nor by violence but by my spirit saith the Lord." This was the history of St. Francis of Assisi and this will be your history, my young friends. And for this reason I am asking

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you to pause tonight and listen to the old story and learn the life lesson it contains.

It will be full easy let me repeat to misinterpret such a history; to tell you that joy has no part in life, that wealth is merely temptation, that fame is mockery and that only ~~xnly~~ by total renunciation can come the real good of living. Yet this would be wrong - this is untrue, and least of all does the life of St. Francis teach this contradiction to life. Rather this life emphasizes the beauty and joy of living, but not simply for ourselves rather for all men, his life emphasizes the ~~fxnx~~ need and use of work and wealth but it also emphasizes the fact that material wealth satisfies only a part of life's want and that it may be necessary to sacrifice a part or even the larger part of material well-being for the advancement of science and humanity. Indeed at all time human life must be a balancing of limited means against infinite

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ends, and while all these objects are desirable yet some are more desirable than others, and the poverty of human energies and resources forces us always to choose the more weighty and important and let the others wait. In St. Francis's day this choosing left him in direct physical poverty. In our day this is not necessary and yet the choosing of the greater needs of life today by any individual and any nation precludes all thought of great individual wealth, for material wealth is not man's sole aim but rather wealth of mind and soul as well as of body should be his ambition; and finally the life of St. Francis shows that true fame - the only fame worth having and striving for is the "Well done" of the master who knows the sweat of the toil and the worth of the service.

Such is the lesson which in a thousand places the world is seeking to teach its children, and this is the true object of the ~~public school~~ Educational system whose fruition and celebration you ~~and the throng of~~ your friends represent tonight,

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Put thus in terse and concrete meaning, what does the 20th century demand of the youth who standing at the threshold ~~and consciousness~~ of life, wish to do for their world something of the work that St. Francis did for his?

It demands, I take it, four great things:

Ambition or Force

Ideal or Object

Renunciation or Unselfishness

Technique or Work.

First of all it demands ambition - the striving within your souls of every latent power of doing, of all the slumbering fire, - the quickening of muscle and stretching of sinew, and the burning, scintillating flash of brain - the whole massed might of this wonderful human machine alert, panting instinct with holy zeal to hurl its self into the world's work. That was the thing with which Francis of Assisi started; the fiery impulse, the

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joyous enthusiasm, the unshaken determination to make life tell for its utmost in spite of the contempt and mocking of men or the machinations of the devil - that is the spirit that must animate you, young men and women, as you step forth into the world ~~tonight.~~ I mean, too, by ambition not the mere desire for success - not the mere following up of successful endeavor, any fool can have that. put I mean grim grit - tenacious bulldog courage to face defeat and disappointment and still aspire. That defiant attitude toward the ills of life that Henley sang of when he cried:

Out of the night that covers me
Black as the pit from pole to pole,
I thank whatever God's may be
For my unconquerable soul.

In the fell clutch of circumstance
I have not winced or cried aloud,

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Under the bludgeonings of chance
My head is bloody but unbowed.

It matters not how straight the gate,
How charged with punishments the scroll,
I am the master of my fate,
I am the captain of my soul.

This dynamic power is the first demand of modern life, but alone this power is dangerous. It is the bridled charger stamping at the portcullis and chafing his bit - it is thw armoured warrior gleaming in the morning sun, twisting and twirling his spear, but at the sight, the world trembles and cries whither -to murder or rescue, to good or bad, to life or death?

So tremulous with balanced possibilities of good and evil is ambitious youth at this life crisis that many good people at times half cry out against ambition, half preferring lifeless, nerveless, unawakened mediocrity

to the stirrings of such infinite power as may, to be sure, knock at the gate of Heaven and may just as surely rattle the doorposts of hell. These days ~~of Commencement my children,~~ in a few weeks are the days when you may begin the greater life, and they are days when you may start in the paths that lead to crime and debauchery and the never ending throng of unlearned dead. This is the reson that in later years we hear to little said to Negro youth of ambition power, unconquerable resolve. Men fear you and some fear lest, with the might of power of manhood you may fail, and some, I shame to say, fear lest you may succeed. But I do not fear you because I know you. I know that being but human some of you must needs fail and the very force of your energy drive you downward, but I know too that most of you will not fail but will triumph with the triumph of ten million.

The great efficient cause of this triumph when it comes will be your education. Life is not learned at a leap. This world is too old and complicated to be known by sudden inspiration. For this reason we educate

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children;for this reason,the state seeks to give its future citizens the knowledge of the Tree of Life,lest in the ~~evening~~ evening they see the flaming of the sword of death.

But what does this education teach or essay to teach? It seeks to teach the other three of the four things mentioned:

1. The ideals toward which civilization strives.
2. The good which can today be done.
3. The technical method by which each one can help do this work.

Or as I have said:Ideal - that "one far off divine event toward which the whole creation moves;"renunciation,which but means the choice of the best possible good for all out of the infinite desirable; and finally the beat actual method of doing your share. Thus stated the work of an educational system seems easy and clear and it would be if the ideal were fixed and unchangeable,the duty of renunciation clear and undoubted,and the ~~technical~~

technique of life always the same. But this is far from true. Life is flux and change. Ideals rise, expand and grow, the choice of the better among the good is the most bafflingof life's dark problems; and with every changing want, invention, and discovery, the technique of industry and work changes.

Thus the educational system has within itself eternal conflict it can never be final, it can only continually hold clear its vast aim to teach children the greater goals toward which men are striving, to teach them what of these are at present attainable, and then to give to mind and hand such training as shall make them efficient heplers in the world's work of attaining these goods.

In the working out of the details there must ever be thought, controversy and often dispute.

I doubt not that many of my younger hearers and not a few of the older ones have been sorely puzzled in these later days as to the true

aim and method as were Pietro the father, and Francis the son, 700 years ago.. On the one hand come those educators and seers crying "Hitch your wagon to a star" and on the other hand come the business men and arti sans syaing "learn by doing - earn a living". Now it does not settle the real conflict of thoight and aim her expressed by assuming that there are but two sides of the same advice. They may be and they may not be. Given a St.Francis with holy zeal to relieve the wretchedness of outcast humanity and it were the essence of wisdom to cry in his ear: Learn by doing - succor the first beggar that crosses your path, systematize your work, so that your followers may live and earn their living at this work. On the other hand given a Francis, son of Pietro, whose ideal of life was selfishly to display his wealth and fight and carouse, to tell him to learn by doing and earn that sort of living would be to send him to the devil as fast as money could pay the bills. So today, given young black men with the dynamic of ambition and add to this an education which on the one hand gives them ideals

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of human service and manly renunciation, and on the other hand teach them the world's experience and the technique of modern industry - given these things you have a perfect system of training. But given young boys and girls of your age starting out with the idea that the chief object of living is to gain as much cash and personal applause as can be gotten without serious infraction of the criminal code - to add an ever so thorough a knowledge of the technique of modern industry to such low and perverted ideals is to disgrace the righteous ambition of a people and ruin the hope of the Negro race.

So long as the world consists of the fortunate and unfortunate, the weaker and the stronger, the rich and the poor, true human service will involve ideal and renunciation. If you really have at heart the good of the world you simply cannot give your whole time and energy to the selfish seeking of your personal good. If you wish the Negro race to become honest, intelligent and rich, you cannot make the accumulation of wealth for your-

self the sole object of your education and life. The object of St.Francis of Assisi was not to make the world poorer by his poverty but richer. No doctrine of universal selfishness will ever reform society and lift men to the highest plane,simply because the world is too full of careless unfortunates and incompetent and vicious souls. While you are confining yourself to the work of selfishly raising yourself,these forces are dragging down a dozen of your neighbors and children. You must be your brother's keeper as well as your own,or your brother will drag you and yours down to his ruin.

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The life of St.Francis teaches us then that renunciation is the inevitable first payment for healthy social uplift;not renunciation to poverty such as the 13th century demanded for the 20th century is placing ~~plainly~~ physical poverty in the back ground, but certainly today among us a renunciation of dreams of great wealth and instead of contentment with humble means, along with deep unselfish devotion to a splendid cause. This is the equip-

ment which is needed today as sadly and pressingly as in any century of the Middle Age.

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On the other hand the further the world goes on its journey of civilization the greater the need of specialization and technique -men must know hoe to do the world's work. They must have the specialized skill,knowledge and insight to,do a practical piece of the labor well. The skilled artisan approaches today the inspired artist and both in common strive and sweat and toil. For what? For so much a day? No,for the glory of their handicraft,for the good their work does the human beings whose welfare is their welfare. Their bride is not Poverty but Carpentry or Painting or Weariness or Pain,and their reward is the reward of St.Francis,a better, truer,richer world.

Thus the work of the public school is not on the one hand to fire aimless ambition without sound ideals;not to inspire human hearts with a vision of the true,the good and the beautiful,without pointing the prac-

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tical way of realizing some of these dreams here and now in their own lives; not to imagine on the one hand that Desire and Knowledge alone will lift a race out of poverty and weakness, nor dream on the other hand that infinite skill with hammer or hoe will ever lead a man to do that which his native ambition and educated aspiration do not inspire him to do; remembering that in the colored schools particularly that great as is the need of a new race for technical skill and efficiency, there is even greater need for the lifting and training of the racial consciousness in knowledge and inspiration, renunciation and ideal.

I trust then young men and women that the years of training which ~~these~~ this ~~public~~ schools ~~have~~ has given you ~~freely~~, with ~~vast~~ great expenditure of ~~treasure~~ money and human energy ~~have~~ has placed you tonight on that great vantage ground where the burning ambition of your youth has been, on the one hand, inspired by ideals as broad and human as those that inspired St. Francis of Assisi, and has on

the other hand taught you something of the actual technique of living and earning a living. If this is true then it remains for me only to greet you and cry God speed.

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The carreere you enter will be builded of interlaced joy and sorrow, shade and shine, and although shadow-hands from other worlds will join in that building yet in your own hands will the major part of the making of your lives lie. Build well. Build stubbornly and doggedly, build carefully and painfully with skilled technique but above all build by some large and worthy plan. Face defeat as cheerfully as triumph. Face success as coolly as defeat. Face anything that comes and then not only here tonight but there in the mists of God's great morning, when his darker children bring their hard-won triumphs up from the Gates of Despair and the Vally of the Shadow of Death, lay your laurels not on your own heads but at the feet of those mothers and fathers who have nurtured you and toiled for you and smoothed the way of your life with their own grey hairs and tears - with their own life-blood.

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As it was the great object of St.Francis of Assisi to bring peace and succor to the down trodden of his day - let it be your highest ambition to be able one day to say to this heart hurt and weary mother race of ours:

"Thy sun shall no more go down,
Neither shall thy moon withdraw itself;
For the Lord shall be thine everlasting light,
And the days of thy mourning shall be ended."

ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI.

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We have all been recently talking and thinking of San Francisco, that opulent, busy city which one day faced the shining western waters and next fell into poverty, death, and ruin because beneath its feet the earth trembled. And then again in its staggering rise has been swept by greed and prejudice, and the throes of its new birth. Such strange catastrophe gives the whole world pause; it is not new, it is old, so old and yet e ever and again we need to be reminded that back of the hurrying throbbing life of every city and every day lie the world-old things - birth and death, joy and sorrow, fraud and fear, human love and human hate - that these and these alone make life; and with these each life must deal.

We remember this all the more keenly in the case of San Francisco because of the magic spell of the city's golden history and because of the life of the man after whom this stricken metropolis was named: He stands forth in the world's annals as one of those saints and prophets who sought to read life's riddle and tell the world its true unraveling. San Francisco is the Spanish form of the name of St. Francis of Assisi and it is to this life and life teaching that I want to call your attention tonight; the fullness of his young manhood and his riper years lay in the 13th Century: That last great cycle of the Middle Age, seven hundred long years ago. It is hard to picture the life of other years and other centuries, and yet remember that there lived boys and girlds then, throbbing with life as you are, listening and waiting for the call. It was the day of Dante and

and Phillip the Fair; the day when Venice and Genoa were in the first flush of their glory, and the German Hansa towns were building their quaint and beautiful halls. All through the world ran the thrill of that restless striving and awakening; then it was that a boy was born in the sóet Italian city of Assisi, in Umbria, perhaps a hundred miles north of Rome. His father, Pietro Bernadone, was a rich merchant trading to France, and while the mother would piously name the boy John, the father proudly called him Francis after his rich and beloved France , and showered his wealth upon him. Wealth then meant even more than wealth means now, and now it means much. Think of a handsome, red-blooded boy, born in the beautiful hills of a beautiful land, surrounded by luxury, pampered by his parents, and flattered and bowed down to by all his little world. Accompanied by a crowd of gay young fellows he spent a glorious, roystering youth, fishing for trout and sturgeon in the mountain streams, dancing in the merry Springtime, drinking the clear white wine in Summer and feasting in the red Autumnal days.

Was not this a glorious life? Suppose that before you tonight stretched this glorious vista of wealth and laughter and gay abandon, would you not be perfectly happy? Probably you would. Probably for a time, life would be simply singing as it was for a time with Francis of Assisi.

After that, however, if you were honest and unselfish, if you opened your clear eyes and looked upon the real world there would come to you as there came to this gay Italian seven hundred years ago a sense of vague discomfort, of unfilled destiny, of wasted power. There would rise a dim realization of the misery and sorrow of the world on which your strident gayety would fall almost as

mockery, as blasphemy. Not that it would seem wrong to be joyful but rather that your joy alone would not suffice; not that it would be wrong to laugh, but that laughter would not cure all the world's ills, and that the World has ills. Something would be lacking;-a great dark void of crying want stretching forth out of the shadowy valley and up the tremulous sides of the great wide hills, crying till souls must listen, even in their laughter, your soul and mine, the soul of Socrates and Jesus Christ, and the soul of St. Francis of Assisi.

This time of listening, of pausing, of sudden assumption of responsibility we call Commencement - the Beginning of Life. To some of you it approaches in this celebration, to others it has come earlier than this and still ot others it will not come till many years have passed with their messages of warning and enlightenment. To Francis of Assisi it came just in his budding manhood and he paused in astonishment to ask these questions, old and ever new: What am I? And what is this world about me? And this world and I , how shall we live together in laughter and work?

So the youth sat him down in the sunshine and pondered, hearing the shouting of his companions afar, dreaming over the faint echo of music and seeing new meaning in sun and river. What thought came to him? The thought of every awakening young soul. Is life Joy? Yes and No. Yes because it is right to be happy and yet, No, because I cannotbe happy in the midst of a world full of misery. Is life Wealth? Yes and No. Yes, because wealth is but that stored and garnered work which ministers to men's wants, and yet, No, because there are human wants and aspirations that no heaped treasure can satisfy. Is life Glory and Fame? Yes and No. Yes, for fame is the right reward of work well done and yet , No, for much

of the world's greatest applause is given for work ill done and undone.

So the boy pondered as all boys ponder, not consciously and clearly but subtly and half-doubtingly. When he faced the gift of joy he threw himself into the mad vortex of delight and then slowly withdrew and looked on the pain and sorrow about him; when he faced the gift of wealth he tossed away the gold lightly, spending like a prince, wearing his silken hose and velvet doublet, drinking and feasting until he noticed men starving by the roadside. He threw them alms, they seized them and were hungry again and intheir dull eyes he saw a greater, deeper hunger ; "Not alms buta friend!" , it cried. Then he faced the luring glory of fame; and what was fame in the Middle Age but war? He donned the warrior's flashing uniform; he heard the martial music swelling on the olive crowned hills of Umbria; he listened to the tramping of a hundred horsemen as they cried, "Long live Assisi, down with Perugia!" Among the singing waters they thundered , drunk with the mad wine of conquest, in that great yellow Italian morning, but at evening they came wandering back. There was blood upon their garments, and the horror of murder in their souls. The damp sharp wind beat mercilessly on the naked misery of a soldier dying in a wayside ditch, and Francis of Assisi paused and undid the chased and silver buckle of his velvet cloak and lay it gently across the wretched man; and then all silently he rode into the night. And that night he turned suddenly, swiftly, as all men turn at the turning points of life, crying, "Noth wealth nor by violence but by my spirit, saith the Lord." And he meant by this that the joy of the world was not to be gained by selfishness, not

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by force but by the broad bonds of human sympathy. And what was true seven hundred years ago is it not true tonight?

Quaintly and cheerfully he began his life work. "Poverty" shall be my bride," he said. Poverty and beggary would he wed, and wandering human charity would be his first calling. He gathered a little band about him and thus St. Francis of Assisi became the little brother of the poor, a beggar and an outcast among men, a listener to birds and little children. Nor does all this sound as strange today as it did in the year of our Lord 1208. We Americans have a certain contempt for the poor and unfortunate, but our attitude toward human misfortune is angelic beside the disdain of the 13th Century. Then it was only the wealthy and well-born who were people. Beneath the knot of privileged aristocrats festered the mass of neglected and despised poor - beggars and unfortunates, poor workingmen, cripples, feeble-minded and insane, all too far below the world, the good rich world, for the world to notice. When Francis turned from his idle playing and spending of wealth and his work of war and faced the bitter misery of the world; when he said "the greatest evil of Italy is Poverty, and I will make the Lady Poverty my bride", his proud father Pietro threw up his hands in horror and disgust. "Fool, he cried, "to give up wealth, position and fame for a crazy cause; you are no son of mine." But Francis crossed his breast and cried, "Pietro, Pietro Bernadone, until now I have called you father but henceforth I can truly say with these, 'Our Father who art in heaven", for he is my wealth and hope." Out in the world then he wandered alone. His friends wagged their heads and laughed, as some friends will, but his mother waited. And then,

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Why have I brought you this old fashioned tale of the life of a mediaeval saint? Century after century has rolled by since his dust crumbled and floated in the mists that hover on the head waters of the Arno and Tiber. The world has changed in hastening, hurrying, hungry whirl of weal and woe. Why should we look backward rather than forward for our guiding star?

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Thus is it not clear that with all the change in time and circumstances there remain thesame old questions of attitude toward life. What am I? And what is the world? And this world and I, how shall we laugh and work together?

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youth arises in the great dim morning of life and sees the golden lure of endless joy and wealth beckoning on the horizon; ever the blood of the growing man hears the wild trumpet blast of deeds and fame, and ever then in life's commencement comes the still small voice of wisdom "Not by wealth nor by violence but by my spirity saith the Lord." This was the history of St. Francis of Assisi and this will be your history, my young friends. And for this reason I am asking you to pause tonight and listen to the old story and learn the life lesson it contains.

It will be quite easy, let me repeat, to misinterpret such a history; to tell you that joy has no part in life, that wealth is merely temptation, that fame is mockery and that only by total renunciation can come the real good of living. Yet this would be wrong; this is untrue, and least of all does the life of St. Francis teach this contradiction of life. Rather this life emphasizes the beauty and joy of living, but not simply for ourselves rather for all men, his life emphasizes the need and use of work and wealth but it also emphasizes the fact that material wealth satisfies only a part of life's want and that it may be necessary to sacrifice a part or even the larger part of material well-being for the advancement of science and humanity. Indeed at all time human life must be a balancing of limited means against infinite ends, and while all these objects are desirable yet some are more desirable than others, and the poverty of human energies and resources forces us always to choose the more weighty and important and let the others wait. In St. Francis's day this choosing left him in direst physical poverty. In our day this is not necessary and yet the choosing of the greater needs of life

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But thus in terse and concrete meaning, what does the 20th Century demand of the yourth who, standing at the threshold of life, wish to do for their world something of the work that St. Francis did for his? It demands, I take it, four great things: Ambition or Force, Ideal or Object, Renunciation or Unselfishness, Technique or Work.

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First of all it demands ambition- the striving within your soul of every latent power of doing, of all the slumbering fire, the quickening of muscle and stretching of sinew and the burning, scintillating flash of brain, the whole massed might of this wonderful human machine alert, panting, instinct with holy zeal to hurl itself into the world's work. That was the thing with which Francis of Assisi started: the fiery impulse, the joyous enthusiasm, the unshaken determination to make life tell for its utmost in spite of the contempt and mocking of men or the machinations of the devil. That is the spirit that must animate you, young men and women as you step forth into the world. I mean, too, by ambition not the mere desire for success, not the following up of successful endeavor; any fool can have that. But I mean

grim grit, tenacious bull-dog courage to face defeat and disappointment and still aspire. That defiant attitude toward the ills of life that Henley sang of when he cried:

> Out of the night that covers me
> Black as the pit from pole to pole,
> I thank whatever God's may be
> For my unconquerable soul.
>
> In the fell clutch of circumstance
> I have not winced or cried aloud,
> Under the bludgeonings of chance
> My head is bloody but unbowed.
>
> It matters not how straight the gate,
> How charged with punishments the scroll,
> I am the master of my fate,
> I am the captain of my soul.

This dynamic power is the first demand of modern life, but alone this power is dangerous. It is the bridled charger stamping at the portcullis and chafing his bit; it is the armoured warrior gleaming in the morning sun, twisting and twirling his spear, but at the sight, the world trembles and cries, "Whither, to murder or rescue, to good or bad, to life or death?"

So tremulous with balanced possibilities of good and evil is ambitious youth at this life crisis that many good people at times half cry out against ambition, half preferring lifeless, nerveless, unawakened mediocrity to the stirrings of such infinite power as may, to be sure, knock at the gate of Heaven, and may just as surely rattle the doorposts of Hell. These days are the days when in a few weeks you may begin the greater life, and they are days when you may start in the paths that lead to crime and debauchery and the never ending throng of hearsed dead. This is the reason that in later years we hear so little said to Negro youth of ambition, power, and unconquerable resolve. Men fear you and some fear lest with the might of power of manhood you may

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fail, and some, I shame to say, fear lest you may succeed. But I do not fear you because I know you. I know that being but human some of you must needs fail and the very force of your energy drive you downward, but I know too that most of you will not fail but will triumph with the triumph of ten million.

The great efficient cause of this triumph when it comes will be your education. Life is not learned at a leap. This world is too old and complicated to be known by sudden inspiration. For this reason we educate children; for this reason the state seeks to give its future citizens the knowledge of the Tree of Life, lest in the evening they see the flaming of the sword of death.

But what does this education teach or essay to teach? It seeks to teach the other three of the four things mentioned: 1. The ideals toward which civilization strives. 2. The good which can today be done. 3. The technical method by which each one can help do this work. Or, as I have said, Ideal, that "one far off divine event toward which the whole creation moves; Renunciation, which but means the choice of the best possible good for all out of the infinite desirable; and finally, the best actual method of doing your share. Thus stated the work of an educational system seems easy and clear and it would be if the ideal were fixed and unchangeable, the duty of renunciation clear and undoubted, and the technique of life always the same. But this is far from true. Life is flux and changes. Ideals rise, expand and grow, and the choice of the better among the good is the most baffling of life's dark problems; and with every changing want, invention and discovery, the technique of industry and work changes.

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Thus the educational system has within itself eternal conflict, it can never be final, it can only continually hold clear its vast aim to teach children the greater goals toward which men are striving, to teach them what of these are at present attainable, and then to give to mind and hand such training as shall make them efficient helpers in the world's work of attaining these goods.

In the working out of the details there must ever be thought, controversy and often dispute.

I doubt not that many of my younger hearers and not a few of the older ones have been sorely puzzled in these later days as to the true aim and method of education, as were Pietro the father and Francis the son seven hundred years ago. On the one hand come those educators and seers crying, "Hitch your wagon to a star", and on the other hand come the business men and artisans saying, "learn by doing; earn a living". Now it does not settle the real conflict of thought and aim here expressed by assuming that there are but two sides of the same device. They may be and they may not be. Given a St. Francis with holy zeal to relieve the wretchedness of outcast humanity and it were the essence of wisdom to cry in his ear: Learn by doing; succor the first beggar that crosses your path; systematize your work, so that your followers may live and earn their living at this work. On the other hand, given a Francis son of Pietro, whose ideal of life was selfishly to display his wealth and fight and carouse, to tell him to learn by doing and earn that sort of living would be to send him to the devil as fast as money could pay the bills. So today, given young black men with the dynamic of ambition and add to this an education

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which on the one hand gives them ideals of human service and manly renunciation, and on the other teaches them something of the world's experience and the technique of modern industry, given these things you have a perfect system of training. But given young men and women of your age starting out with the idea that the chief object of living is to gain as much cash and personal applause as can be gotten without serious infraction of the criminal code, to add an ever so thorough a knowledge of the technique of modern industry to such low and perverted ideals is to disgrace the righteous ambition of a people and ruin the hope of the Negro race.

So long as the world consists of the fortunate and unfortunate, the weaker and the stronger, the rich and the poor, true human service will involve ideal and renunciation. If you really have at heart the good of the world, you simply cannot give your whole time and energy to the selfish seeking of your personal good. If you wish the Negro race to become honest, intelligent and rich, you cannot make the accumulation of wealth for yourself the sole object of your education and life. The object of St. Francis of Assisi was not to make the world poorer by his poverty but richer. No doctrine of universal selfishness will ever reform society and lift men to the highest plane, simply because the world is too full of careless unfortunates and incompetent vicious souls. While you are confining yourself to the work of selfishly raising yourself, these forces are dragging down a dozen of your neighbors and children. You must be your brother's keeper as well as your own, or your brother will drag you and yours down to his ruin.

The life of St. Francis teaches us then, that renunciation is

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the inevitable first payment for healthy social uplift, not renunciation to poverty such as the 15th Century demanded for the 20th Century is placing physical poverty in the back-ground, but certainly today among us a renunciation of dreams of great wealth and instead of contentment with humble means, along with deep unselfish devotion to a splendid cause. This is the equipment which is needed today as sadly and pressingly as in any century of the Middle Age.

On the other hand, the further the world goes on its journey of civilization the greater the need of specialization and technique - men must know how to do the world's work. They must have the specialized skill, knowledge and insight to do a practical piece of the labor well. The skilled artisan approaches today the inspired artist and both in common strive and sweat and toil. For what? For so much a day? No, for the glory of their handicraft, for the good their work does the human beings whose welfare is their own welfare. Their bride is not Poverty but Carpentry or Painting or Weariness or Pain, and their reward is the reward of St. Francis - a better , truer, richer world.

Thus the work of the public school is not on the one hand to fire aimless ambition without sound ideals; not to inspire human hearts with a vision of the true, the good and the beautiful without pointing the practical way of realizing some of these dreams here and now in their own lives; not to imagine on the one hand that Desire and Knowledge alone will lift a race out of poverty and weakness, nor dream on the other hand that infinite skill with hammer or hoe will ever lead a man to do that which his native ambition and educated aspiration do not inspire him to do; remembering that in the colored schools particularly that great

as is the need of a new race for technical skill and efficiency, there is even greater need for the lifting and training of the racial consciousness in knowledge and inspiration, renunciation and ideal.

I trust then, young men and women that the years of training which this school has given you with great expenditure of money and human energy has placed you tonight on that great vantage ground where the burning ambition of your youth has been, on the one hand, inspired by ideals as Broad and human as those that inspired St. Francis of Assisi, and has on the other hand taught you something of the actual technique of living and earning a living. If this is true then it remains for me only to greet you and cry God speed.

The careers you enter will be builded of interlaced joy and sorrow, shade and shine, and although shadow-hands from other worlds will join in that building yet in your own hands will the major part of the making of your lives lie. Build well. Build stubbornly and doggedly, build carefully and painfully with skilled technique, but above all build by some large and worthy plan. Face defeat as cheerfully as triumph. Face success as coolly as defeat. Face anything that comes and then not only here tonight but there in the mists of God'd great morning, when his darker children bring their hard-won triumphs up from the Gates of Despair and the Valley of the Shadow of Death, lay your laurels not on your own heads but at the feet of those mothers and fathers who have nurtured you and toiled for you and smoothed the way of your life with their own grey hairs and tears - with their own life-blood.

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As it was the great object of St. Francis of Assisi to bring peace and succor to the down-trodden of his day, let it be your highest ambition to be able one day to say to this heart-hurt and weary mother race of ours:

"Thy sun shall notmore go down,
Neither shall thy moon withdraw itself;
For the Lord shall be thine everlasting light,
And the days of thy mourning shall be ended."

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1906 1907

GALILEO GALILEI

The man whom we know as Galileo was born in 1564 and died in 1642, born just after Elizabeth of England ascended the throne and died as the Thrity Year's War was about to end; and yet this tells us little until we understand the meaning of the Age in which he lived -- the waning 16th and the dawning 17th centuries; and unless above all it happens that we catch tonight the peculiar way in which his life and problems concern us and our problems both as individuals and as graduates of Fisk University.

Galileo was born in that great Age when the struggle for religious freedom was turning into a series of struggles for political survival. The new birth of the Spirit of the World in the 15th century had swept away the Veil of Dogmatic religion in the 16th and left the European world in the whirl of battle: in Germany a wild troubled peace flamed into a War of Wars which for a whole generation swept and devastated the land. In France a wily Italian woman planned the massacre of St. Bartholemew and with the flash of its horror lighted twenty-five years of civil strife and a century of despotism. In England, Bloody Mary had wept herself heart-broken to her grave, while her husband, son of the great Emperor whom Martin Luther faced at Worms, began that awful struggle with the Netherlands, which for eighty years crimsoned the North Sea and culminated in the Great Armada against Elizabeth of England.

But Galileo was not of war-swept Germany or intriguing France, or of proud Spain or pushing England; he was a true son of Itlay. Of that Italy which had given the world the Renaissance and those great Sons of morning Leonardo, Raphael, Titian, and the master Michael Angelo in whose death year Galileo was born.

He was born of noble rank in Pisa which we all know for its leaning tower and bronzen doors, but which stood then for a memory and a prophesy - a memory of former glory of artist, merchant, and warrior, there where its marble pal-

aces cunning in handiwork looked

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ward thrust; because of some vision that calls and will no answer but the Eternal Yes.

So Galileo became a learner and teacher of men and in this life career what did he accomplish three hundred years ago? The simple unexplained recore is in itself wonderful: he found the law of falling bodies, he invented the telescope, he discovered the moons of Jupiter, he explained the reflected light of planets; he laid down the laws of cohesion, he studied the law of the pendulum and applied it to the clock, and above all he adduced irrefragable proof of the correctness of the Copernican doctrine that the sun and not the earth is the centre of our universe. Simply and barely stated this accomplishment is tremendous. To few human beings has it been given in a life of four score years to advance so momentously the sum of human knowledge. But this bare recounting does not do justice to his genius. "Judge us not" cried Frederick Douglass "by the heights we have attained but rather from the depths whence we came." So too judge this World Genius not simply by the things he learned but rather by the ignorance of his Age. This was a day when falling and gravitation was a thing too slight for human minds to ponder over; when the sky was regarded as a decorated changeable roof of the world, when time depended on sundials and hour glasses, and when the grand old legend of Joshua and the sun in Ajalon was regarded as a plain literal statement of fact. It was a day when men assumed knowledge of the whole Truth and argued down to the individual fact, instead of ceaselessly, endlessly and minutely studying the fact and then guessing as we do today cautiously at the mighty shadow of Reality. Here then was a human soul that walked into this world naked and unashamed, that dared to see what his own eyes saw and think whither his own clear logic. A dangerous soul - a Revolutionist greater than Robespierre, a socialist wilder than Marx or Gorky - a very creator of a new heaven and a new Earth.

And here if I were minded I might end with this triumphant record and with a dim hint at jealousy o'erpassed and persecution surmounted, of physical blindness and suffering ignored, celebrate a triumphant death in the year of Newton's birth; and tell of the tomb that sits today in Florence to his honor -- there where the golden Arno fragrant with memories sings to the sea 'neath the olive crowned marbles of Lorenzo, the Magnificent.

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But it is in such half finished biography that men do mischief in the world and blind the eyes of young men and women like these graduates here. It sweeps dust in their eyes and discord in their ears, and to the eternal thunder of the questioning. How, it returns only the answer to the answered question What. Easy it is to tell what men have done in this world -- Lincoln freed the slave, Grant freed Lincoln, and Hamilton made us a nation. But how - How, asks the men who will do -- Stars there are, them we see and know but How do men reach them - what of the Way, the Power, and the Opposition.

So in Galileo's life I want to turn now to three things: what was the Impulse that gave him power to do? What were the Obstacles he encountered? And how did he surmount them?

The impulse was a new vision of the world. From the time of Dante in the thirteenth up to the blossoming of Petrarch in the fifteenth Italy had been seeing life anew. Galileo was child of this awakening.

The impulse behind him was the Wonder of an open mind ar the mechanism of the universe. Two things in the world are ever Miraculous - thought and motion. After the death of the dark age the European world awoke in the Italian renaissance to a sense of the Wonders of human thought - their own keen speculation and the marvels of the rediscovered thought of the ancient world; then imperceptibly the Things thought of displaced the thought of the thinking and motion form movement held the attention of men and the genius of Galileo. Something of the same thing has happened in our day; the schools have long

studied Human Thought in literature, logic and speculation. Today has come attention to the more neglected wonders of the Things round us and the technique of the world. With eye and imagination thus fixed on the mystery of motion in falling body and whirling earth and moving star, Galileo started to know, to observe, to prove, to dream.

In so doing he met the opposition - the obstacles that ever block the way of the man who proposes in thought or deed, something New. First it took the cruder and uglier form of jealousy.

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We tell but half a truth to young men and women when we say do well and you will be successful. They are apt to interpret success in term of the world's applause and it is not true that the world ever applauds well doing. In his own alma mater, the ancient University of Pisa, Galileo did well as student and professor of physics at the early age of twenty-five. But his new teachings offended a man. If that man had been an ordinary mortal it might not have mattered, but he was Giovanni de Medici, a prince of a princely house, and in three short years at the very outset of his career Galileo was out of a job. A year later he was called to the University of Padua and finally to Florence itself. The students of all Europe flocked to him and his inventions and discoveries spread his fame. And as his fame rose so rose the jealous opposition. And now men said not that he offended man but that he blasphemed God. Blasphemy, heresy, transgression of the Dogma of the Catholic Chruch were werious things in the sixteenth century - they meant disgrace, poverty, persecution, and death if known and proven. At first then the thing was whispered as jealous rumor, then it swelled to an open war of pamphlets and books; sermons were preached and formal denouncement of the heretic was made. The Holy Office, which we know as the Inquisition - that dark and cruel child of the Reformation, with its servant the Society of Jesus - took up the matter, and

finally the opposition culminated in a summons to Rome and trial before seven cardinal princes of the Holy Catholic Church.

Such was the Impulse and such the Opposition. Whither was the Path - the way through, which Galileo pursued his journey to the End. When the man who has a clear vision of Right, finds himself successfully approaching the goal, how shall he meet the Jealousy, Error, Selfishness and Ignornace. The world has given many answers to this, perhaps the greatest moral problem that rises before men. Tonight I have to tell the answer that Galileo Galilei gave: For 50 years:

He hesitated;

He explained to his friends;

He conciliated his enemies;

He promised to cease;

He argued

and finally at the age of 70

He lied - he deliberately and with full knowledge publicly and unequivocally he made one of the straightest most uncompromising denials of what he knew to be the truth ever recorded and, as the legend is, sealed that falsehood by a whispered statement that he knew he was lying.

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I am at present neither defending nor condemning Galileo. I am simply stating the case and showing you the way in which a man whose service to humanity is unquestioned chose to save his life. For a long time Galileo was successful in dodging the main issue, namely Does the doctrine that the sun is the centre of our universt contradict the Bible? He was full seventy years of age when he was finally brought to trial. It was an imposing sight: on the rear wall of a room in the Great palace of the Vatican rose the soft outlines of a famous fresco of Raphael. Before it stretched a long crimson coated table. Here sat the prelates of the church in their gorgeous robes - the

bishops of seven sees, the princes of the greatest human organization in modern times. A golden crucifix adorned one end and the seven golden candlesticks with their lighter tapers. Before the table stood two scarlet cardinals, and a corsetted soldier with drawn sword. In the midst stood Galileo -- a little old man of seventy years, decrepit, and half blind. With palsied hands and trembling lips he said these words:

"I Galileo Galilei of the age of seventy, being on my knees in the presence of you, most eminent and most reverend Lords Cardinals of the Universal Christian Commonwealth, having before my eyes the holy Gospels, on which I now lay my hands, swear that I have always believed, and now believe, and God helping, that I shall for the future always believe, whatever the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church holds, preaches, and teaches. But because this Holy Office had enjoined me by precept, entirely to relinquish the false dogma which maintains that the Earth is the center of the world and immovable, and that the Earth is not the center, and moves; not to hold, defend, or teach by any means, or by writing, the aforesaid false doctrine.

Therefore, being willing to take out of the minds of your eminences, and of every Catholic Christian, this vehement suspicion of right conceived against me, I with sincere heart, and faith unfeigned, abjure, execrate, and detest the aforesaid errors and heresies, and generally every sect contrary to the above-said Holy Church, and I swear that I will never more hereafter say or assert, bu speech or writing, anything through which the like suspicion may be had of me; but if I shall know any one heretical, or suspected of heresy, I will denounce him to this Holy Office, or to the Inquisitor, and Ordinary of the place in which I shall be. I moreover swear and promise, that I will fulfill and observe entirely all the penitences which have been imposed upon me, or which shall be imposed by this Holy Office. But if it shall happen that

I shall go contrary (which God avert) to any of my words, promises, protestations, and oaths, I subject myself to all the penalties and punishments, which, by the Holy Canons, and other Constitutions, general and particular, have been enacted and promulgated against such delinquents: So help me God, and his Holy Gospels, on which I now lay my hands."

Thus he spoke but as he rose from his knees some say he whispered "But it does move". Nine years later the blind and aged sufferer after long imprisonment and torture, died.

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Students and graduates of Fisk University let us jidge this man: on the one hand range his service to mankind: his discovery of the great laws of motion in the solar system; on the other place the cowardice of his lie; the advantages of a mechanical knowledge of the university and the necessity of faith in one's gellow-men as the foundation stone of society - which is the greatest? Which is the sorest wound to human progress -- the loss of a valuable body of knowledge or the voluntary misdirection of human faith - a blow at the upbuilding of Truth or a blow at its very foundations? Science is a great and worthy mistress but there is one greater and that is humanity which science serves; one thing there is greater than knowledge and that is the man who knows. In the midst then of society whose life blood is faith in the name of Religion which must either be true or devilish, and in the name of Science which will know the truth that the truth may make it free, the verdict of civilization must be that not even the splendor of the service of Truth done by Galileo Galilei can wipe away the blot of his cowardly lie. By that lie civilization was halted, science was checked and bigotry was more strongly enthroned on its crimson glory. And for what? To aid the discovery of truth? No, for Galileo's great work was done twenty years before he was tried for his life. No it was for the sake of nine years of pitiable blindness and suffering for an aged and broken man who did not dare to die for the glory

of a great cause and make it thus more glorious in his courageous death. Nor did he lack example. Only years before his birth a German monk had faced Christendom for one principle and cried when they shrieked "Retract" - not I will not but "I cannot do otherwise." In the midst of his young manhood right there in Rome Giordano Bruno almost the very age of Galileo, a defender of the same Copernican system, and unswerving searcher for truth, suffered himself to be burned alive after seven years in prison rather than to lend himself to a lie to the glory of the Church.

Did it pay? Was the truth worth a lie? Which was the fool Bruno or Galileo? I know that in this my judgment I speak today to ears that hear faintly and to hardening hearts. And with reason, for I speak to an age that differs from and at the same time resembles Galileo's. His age was beginning to see and sense and appreciate the rhythm of Things - the miracle of motion, the sweep of space and the dominion of matter; we today emerge from a century steeped in the awe and worship of Matter, triumphant in its mastery, insolent and in its prophesy. Despite our strongest endeavors a shade of contempt for mere thought and theorizing, for feelings, emotions, and principles tinges our culture and our life. Two miracles the world holds as I have said: Thought and Motion and the Age of thought which was the age before Galileo forgets the miracle of Motion and the Age of Motion which is our age contemns the miracle of Thought. Yet above contempt and neglect sweep both as the ultimate Wonder of Life and woe to the world that blasphemes them.

Today and on us the pressure is tremendous. What is the world cries the Present Philosophy? It is the growing of grain and the weaving of cloth, the moving of wheels and the building of walls - it is the ability to do, the earning of livelihood, the creation of wealth. And then by natural logic this doctrine advances and says if this is Life train men for life in national ways: not by latin and algebra but by arithmetic and mechanics. Is this philosophy

false? No but almost as dangerous for it is half true. As one sided as the world that stood in judgment over Galileo and said: with the Bible of God and the Logic of to read what else is there worth studying in the world. The influence of this dogmatism has lasted until our day. There can be no doubt that the College curriculum of the past generation shamefully neglected the World of Things - the tangible visible universe and its laws and ways. It is certain that in the University of tomorrow the field of knowledge will include a knowledge of what the present world has done as is doing with its physical resources as well as a knowledge of its Thoughts and feelings. For this momentous change in curriculum all true educators are looking and preparing but this does not mean a stampede to industry as a substitute for life - to mechanics as an antidote for thought or to technique in place of Reason.

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Simply because in the world of education we are fighting for change and larger fulfillment of true prophesy does not mean that any industrializing of a college curriculum, or any substitution of hands for brains is the true heralded change. For it may easily happen(and this is the gist of my message) that a mere specious and popular promise of longer and easier life may prompt the Galilean spirit of 1908 as it did in 1608 to seek to establish the mechanical success of the future building by tearing down the spiritual foundations of the past.

Many men would argue in judging Galileo: Are not the laws of Motion worth a lie? Is not the support of a great Negro College worth some deception or surrender? But the Spirit of the Ages answers No. The foundations which Galileo's lie threatened were of more infinitely difficult building and perfecting than the great discoveries he made were worth. In travail of soul and gushing of blood, in anger, hatred, sorrow and strife, in the rise and crash of empires, from Egypt and Babylonia to Beautiful Greece and imperial Rome - on

all this was the world - Kingdom of Law and Order and Truth raised. They only can speak lightly of the change from the Time when each man flew at every one's throat to that when we safely look for Universal Peace among all nations - they only lightly pass that vision by who never knew of the raging billows of sorrow and blood through which this world has staggered to this goal. Which is greater the discovery of the Telephone or of universal suffrage? That man is mad who hesitates to answer.

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So then when a man offers a discovery for a lie or Education for a bribe then must the watchman on the outer wall cry Halt - In the King's name!

And you graduates of Fisk University, are the Warchmen on the outer wall. And you Fisk University, Intangible but real Personality, builded of Song and Sorrow, and the Spirits of Just Men made perfect are as one standing Galileo -wise before the Vision of Death and the Bribe of the Lie. Not that I for a moment suppose that anyone now in authority here proposes any decisive change in the attitude of meaning of this University. But the personality of an institution is a peculiar thing. The apparently isolated - almost unconscious movements of individuals guided by the outside pressure of powerful interests easily bring that to pass of which they themselves had not dreamed. And so today this venerable institution stands before its problem of future development, with the bribe of Public Opinion and Private Wealth dangling before us, if we will either deny that our object is the highest and broadest training of Black Men, or if we will consent to call Higher Education that which you know and I know is not Higher Education. And I say we, in this case advisedly, for my brothers and sisters, if this happens: if the ideal is lowered or the lie told the responsibility rests on us. We are the University - we on whose hands it has laid immortal hands, who wear its sign and seal upon our brows. For us the trustees hold this property, as our representatives these teachers teach. If this republic of letters suffers harm, the guilt

lies on us and on our children's children.

Three gifts a graduate may bring back to his Alma Mater - a gift of Gold, and surely today this is needed for more and more the burden of Negro education is destined on Negro shoulders, and the support of a College like this will eventually come from its alumni. Yet the gift of Gold is not possible to us all nor is it the greatest gift. The second and greater gift is the gift of accomplishment - of things done, success achieved, knowledge advanced and fostered. Too little of this proof of our training have we brought to Fisk, but a full glorious return did Galileo make to Pisa. Yet this is not the greatest and in the maker the Greater Gift this Man missed and marred the greatest. For the greatest gift that a scholar can bring to Learning is Reverence of Truth, a Hatred of Hypocrisy Shams, and an absolute sincerity of purpose. And if after twenty years we of the class of '88 return with little Gold, with but pitiable accomplishment - God grant we bring to this altar the incense of clean hands and unbending devotion to what we know is the truth.

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In the pell clutch of Circumstance
I have winced or cried aloud;
Beneath the bludgeonings of Chance
My head is bloody ---- but unbowed.

First of all then the thing for we stand must be clear. We are not opposing industrial education. The vocational training of children is one of the greatest and most promising movements of modern days. But the place for that kind of training is not the College department of Fisk University. To do this would be like using a surgeon's knife for chopping wood. The world needs wood but it has axes for cutting it. There are good and deserving schools for trade teaching. There are but two or three colleges. These colleges are devoted to higher training and they must not be diverted from it. But it may be asked

are not technical and mechanical courses of study possible subjects of higher training? They are. The college course of the future is going to be enriched by the inclusion of many courses based on the technique of modern industry and the physical properties of matter. But that does not mean that every part of such knowledge is fit for the college curriculum. The milking of cows is a worthy industry but it is not a cultural study upon which any honest college can base its bachelor's degree. On the other hand the great chemical and physical laws which underly the making of many food products are matters which could profitable be treated in a college course. And the decision as to the adaptability of certain lines of thought or bodies of knowledge is not a thing to be arrived at by majority vote or racial prejudices, but is a matter of expert study. If Fisk University wants to know what technical and engineering subjects are fittest to a College course - there are in the United States, France, and Germany hundreds of universities and other institutions of the very highest standing, whose curriculums have been matters of thought, study and development among the best educational philosophers of the world - learn of these and copy their courses and hold their standards. But if on the other hand the standards of a great Negro College are to be set by schools of lower and different object, whither are the ideals of this University falling? If you find that you cannot give technical courses of rich college grade then high school courses or kindergarten courses and call them by their right names. There may often be excuse for doing things poorly in this world, but there is never any excuse for calling a poorly done thing well done - of denominating a series of lessons in the training of servants, a course in mechanical engineering.

You will I am sure pardon this frank warning and exportation. The times are perilous. A stubborn determination at this time on the part of the Negro race to uphold its ideals, keep its standards and unceasàly contend for its

rights means victory, and victory a great deal sooner than any of you imagine. But a course of self abasement and surrender, of lowering of ideals and surrendering of opportunity - above all a philosophy of lieing in word or deed for the sake of conciliation or personal gain means indefinite postponement of the true emancipation of the Negro race in America for the simple reason that such a race is not fit to be freed.

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High above the yellow marbles of Florence glistening among the shining olive leaves hangs the ancient church of the Holy Cross. Below it winds the yellow Arno past Pisa to the azure of the Midland sea; and beyond the Sea lies Africa. Once in the past the surging billows tossed a Florentine barque high on the thunders of a Storm. All seemed lost in the purple blackness of the night: with wild voices the sailors prayed to all the Saints of Florence till suddenly one cried - "A vision - a vision: The Holy Cross," and pointed our far aloft where seemed to gleam the marble splendor of the Florentine Church. The whirled the ship toward it, it leapt and dashed itself to death on the black and beatling rocks full fifty miles from where in far off Florence the Church of the Holy Cross raised silently its towers to God. And beneath these towers slept and sleep the bones of Galileo Galilei.

1906

Galileo Galilei

The man whom we know as Galileo was born in I564 and died in I642, born just after Elizabeth of England ascended the throne and died as the Thirty Years' War was about to end; and yet this tells us little until we understand the meaning of the Age in which he lived- the waning I6th and the dawning I7th centuries; and unless above all it happens that we catch tonight the peculiar way in which his life and problems concern us and our problems both as individuals and as graduates of Fisk University.

Galileo was born in that great Age when the struggle for religious freedom was turning into a series of struggles for political survival. The new birth of the Spirit of the World in the I5th century had swept away the Veil of Dogmatic religion in the I6th and left the European world in the whirl of battle: in Germany a wild troubled peace flamed into a War of Wars which for a whole generation swept and devastated the land. In France a wily Italian woman planned

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the massacre of St. Bartholemew and with the flash of its horror lighted twenty five years of civil strife and a century of despotism. In England, Bloody Mary had wept herself heart-broken to her grave, while her husband, son of the great Emperor whom Martin Luther faced at Worms, began that awful struggle with the Netherlands, which for eighty years crimsoned the North Sea and culminated in the Great Armada against Elizabeth of England.

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But Galileo was not of war-swept Germany or intriguing France, or of proud Spain or pushing England; he was a true son of Italy. Of that Italy which had given the world the Renaissance and those great Sons of morning Leonardo, Raphael, Titian, and the master Michael Angelo in whose death year Galileo was born.

He was born of noble rank in Pisa which we all know for its leaning tower and bronzen doors, but which stood then for a memory and a prophesy- a memory of former glory of artist, merchant, and warrior, there where its marble palaces cunning in handiwork looked

ward thrust; because of some vision that calls and with no answer but the Eternal Yes.

So Galileo became a learner and teacher of men and in this life career what did he accomplish three hundred years ago? The simple explained record is in itself wonderful: he found the law of falling bodies, he invented the telescope, he discovered the moons of Jupiter, he explained the reflected light of planets; he laid down the laws explained the phenomena of cohesion, he studied the law of pendulum and applied it to the clock, and above all he adduced irrefragable proof of the correctness of the Copernican doctrine that the sun and not the earth is the centre of our universe. Simply and barely stated this accomplishment is tremendous. To few human beings has it been given in a life of four score years to advance so momentously the sum of human knowledge. But this bare recounting does not do justice to his genius. " Judge us not" cried Frederick Douglass "by the heights we have attained but rather from the depths whence

we came." So too judge this World Genius not simply by the things he learned but rather by the ignorance of his Age. This was a day whne falling and gravitation was a thing too slight for human minds to ponder over; when the sky was regarded as a decorated changeable roof of the world, when time depended on sun dials and hpur glasses, and when the grand old legend of Joshua and the Sun in Ajalon was regarded as a plain literal statement of fact. It was a day when men ~~started with~~ assumed knowledge of the whole Truth and argued down to the individual fact, instead of ceaselessly, endlessly and minutely studying the fact and then guessing as we do today cautiously at the mighty shadow of Reality. Here then was a human soul that walked into this world naked and unashamed, that dared to see what his own eyes saw and think whither his own clear logic . A dangerous soul- a Revolutionist greater than Robespierre, a socialist wilder than Marx or Gorky- a very creator of a new heaven and a new Earth.

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And here if I were minded, I might end with this triumphant record, and with a dim hint at jealousy o'erpassed and persecution surmounted, of physical blindness and suffering ignored, celebrate his triumphant death in the year of Newton's birth, and tell of the ~~xxxxx~~ tomb that sits today in Florence to his honor-- there where the golden Arno fragrant with memories sings to the sea neath the olive crowned marbles of ~~xxxxxx~~ Lorenzo, the Magnificient.

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But it is in such half finished biography that men do mischief in the world and blind the eyes of young men and women like these graduates here. It sweeps dust in their eyes and discord in their ears, and to the eternal thunder of the questioning How, ~~How~~, it returns only the answer to the answered question What. Easy it is to tell what men have done in this world-- Lincoln freed the slave, Grant freed Lincoln, and Hamilton made us a nation. . But how- how asked, how asks the men who will do-- Stars there are, ~~that~~ them we see and know but how do men reach them- what of the Way, the Power, and the Opposition.

So in Galileo's life I want to turn now to three things: what was the Impulse that gave him power to do? What were the Obstacles he encountered? And how did he surmount them?

The impulse was a new vision of the world. From the time of Dante in the thirteenth up to the blossoming of Petrarch in the fifteenth Italy had been seeing life anew. Galileo was child of this awakening.

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The impulse behind him was the Wonder of an open mind at the mechanism of the universe. Two things in the world are ever Miraculous- thought and motion. After the death of the dark age the European world awoke in the Italian renaissance to a sense of the Wonders of human thought- their own keen speculation and the marvels of the rediscovered thought of the ancient world; then imperceptibly the Things thought of displaced the thought of the thinking and motion form movement held the attention of men and the genius of Galileo. Something of the same thing has happened in our day: the

schools have long studied Human Thought in literature, logic and speculation. Today has come attention to the more neglected wonders of the Things round us ans the technique of the world. With eye and imagination thus fixed on the mystery of motion in falling body and whirling earth and moving star, Galileo ~~he~~ started to know, to observe, to prove, to dream.

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In so doing he met the opposition- the obstacles that ever block the way of the man who proposes in thought or deed, something New. First it took the cruder and uglier form of jealousy.

We tell but a half truth to young men and women when we say do well and you will be successful. They are apt to interpret success in term of the world's applause and it is not true that theworld ever applauds well doing. In his own alma mater, the ancient University of Pisa, Galileo did well as student and professor of physics at the early age of twenty-five. But his new teachings offended a man. If that man had been an ordinary mortal it might

not have mattered, but he was Giovanni de Medici, a prince of a princely house, and in three short years at the very outset of his career Galileo was out of a job. A year later he was called to the University of Padua, and finally to Florence itself. The students of all Europe flocked to him and his inventions and discoveries spread his fame. And as his fame rose so rose the jealous opposition. And now men said not that he offended man but that he blasphemed God. Blasphemy, heresy, transgression of the Dogma of the Catholic Church were serious things in the sixteenth century- they meant disgrace, poverty, persecution, and death if known and proven. At first then the thing was whispered as jealous rumor, then it swelled to an open war of pamphlets and books; sermons were preached and formal denouncement of the heretic was made. The Holy Office, which we know as the Inquisition- that dark and cruel child of the Reformation, with its servant the Society of Jesus, took up the matter, and finally the opposition culminated in a summons to Rome and trial before seven cardinal princes of the

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Holy Catholic Church.

Such was the Impulse and such the Opposition. Whither was the Path- the way through which Galileo pursued his journey to the End. When the man who has a clear vision of Right, finds himself successfully approaching the goal, how shall he meet the Jealousy, Error, Selfishness and Ignorance. The world has given many answers to this, perhaps the greatest moral problem that rises before men. Tonight I have to tell the answer that Galileo Galilei gave: For 50 years

He hesitated;

He explained to his friends;

He conciliated his enemies;

He promised to cease;

He argued

and finally at the age of 70

He lied- he deliberately and with full knowledge unequivocally publicly & he made ~~told~~ one of the straightest most uncompromising denials of what he knew to be the truth ever recorded and, as the legend is, sealed that falsehood by a whispered statement that he knew he was lying.

I am at present neither defending nor condemning Galileo. I am simply stating the case and showing you the way in which a man whose

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service to humanity is unquestioned chose to save to his life. For a long time Galileo was successful in dodging the main issue, namely Does the doctrine that the sun is the centre of our universe contradict the Bible? He was full seventy years of age when he was finally brought to trial. It was an imposing sight: on the rear wall of a room in the Great palace of the Vatican rose thesoft outlines of a famous fresco of Raphael. Before it stretched a long crimson coated table. . Here sat the prelates of the church in their gorgeous robes- the bishops of seven secs , the princes of the greatest human organization in modern times. A golden crucifix adorned one end and the seven golden candlesticks with their lighted tapers. Before the table stood two scarlet cardinals, and a corsetted soldier with drawn sword. In the midst stood Galileo-- a little old man of seventy years, decrepit, and half blind. With palsied hands and trembling lips he said these words:

" I Galileo Galilei of the age of seventy, being on my knees in the

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presence of you, most eminent and most reverend Lords Cardinals of the Universal Christian Church Commonwealth, having before my eyes the holy Gospels, on which I now lay my hands, swear that I have always believed, and now believe, and God helping , that I shall for the the future always believe, whatever the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Catholic Church holds, preaches, and teaches. But because this Holy Office had enjoined me by precept, entirely to relinquish the false dogma which maintains that the Earth is the center of the world and immovable, and that the Earth is not the center, and moves; not to hold, defend, or teach by any means, or by writing, the aforesaid false doctrine.

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Therefore, being willing to take out of the minds of your eminences, and of every Catholic Christian, this vehement suspicion of right conceived against me, I with sincere heart, and faith unfeigned, abjure, execrate, and detest the afore-said errors and heresies, and generally every other sect contrary to the above-said Holy Church; and I

swear that I will never any more hereafter say or assert ,by speech or writing,anything through which the like suspicion may be had of me; but if I shall know any one heretical,or suspected of heresy, I will denounce him to this Holy Office,or to the Inquisitor,and Ordinary of the place in which I shall be. I moreover swear and promise, that I will fulfil and observe entirely all the penitences which have been imposed upon me,or which shall be imposed by this Holy Office. But if it shall happen that I shall go contrary(which God avert) to any of my words,promises, protestations,and oaths, I subject myself to all the penalties and punishments,which,by the Holy Canons,and other Constitutions, general and particular,have been enacted and promulgated against such delinquents: So help me God, and his Holy Gospels ,on which I now lay my hands."

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Thus he spoke but as he rose from his knees some say he whispered " But it does move". Nine years later the blind and aged sufferer after long imprisonement and torture, died.

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Students and graduates of Fisk University let us judge this man: on the one hand range his service to mankind: his discovery of the great laws of motion in the solar system; on the other place the cowardice of his lie; the advantages of a mechanical knowledge of the university and the necessity of faith in one's fellow-men as the foundation stone of society- which is the greatest? Which is the sorest wound to human progress- the loss of a valuable body of knowledge or the voluntary misdirection of human faith - a blow at the upbuilding of Truth or a blow at its very foundations? Science is a great and worthy mistress but there is one greater and that is humanity which science serves; one thing there is greater than knowledge and that is the man who knows. In the midst then of society whose life blood is faith in the name

of Religion which must either be true or devilish, and in the name of Science which will know the truth that the truth may make it free, the verdict of civilization must be that not even the splendor of the service of Truth done by Galileo Galilei can wipe away the blot of his cowardly lie. By that lie civilization was halted, science was checked and bigotry was more strongly enthroned on its crimson glory. And for what? To aid the discovery of truth? No for Galileo's great work was done twenty years before he was tried for his life. No it was for the sake of nine years of pitiable blindness and suffering for an aged and broken man who did not dare to die for the glory of a great cause and make it thus more glorious in his courageous death. Nor did he lack example. Only years before his birth a German monk had faced Christendom for one principle and cried when they shrieked " Retract"- not <u>I will</u> not but I cannot do otherwise." I n the midst of his young manhood right there in Rome Giordano Bruno almost the very age of Galileo, a de-

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fender of the same Copernican system, and unswerving searcher for truth, suffered himself to be burned alive after seven years in prison rather than to lend himself to a lie to the glory of the Church.

Did it pay? Was the truth worth a life? Which was the fool Bruno or Galileo? I know that in this my judgment I speak today to ears that hear faintly and to hardening hearts. And with reason, for I speak to an age that differs from and at the same time resembles Galileo's.

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Galileo's. His age was beginning to see and sense and appreciate the rythym of Things- the miracle of motion, the sweep of space and the dominion of matter; we today emerge from a century steeped in the awe and worship of Matter, triumphant in its mastery, insolent in its prophesy. Despite our strongest endeavors a shade of contempt for mere thought and theorizing, for feelings, emotions, and principles tinges our culture and our life. Two miracles the world holds as I have said: Thought and Motion and the Age of thought which was the age before Galileo forgets the miracle of Motion and the Age of Motion which is our age contemns the miracle of Thought. Yet above contempt and neglect sweep both as the ultimate Wonder of Life and woe to the world that blasphemes them.

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Today and on us the pressure is tremendous . What is the world cries the Present Philosophy? It is the growing of grain and the waeving of cloth, the moving of wheels and the building of walls- it is the ability to do, the earning of livelihood, the creation of

wealth. And then by natural logic this doctrine advances and says if this is Life train men for life in national ways: not by latin and algebra but by arithmetic and mechanics. Is this philos o -phy false? No but almost as dangerous for it is half true. As one sided as the world that stood in judgment over Galileo and said: with the Bible of God and the Logic of to read what else is there worth studying in the world. The influence of this dogmatism has lasted until our day. There can be no doubt that the College curriculum of the past generation shamefully neglected the World of Things - the tangible visible universe and its laws and ways. It is certain that in the University of tomorrow the field of knowledge will include a knowledge of what the present world has done as is doing with its physical resources as well as a knowledge of its Thoughts and feelings. For this momentous change in curriculum all true educators are looking and preparing but this does not mean a stampede to industry as a substitute for life to mechanics as an

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antidote for thought or to technique in place of Reason.

Simply because in the world of education we are fighting for change and larger fulfilment of true prophesy does not mean that any industrializing of a college curriculum, or any substitution of hands for brains is the true heralded change. For it may easily happen (and this is the gist of my message) that a mere specious and popular promise of longer and easier life may prompt the Galilean spirit of 1908 as it did in 1608 to seek to establish the mechanical success of the future building by tearing down the spiritual foundations of the past.

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Many men would argue in judging Galileo: Are not the laws of Motion worth a lie? Is not the support of a great Negro College worth some deception or surrender? But the Spirit of the Ages answers No. The foundations which Galileo's lie threatened were of more infinitely difficult building and perfecting than the great discoveries he made were worth. In travail of soul and gushing of

blood,in anger, hatred, sorrow and strife,in the rise and crash of empires,from Egypt and Babylonia to Beautiful Greece and imperial Rome- on all this was the world,—Kingdon of Law and Order and Truth raised. They only can spoak lightly of the change from the Time when each man flew at every one's throat to that when we safely look for Univerasl Peace among all nations— they only lightly pass that vision by who never knew of the raging billows of sorrow and blood through which this world has staggered to this goal. Which is greater the discovery of the Telephone or of universal suffrage? That man is mad who hesitates to answer.

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So then when a man offers a discovery for a lie or Education for a bribe then must the watchmen on the outer wall cry Halt- In the King(s name!

And you graduates of Fisk University,are the Watchmen on the outer wall. And you Fisk University, Intan-gible but real Personality, builded of Song and Sorrow,and theSpiritsof Just Men made perfect are

as one standing Galileo-wise before the Vision of Death and the Bribe of the Lie. Not that I for amoment suppose that anyone now in authority here proposes any decisive change in the attitude or meaning of this University. But the personality of an institution is a peculiar thing . The apparently isolated - almost unconscious movements of individuals guided by the outside pressure of powerful interests easily bring that to pass of which they themselves had not dreamed. And so today this venerable institution stands before its problem of future development, with the bribe of Public Opinion and Private Wealth dangling before us, if we will either deny that our object is the highest and broadest training of Black Men, or if we will consent to call Higher Education that which you know and I know is not Higher Education. And I say we, in this case advisedly, for my brothers and sisters, if this happens: if the ideal is lowered or the lie told the responsibility rests on us. We are the University- we on whose heads it has laid immortal

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hands, who wear its sign and deal upon our brows. For us the trustees hold this property, as our representatives these teachers teach. If this republic of letters suffers harm, the guilt lies on us and on our children's children.

Three gifts a graduate may bring back to his Alma Mater- a gift of Gold, and surely today this is needed for more and more the burden of Negro education is destined on Negro shoulders, and the support of a College like this will eventually come from its alumni. Yet the gift of Gold is not possible to us all nor is it the greatest gift. The second and greater gift is the gift of accomplishment- of things done, success achieved, knowledge advanced and fostered. Too little of this proof of our training have we brought to Fisk, but a full glorious return did Galileo make to Pisa. Yet this is not the greatest and in the maker the Greater Gift this Man miss-ed and marred the greatest. For the greatest gift that a scholar can bring to Learning is the Reverence of Truth, a Hatred of Hypocrisy

Shams, and an absolute sincereity of purpose. And if after twenty years we of the class of '88 rdturn with little Gold, with but pit-iable accomplishment- God grant we bring to this altar the incense of clean hands and unbending devotion to what we know is the truth.

In the pell clutch of Circumstance
I have winced or cried aloud ;
Beneath the bludgeonings of Chance
My head is bloody------ but unbowed.

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First of all then the thing for we stand must be clear. We are not opposing industrial education. The vocational training of children is one of the greatest and most promising movements of modern days. But the placefor that kind of training is not the College department of Fisk University. To do this would be like using a sur-geon's knife for chopping wood. The world needs wood but it has axes for cutting it. There are good and de-serving schools for trade teaching. There are but two or three colleges. These colleges are devoted to higher ~~ed~~ training and they must not be diverted from it. But it may be asked are not technical and mechanical courses of study pos-

sible subjects of higher training? They are. The college course of the future is going to be enriched by the inclusion of many courses based on the technique of modern industry and the physical properties of matter. But that does not mean that every part of such knowledge is fit for the college curriculum. The milking of cows is a worthy industry but it is not a cultural study upon which any honest college can base its bachelor's degree. On the other hand the great chomical and physical laws which underly the making of many food products are matters which could profitably be treated in a college course. And the decision as to the adaptability of certain lines of thought or bodies of knowledge is not a thing to be arrived at by majority vote or racial prejudices, but is a matter of expert study. If Fisk University wants to know what techinal and engineering subjects are fittest to a College course-there are i in the United States, France, and Germany hundreds of universities and other institutions of the very highest standing, whose curriculums

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have been matters of thought, study and development among the best educational philosphers of the world- learn of these and copy their courses and hold their standards. But if on the other -hand the standards of agreat Negro College are to be set by schools of lower and different object, whither are the ideals of this University falling? If you find that you cannot give technical courses of rich college grade then give high school courses or kindergarten courses and call them by their right names. There may often be excuse for doing things poorly in this world, but there is never anyexcuse for calling a poorly done thing well done- of denominating a series of lessons in the training of servants, a course in mechanical engineering.

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You will I am sure pardon this frank warning and exportation. The times are perilous. A stubborn determination at this time on the part of the Negro race to uphold its ideals, keep its standards and unceasely contend for its rights means victory, and victory a great

deal sooner than any of you imagine. But a course of self abasement and surrender, of lowering of ideals and surrendering of opportunity -above all a philosophy of lieing in word or deed for the sake of conciliation or personal gain means indefinite postponement of the true emancipation of the Negro race in America for the simple reason that such a race is not fit to be freed.

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High above the yellow marbles of Florence glistening among the shining olive leaves hangs the ancient church of the Holy Cross. Be-low it winds the yellow Arno past Pisa to the azure of the Midland sea; and beyond the Sea lies Africai. Once in the past the surging billows tossed a Florentine barque high on the thunders of a Storm. All seemed lost in the purple blackness of the night: with wild voices the sailors prayed to all the Saints of Florence till sudden-ly one cried- " A vision-a vision: The Holy Cross," and pointed out far aloft where seemed to gleam the marble splendor of the Florentine Church. They whirled the ship toward it, it leapt and dashed itself

to death on the black and beatling rocks fill fifty miles from where in afr off Florence the Church of the Holy Cross raised silently its towers to God. And beneath these towers slept and sleep the bones of Galileo Galilei.

41-2-169

Politics and Industry.

Abstract of Paper delivered by Prof. W. E. B. DuBois, of Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga., at the Conference on the Status of the Negro.

Monday - Day Session.

.....there came a counter-argument that practically stopped all effective opposition to the disfranchisement laws. This argument was that the economic development of the Negro in right lines demanded his exclusion from the right of suffrage at least for the present. This proposition has been insisted on so strenuously and advocated by Negroes of such prominence that it simply took the wind out of the sails of those who had proposed defending his rights, and today so deeply has this idea been driven that to most readers' minds the Negroes of the land are divided into two great parties - one asking no political rights but giving all attention to economic growth and the other wanting votes, higher education and all rights. Moreover, the phrase "take the Negro out of politics" has come to be regarded as synonomous with industrial training and property getting by black men. I want in the first place to show that in my opinion both these propositions are wrong and mischievous. In the first place there is no such division of opinion among Negroes as is assumed. They are particularly a unit in their demand for the ballot. The real difference of opinion comes as to how the ballot is to be gained. One set of opinion favors open frank agitation. The other favors influence and diplomacy; and the result, curious to say, is that the latter party has today an organized political machine which dictates the distribution of offices among black men and sometimes among southern whites and it is not too much to say that today the po-

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litical power of the black race in America is in certain restricted lines very considerable. But those of us who oppose this party hold that this kind of political development by secrecy and machine methods is both dangerous and unwholesome and is not leading toward real democracy. It may and undoubtedly does put a large number of black men in office and it lessens momentary friction, but it is encouraging a coming economic conflict which will threaten the South and the Negro race.

.....We believe in vocational training, but we also believe that the vocation of a man in a modern civilized land includes not only the technique of his actual work but intelligent comprehension of his elementary duties as a father, citizen, and maker of public opinion, as a possible voter, a conservor of the public health, an intelligent follower of moral customs, and one who can at least appreciate if not partake something of the higher spiritual life of the world. .....

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This brings us to the matter of voting: it is possible - easily possible - to train a working class who shall have no right to participate in the government. Most of the manual workers in the history of the world have been so trained. It is also possible, and the modern workd thinks desirable, to train a working class who shall also have the right to vote - Both these things are possible although the overwhelming trend of modern thought is toward making workers voters. But the one thing that is impossible and proven so again and again is to train two sets of workers side by side in economic competition and make one set voters and deprive the other set of all participation in government. To attempt this is madness. It invites a conflict and oppression? A nation cannot exist half slave and half free. Either the slave will rise through blood or the freeman will sink. So far

tremendous effort in the South has been put forth to keep down economic competition between the races, by confining the Negroes by law and custom to certain vocations. But this effort is bound to break down.....

Moreover, the schools that increase the competition are the industrial schools and this is both natural and proper.....This competition accentuates race prejudice; when a whole community, a whole nation, pours contempt on a fellow man it seems a personal insult for that man to work beside me or at the same kind of work.....Here is a man whom all my companions say is unworthy and dangerous as a companion on the street car or steam car, as a fellow listener at a concert, theatre or lecture, as a table companion in the same house or restaurant, often as a dweller in the same street or same neighborhood and always as a worshipper in the same church or occupant of the same graveyard. If all this is so - and this the southern white working man is industriously taught from the cradle to the grave- if this is so then why should I be forced to work at the same job as this man or be engaged in similar kinds of work, or receive the same wages? If we cannot play together why should we work together?

38-2-172

Not only is there this feeling but there is also power to act. After the Atlanta riot the police and militia searched the houses of colored people and took away guns and amunition, while the sheriff almost gave away guns to some of the very men who had composed the mob. We think this monstrous, but this is but a parallel of the action of the whole nation; they have put the ballot in the hands of the white workingmen of the South and taken it away from the black fellow-workmen. The result is that the white workmen can enforce his feeling of prejudice and repulsion. Other things being equal, the employer

is forced to discharge the black man and hire the white man - public opinion demands it, the administrators of government including police, magistrates, etc., render it easier since by preferring the white many intricate questions of social contact are avoided and political influence is vastly increased.

Under such circumstances there is nothing for the Negro to do but to bribe the employer by underbidding his white fellow: to work not only for less money wages, but for longer hours and under worse conditions. No sooner does he do this than he is mocked as a "scab" from Mexico to Canada and visited with all the consequent penalties. He is said to be dragging down labor and he is said to be taking bread from others mouth and he may be, but his excuse is tremendous; he is dragging others down to keep himself from complete submergence and he is taking some of the bread from others mouths lest his children starve. Does he want to do this? Does he like long hours? Ignorant as he is as a mass, has he not intelligence enough to perceive the value of labor unions and the meaning of the labor movement? No, it is not because the black man is a fool but because he is a victim that he drags labor down.

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Faced by this situation the next step of the white workmen is to enforce by law and administration that which they cannot gain by competition. In the past these laws have been laws to separate and humiliate the blacks, but more aggressive laws are demanded today and will be in the future. The Alabama law makes the breaking of a contract to work by a farm laborer a felony punishable by a penetentiary sentence. Such a breaking of law in other industries is a misdemeanor punishable by a fine. Certain oppressive labor regulations in many southern states are only applicable to such counties as vote their

enforcement. Counties with white workmen vote it down. Counties with disfranchised black workmen vote it in. In the public service no Negro can be employed at any job which any white man wants for obvious reasons. More than that no white man whose business depends on public approbation or political concession can dare to hire Negroes or if he hires them promote them as they may deserve. He must often be content with a distinctly inferior grade of white help.

Judges and juries in the South are at the absolute mercy of the white voters. Few ordinary judges would dare to oppose the momentary whim of the white mob and practically only now and then will a jury convict a white man for aggression on a Negro. Not only is this true in criminal but also in civil suits, so much so that it is a widespread custom among Negroes of property never to take a civil suit to court but to let the white complainant settle it. In all public benefits like schools and parks and gatherings and institutions: Negroes are regularly taxed for what they cannot enjoy: I am taxed for the Carnegie Public Library of Atlanta where I cannot enter to draw my own books. The Negroes of Memphis are taxed for public parks where they cannot sit down.

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The public schools of the South on account of virulent opposition of the white working classes are (save in a few cities and a few exceptional counties) worse off than they were twenty years ago - with poorer teachers, lower salaries, and more negligent supervisors. This statement covers nine-tenths of the public Negro schools of the South. Even in serving his own people and organizing his own business the Negro is at the absolute mercy of the white voters: it is often said grandiloquentky: let the Negroes organize their own theatres, transport their own passengers, organize their own industrial companies:

but such kinds of business are absolutely dependent on public license and taxation requirements. A theatre built and equipped could by a single vote be refused a license, a transportation company could get no franchise, and annindustrial enterprise could be taxed out of existence...The voters proceed to put the industrial screws on the disfranchised. Witness the strike of the white locomotive firemen in Georgia today: Negro firemen get from 50 cents to one dollar a day less than the white firemen, have to do menial work and cannot become engineers. They can, however, by good service and behavior be promoted to the best runs by the rule of seniority. Even this the white firemen now object to and say in a manifesto: the "White people of this state refuse to accept Negro equality. This is worse than that." The other day the white automobile drivers of Atlanta made a frantic appeal in the papers for persons to stop hiring black drivers. The black drivers replied, "we have had fewer accidents than you and get less wages", but the whites simply said, "This ought to be a white man's job."

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This sort of thing is destined to grow and develop. The fear of Negro competition in all lines is increasing in the South. The demand of tomorrow is going to be increasingly not to protect white people frommignorance and degradation, but from knowledge and efficiency - that is to so arrange the matter by law and custom as to make it possible for the inefficient and lazy white wonkman to be able to crush and keep down his black competitor at all hazards, and so that no black man shall be allowed to do his best if his success lifts him to any degree out of the place in which millions of Americans are being taught he ought to stay.

This is bad enough but this is not all. <u>The voteless Negro is</u>

a provocation, an invitation, to oppression, a plaything for mobs and a bonanza for demagogues. They serve always to distract attention from real issues and to ride fools and rascals into political power. The political campaign in Georgia before the last was avowedly and openly a campaign not against Negro crime and ignorance but against Negro intelligence and property owning and industrial competition as shown by an 83 % increase in their property in ten years. It swept the state and if it had not culminated in riot and bloodshed and thus scared capital, it would still be triumphant. As it is the end is not yet...

.....Fourteen years ago Mississippi began disfranchising Negroes. You were promised that the result would be to settle the Negro Problem. Is it settled? No, and it never will be until you give blank men the power to be men, until you give them the power to defend that manhood. When the Negro casts a free and intelligent vote in the south, then and not until then will the Negro Problem be settled.

38-2-176

William Lloyd Garrison

38-2-10

There are not many Americans of the present generation who have arrived at so clear & firm opinions on certain pressing human problems as had the late Mr. Garrison. And it was characteristic of the man that when once he saw the light he stood to be counted. Simply because he was in the South, for instance, he did not deem it necessary ~~even~~ to agree wholly with his neighbors or even to keep safe silence. Once, in 1906, he rose in such an audience, when suddenly called on, and spoke this clear creed:

W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312) 28-2-11

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON
The Younger
And the NEGRO.

--oOo--

There are not many Americans of the present generation who have arrived at so clear and firm opinions on the Negro problem as had the late Mr. Garrison. His creed as expressed in 1906 was this:

"I belong to the human race. I know no distinction of birth or color, I believe that we are only one race. There never were created different species; I believe that environment, and climate have differentiated us, and for one to appear lordly over the other is contrary to all ideas of Christianity or democracy. Democracy means the right of every one to join in the choice of his government, and to

38-2-12

prepare men for self-government is as foolish as to prepare men for freedom. Nothing prepares for freedom but the exercise of the franchise. Mr. Lowell said that the best way to teach a man to vote is to put a ballot in his hands, to learn by doing, and not by instruction from the outside."

These are bold words, clearly spoken. Not many Americans of to-day believe them, and of those few, fewer still would willingly state that fact in unequivocal language. In other words the world seems in its search for truth about the Negro as far behind the younger Garrison to-day as it was behind the father yesterday. Then it was a question - not academic, not theoretical, but practical and present - as to whether it was advisable that four million human beings should

have the legal mastery of their own bodies; and there were astute and honored and learned gentlemen, who once stood where I am standing to-day, and solemnly and earnestly maintained that the United States of America would be a better and more christian country if I and my fathers and my children were perpetual bondservants to ~~you.~~ others And there were intelligent citizens of this great city sitting where you are sitting who listened gravely to these arguments, and marvelled at their strength. That was but sixty years ago, and I sometimes wonder if sixty years hence an audience sitting in these same places will not find it hard to believe that in the year 1909 anyone thought it necessary to travel a thousand miles to ~~defend~~ attend the sanity of a man who maintained the practical reality of human brotherhood and the efficiency of American democracy to solve race problems

35-2-14

Whatever men may think in years to come, certain it is now that the same voices that called the father a fanatic in regard to slavery are calling the son and those who echo his belief, fanatics ~~in~~ with regard to Negro equality and Negro enfranchisment. Yet it is worth something to be crucified in such company, to hold the hand and follow the vision of those clear sighted men whose eyes were not filled with racial darkness and whose hearts beat true. But this is not enough. It is the duty of those who follow the Prophet to spread his doctrine, and surely no fitter tribute could be paid to William Lloyd Garrison to-day than a word of ~~defence~~ approval of his solution of the Negro problem.

In this case as in so many other human problems the convincing arguments are negative rather than positive: it is not possible to

38-2-15

prove historically the unity of the human family, nor is it possible to prove beforehand that the Mass of Negroes could share the duties of government intelligently. But it is possible to point out the fatal consequences of present tendencies to exaggerated racial cleavage and it is possible and imperative as Mr. Garrison realized to show that American democracy in 1909 as 1859 cannot exist half slave and half free.

We are to-day with our new biological consciousness and half-learned but lightly-mouthed principles of evolution, dividing the world into airtight compartments; on the other hand our astounding economic development is striving to make those compartments permeable at least from one side. The result has been war and is bound to be war. In other words, the greatest efficient cause of the continued practice of organized murder, and the back-breaking burden of

38-2-16

preparation therefor, is the intensification of racial lines, together with the inevitable subjection of the less organized. There is today no more pitiable sight than that of an old and venerable civilization founded on peace frantically arming her millions with Krupp guns to ward off the western followers of Jesus Christ.

Why is this? It is because of the wide spread contempt of races inculcated into the dominant white race and the firm and growing conviction that human brotherhood is untrue and undesirable not only as a fact but even as a dream. The reason of war ~~then~~ is because one-third of the world despises and spits upon the other two-thirds and the other two- thirds objects. To this the spirit of William Lloyd Garrison answers:

~~an attitude as utterly repugnant as one could imag~~

- an attitude utterly repugnant to Mr. Garrison, who with no shadow of patronage, loved his fellow man. This is true of all too few today +

"I know no distinction of birth or color, I believe that we are only one race. There never were created different species; I believe that environment, and climate have differentiated us, and for one to appear lordly over the other is contrary to all ideas of Christianity or democracy. Democracy means the right of every one to join in the choice of his government, and to prepare men for self-government is as foolish as to prepare men for freedom. Nothing prepares for freedom but the exercise of the franchise." Mr. Lowell said that the best way to teach a man to vote is to put the ballot in his hands, to learn by doing, and not by instruction from the outside."

Outside all science or logic, as a working hypothesis toward peace and decency and human courtesy, there could be no broader

platform. And those white nations who fear that courtesy and decency and open opportunity for black and brown people will in some mysterious way hurt the world's civilization - who are so proud of themselves that they dare not permit the growth of pride in their neighbors, such nations in reality represent the threatening moral degeneracy of the 20th century. If now we frankly acknowledge that the growing race hatred of the modern world is unchristian inhuman and tremendously costly, how can we answer the man who asks flippantly, with out turned palms: what are you going to do about it?

The answer of William Lloyd Garrison is simple: admit all races to the decocracy of nations - admit citizens of every color

81-2-88

and sex to the democracy of the United States. || If there were few that could follow Mr. Garrison in his ideal of human brotherhood there are I fear still fewer that can follow him here: the objections are legion: can sloth march beside thrift, can ignorance mate with intelligence, can efficiency work with ineffectiveness? We bring to hand our ready host of glibly learned adjectives: the Mongrel Latins, the Heathen Chinamen, the degenerate Hindus, the doomed South Sea Islands, the ignorant Negroes; and we say with an alluring candor: when all these inferiors reach our heights of accomplishment then we will open the doors of opportunity and admit them to the Brotherhood of Man! || There is a peculiar speciousness to this sort of reasoning and many honest people are content to settle race questions this way. But William Lloyd Garrison was not. He swept away the silken cobwebs of this logic and took from

38-2-20

the vocabulary of modern education a pregnant much worked phrase: "Learn by doing." He said: If you want men to appreciate opportunities; give them opportunities; if you want a nation to take part in modern civilization, give it a part to take; if you want a race to become efficient open to it the world's best work; if you fear ignorance, get rid of ignorance; if you want men or women to learn how to vote give them the ballot. Then comes the answering chorus: This will cost: it will cost something to let the lazy waste the wealth of the thrifty, to let the ignorant blunder in the path of the intelligent, to let the untrained venal voter go to the polls. Ofcourse it will cost something, it will cost me something it will cost the world something

It cost William Lloyd Garrison something ——

And there is no human problem this wide world through, whose solution will not cost blood and treasure and patience. The trouble with us is not that the problems fronting us are insoluble but that we are unwilling to pay the cost - if the cost can be shouldered on others while we loll and dole, well and good, but when it means the sweat of our brow and the ache of our heart, we wave the fanatic languidly away, and say: Too radical - too radical by far, even when that radical had the noble humility & the fine simplicity of Mr. Garrison

38-2-21

And yet narrow the ~~matter~~ thing once to this matter of voting: on what does the survival of democracy in America depend? On the intelligence of its voters? Yes, but not solely on that: that is but one dimension - on their intelligence multiplied by their number.

If mere intelligence could make good government we could easily choose a small group of experts who would be in a way intelligent enough to rule this land without even the aid of this audience. Yet all history

38-2-22

teaches that such an attempt would inevitably fail because omni-science is denied even to experts and no man is wise enough to have absolute control of his neighbor. Only as a large and even increasing numoer of the governed, have an influencial voice in that government, will that government tend to the welfare of all. Mr. Garrison knew this. We know it. The world knows it. The world has learned it in the blood and dust of battle, in the writhing and wailing of nations. You know it in your experience with the Irish voter of Boston, when your appeal was not to disfranchisment but to the public school. Yet to-day this nation is striving frantically to believe that the white people of the South are wise enough to govern the blacks, while those blacks are held in dumb and impotent wardship. William Lloyd Garrison believed that there is in the South to-day, no black man so ig-

norant that he ought to be put at the unbridled mercy of his white neighbor, not only for his sake but for that neighbor's own sake. As a responsible human being he has a right to a voice in this democracy. If his voice be ignorant strain the sinews of the nation to teach it; if the voice be foolish let it learn wisdom by bitter experience; if the voice be venal punish it for venality and not for speaking. There is no other path to peace. You know and I know that to-day we are simply building an economic serfdom in the South to replace physical slavery, and that the cataclysm which it eventually threatens will be every bit as dangerous as the upheaval of 1861.

In the presence of such a problem it is not simply a privilege it is a solemn duty to honor the memory of a man who saw the truth so clearly and uttered it so fearlessly.

Nor should our reverence for that memory, end in its mere honoring
It is perhaps natural that after the tremendous out-pouring of effort, blood and treasure in the civil war for settling the first phases of this particular problem of democracy in America, the nation should feel justified in sitting back with a sigh of relief and feeling deep disinclination actively to take hold again, of the social problems of the Negro in this land. But unfortunately (or fortunately) this world is one where social development refuses to wait upon our wish or feeling.

38-2-84

To-day is the time when there is needed as perhaps never before the combined wisdom of the whole country to settle this race problem right. It will be difficult to convince your children's children that you do your full duty in these days if you surrender the settlement of these problems to Mr. Tillman or Mr. Dixon or to the citizens of Brownsville, Tex. The real American patriot is one like the man we honor to-day, to whom no American

38-2-23

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38-22-84

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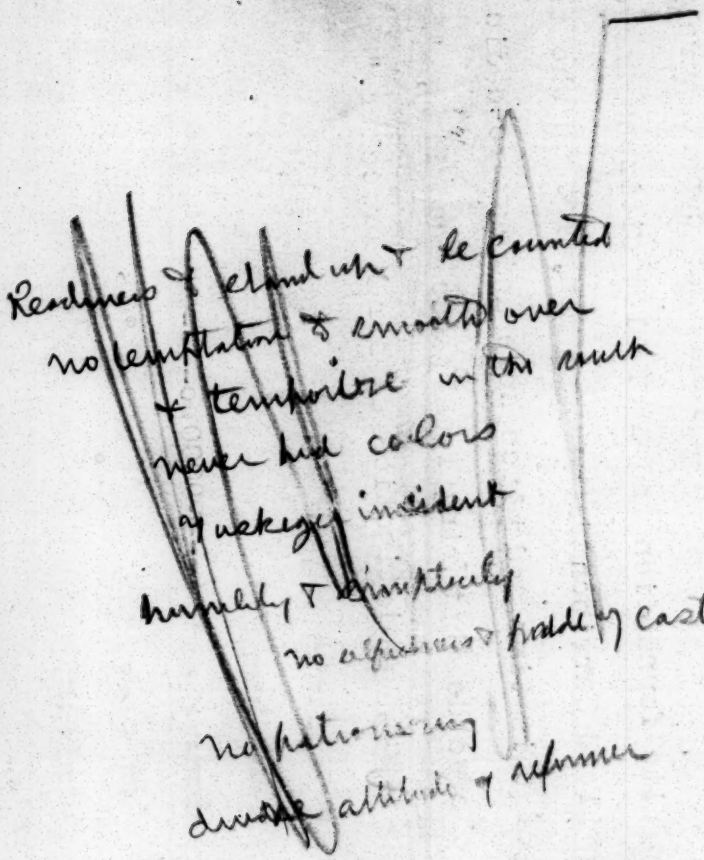
problem can possibly be merely sectional or local, if its solution affects the whole nation for weal or woe. It is right and proper that we should interfere with our neighbors' private affairs with all delicacy and courtesy but it is equally true that there are individual actions which no logic can make merely private, and for any section of this land to insist, that a policy, which undermines the very foundations of American democracy, and touches the ultimate relations, of half the world to its other half — for any locality to insist that its actions, on such a problem are merely of local interest, is utterly absurd. And for you and for me to accept such a dictum is to fail seriously in our plain duty. The problem of democracy in Georgia is the problem of democracy in Massachusetts and the problem of the color line in the South is the problem of the color line that belts the

38-2-26

the world. As citizens then of a land that cannot surely forget the memory of its foundation, and as fellow citizens and co-workers with William Lloyd Garrison father and son, let us, who truly feel the inspiration of this time and place, here and now re-dedicate our lives and services, to the words that ring from these dead lips, "I belong to the human race. I know no distinction of birth or color."

----oooooo----

19th St
opp. 4th ave
Liberal Club.



John Brown.

John Brown was a moral paradox, which is another way of saying that ~~which~~ it is not easy from a conventional standpoint to pronounce ~~many~~ of his actions right or wrong. For instance, he was a hunter, an enthusiastic hunter; one to whom animal life was of little account. He ranged the forests in his boyhood to slay and kill the roaming beasts. We know this spectacle so familiar to us and so common, ~~that~~ and we would easily think that a boy who describes himself as a rambler in a wild, new country; finding birds and squirrels and sometimes a wild turkey nest, would be a callous, hard-hearted child, and yet as matter of fact, we find him ~~str~~ angely tender and recording as perhaps ~~his~~ the

greatest sorrow of his early years as the finding and taming and petting and losing of a little bobtail squirrel. Then, too, he was himself a big vigorous animal in his youth; excessively fond, as he says, of the hardest and roughest kind of plays and could not get enough of it. Indeed when for a short time he was sometimes sent to school the opportunity that it offered to wrestle and snow-ball and run and jump and knock off old seedy wool hats offered to him almost the only compensation for the confinement and restraints of school." Yet it was this boisterous boy who writes these incidents of himself during the war of 1812: "During the war with England a circumstance occurred that in the end made him a most determined Abolitionist: and led him to declare, or swear: Eternal war with Slavery. He was staying for a short time with a very

gentlemenly landlord once a United States Marshall who held a slave boy near his own age, very active, intelligent and good feeling; ad to whom John was under considerable obligation for numerous little acts of kindness. The master made a great pet of John: brought him to table with his first company; and friends; called their attention to every little smart thing he said, or did, and to the fact of his being more than a hundred miles from home with a company of cattle alone; while the negro boy (who was fully if not more than his equal) was badly clothed, poorly fed, and lodged in cold weather, and beaten before his eyes with Iron shovels or any thing that came first to hand. This brought John to reflect on the wretched; hopeless condition, of fatherless and motherless slave children, for such children have neither fathers nor mothers

to protect and provide for them. We sometimes would raise the question, is God their Father?" // So, too in his early manhood the same apparent contradictions appear. John Brown lived at the time of the wonderful development of the United States in manufacture and industry which followed the war of 1812 and which rushed beyond ligitimate expansion and prosperity into wild speculation and common gambling. In these times John Brown was a business man and a speculator. He moved into the uplands of the Alleghanys and set up his busy tannery; was interested in a bank and speculated in land. He was rated not only as an excellent workman but as a shrewd and rising business man. But at the same time along side of this went the developing, that paradoxical other self, for he was writing this letter to his brother Frederick:

"Dear Brother: - As I have had only one letter from Hudson since you left here, and that some weeks since, I begin to get

uneasy and apprehensive that all is not well I had satisfied my mind about it for some time, in expectation of seeing father here, but I begin to give that up for the present. Since you left me I have been trying to devise some means whereby I might to something in a practical way for my poor fellow-men who are in bondage, and having fully consulted the feelings of my wife and my three boys, we have agreed to get at least one negro boy or yough, and bring him up as we do our own, - viz., give him a good English education, learn him what we can about the history of the world, about business, about general subjects, and, above all, try to teach him the fear of God. We think of three ways to obtain one: First, to try to get some Christian slave-holder to release one to us. Second, to get a free one if no one will let

us have one that is a slave. Third, if that does not succeed, we have all agreed to submit to considerable privation in order to buy one. This we are now using means in order to effect, in the confident expectation that God is about to bring them all out of the house of bondage.

I will just mention that when this subject was first introduced, Jason had gone to bed; but no sooner did he hear the thing hinted, than his warm heart kindled, and he turned out to have a part in the discussion of a subject of such exceeding interest. I have for years been trying to devise some way to get a school a-going here for blacks, and I think that on many accounts it would be a most favorable location. Children here would have no intercourse with vicious people of their kind, nor with openly vicious persons of any kind. There would be no powerful opposition influence against such a thing; and should there be any, I believe b

settlement might be so effected in future as to have almost the whole influence of the place in favor of such a school. Write me how you would like to join me, and try to get on from Hudson and thereabouts some first-rate abolitionist families with you. I do honestly believe that our united exertions alone might soon, with the good hand of our God upon us, effect it all.

This has been with me a favorite theme of reflection for years. I think that a place which might be in some measure settled with a view to such an object would be much more favorable to such an undertaking than would any such place as Hudson, with all its conflicting interests and feelings; and I do think such advantages ought to be afforded the young blacks, whether they are all to be immediately set free or not. Perhaps we might, under God, in that way do more towards breaking their yoke effectually than in any

49-25-74

other. If the young blacks of our country could once become enlightened, it would most assuredly operate on slavery like firing powder confined in rock, and all slaveholders know it well. Witness their heaven-daring laws against teaching blacks. If once the Christians in the free States would set to work in earnest in teaching the balcks, the people of the slaveholding States would find themselves constitutionally driven to set about the work of emancipation immediately. The laws of this State are now such that the inhabitants of any township may raise by a tax in aid of the State school-fund any amount of money they may choose by a vote, for the purpose of common schools, which any child may have access to by application. If you will join me in this undertaking, I will make with you any arrangement of our temporal concerns that shall be fair. Our health is good, and our prospects about business rather bringtening.

Affectionately yours,
JOHN BROWN.

1828

49-25-75

9

As John Brown grew to middle age the pioneer spirit grew in him. He had a longing to be with the advance guard of civilization on the edges of the world. As his fathers had pushed into Ohio from Connecticut so he pushed onward into W. Virginia and finally to Kansas, with the idea ever in his mind of felling the forests and tilling the soil and opening the wild world to human culture, and yet always in this work that other mysterious self was growing, so that it depends much upon the historical students' attitude of mind and predelections as to whether he calls John Brown a pioneer or an abolitionist, for down in W. Virginia he had his plans for education and abolition as well as for sheep raising and coal-mining, and in Kansas he gave up everything to push the great cause of freedom. But here again appears the paradox. There were many men in Kansas who stood for freedom, but freedom meant various things to various minds in that day as it does now. To the conservative like Governor Robinson it meant freedom for white men to work without danger of low wages; to John Brown it meant freedom for all men without color. They too to some freedom of every kind was worth a great deal but there were other things that were worth more. While John Brown could see no greater cause than the cause of freeing the slaves. When, therefore, the tide of politics and battle set strongly against the free-state cause in Kansas, the Peace Party began to do just as the peace party to day among the American Negroes are doing, that is, to give up the principle and make the best terms possible with the enemy; get all out of the situation as possible and supinely and readily acknowledge that the ideal or anything approaching the ideal of free manhood in America is impossible. John

10

Brown, however, was made of another stuff and did not believe in the policy of scuttle and surrender. He did not believe that any number of federal offices or of centenary celebrations could atone for the loss of the fundamental rights of manhood, and in the way in which he stood up for what he believed he again exhibited that curious moral paradox.

John Brown was a man of peace; of tender human sympathies. His daughter writes: "When any of the family were sick he did not often trust watchers to care for the sick one but set up himself and was like a tender mother. At one time he sat up every night for two weeks while mother was sick for fear he would over-sleep if he went to bed and then the fire would go out and she take cold." No one outside of his own family can ever know the mingled strength of his character. Yet this same man but a

few years later, rose up from the ashes of the burnt free-state town of Lawrence, Kan., gathered a band of his sons and friends a out him and rode down to the most notorious pro-slavery resort in the neighborhood; there in the dead of night he and his band took five of the pro-slavery leaders from their beds and cut them down in cold blood outside of their homes. It was a terrible deed. It aroused Kansas to civil war; and the Kansas war aroused the Nation, and the Nation made Abraham Lincoln, president. But before that, there was further work for this rapidly ageing, gaunt, old, white haired man.

John Brown was essentially a law abiding man; studied in the lessons taught by the Hebrews; a strong disciplinarian in his own home; a stickler for the Rights of government; even when he planned his greatest deed of lawlessness he prefaced his work by

careful and regular steps of legal semblance: a declaration of independence, a constitution, regularly elected officers; indeed a complete government, and then with that swift moral judgment he turned to Harper's Ferry and by a wild act of rebellion against state and government shook the very foundations of slavery in the United States, with all its great wall of legal and social defence. And finally, while condemned as a felon, cursed and execrated by the mass of men and in daily danger of lynch law, he preached from his prison cell with his incomparable letters a sermon on human freedom and justice and duty the exact parallel the world has seldom ~~never yet~~ seen. This then was the man. Not all of him. Not his whole life nor indeed the greater part of it, but the main points upon which the world for fifty years has been trying to pass moral judgment. And in

trying tonight again to pass judgment upon this man and to interpre his meaning to us, let us first make clear the fact that no act of John Brown's life was in itself wrong: the hunter of beasts we have always with us in the world and he has his place; the speculating business man has always accompanied civilization; and the history of the world is the history of that organized murder which we call war. It is a little curious that we should honor Grant and Sherman and Lee despite the massacre of the Wilderness and the March from Atlanta to the Sea, and yet seek without question to condemn that first blow of the same Civil war in the Swamp of the Swan in Kansas. So too, the first battle of Harper's Ferry was in itself no more wrong than the last; both war and murder and insurrection we can but judge as we judge all human beings, by the motive and the result. Now, the motive of John

49-25-81

15

Brown was without shadow of doubt pure and noble. Few greater souls than his have arisen in America. His was not the shallow view of duty which knows the right and thinks it knows it intuitively; he struggled for the light.

The gloom and horror of life settled early on John Brown. His childhood had had little formal pleasure, his young manhood had been serious and filled with responsibility, and almost before he himself knew the full meaning of life, he was trying to teach it to his children. The iron of bitterness entered his soul with the coming of death, as it took away member after member of his family. In 1831 he lost a boy of four and in 1832 his first wife died insane, and her infant son was buried with her. In 1843 four children varying in ages from one to nine years were swept away. Two baby girls went in 1846 and 1850 and an infant boy in 1856. The struggle

16

of a strong man to hold his faith is found in his words, "God has 49-25-82
seen fit to visit us with the pestilence and four of our number sleep in the dust; four of us that are still living have been more or less unwell. This has been to us all a bitter cup indeed and we have drunk deeply; but still the Lord reigneth and blessed be His holy name forever." Again three years later he writes his wife from the edge of a new-made grave: "I feel assured that notwithstanding that God has chastised us often and sore, yet He has not entirely withdrawn Himself from us not forsaken us utterly. The sudden and dreadful manner in which He has seen fit to call our dear little Kitty to take her leave of us, is, I need not tell you how much, in my mind. But before Him I will bow my head in submission and hold my peace. I have sailed over a somewhat stormy sea for nearly half a century, and have experienced enough to teach me thoroughly that I may most reasonably buckle up and be prepared for the

tempest. Mary, let us try to maintain a cheerful self-command while we are tossing up and down, and let our motto still be action, action, - as we have but one life to live."

His soul gropes for light in the great darkness; "Sometimes my imagination follows those of my family who have passed behind the scenes; and I would almost rejoice to be permitted to make them a personal visit. I have outlived nearly half of all my numerous family, and I ought to realize that in any event a large proportion of my life is traveled over."

Then there rose grimly, as life went on in its humdrum round of failure and trouble, the thought that in some way his own sin and shortcomings were bringing upon him the vengeful punishment of God. He laments the fact that he has done little to help others and the world: "I feel considerable regret by turns

that I have lived so many years and have in reality done so little to increase the amount of human happiness. I often regret that my manner is not more kind and affectionate to those I really love and esteem. But I trust my friends will overlook my harsh rough ways, when I cease to be in their way as an occasion of pain and unhappiness."

The death of a friend fills him with self-reproach: "You say he expected to die, but do not say how he felt in regard to the change as it drew near. I have to confess my unfaithfulness to my friend in regard to his most important interest. When I think how very little influence I have even tried to use with my numerous acquaintances and friends in turning their minds toward God and heaven, I feel justly condemned as a most wicked and slothful servant; and the more so as I have very seldom had any one refuse

4/9-25-65

to listen when I earnestly called him to hear. I sometimes have dreadful reflections about having fled to go down to Tarshish."

Especially did the religious skepticism of his children, so like his own earlier wanderings, worry and dismay the growing man until it loomed before his vision as his great sin, calling for mighty atonement. He pleads with his older children continually: "My attachments to this world have been very strong and divine Providence has been cutting me loose, one cord after another. Up to the present time notwithstanding I have so much to remind me that all ties must soon be severed, I am still clinging like those who have hardly taken a single lesson. I really hope some of my family may understand that this world is not the home of man, and act in accordance. Why may I not hope this for you? When I look forward as regards the religious prospects of my numerous family - the most of them, - I am forced to say, and feel too, that I have

49-25-86

(p 20 missing)

see or my courage to hope. God grant you thorough conversion from sin, and full purpose of heart to continue steadfast in His way through the very short season you will have to pass."

And again he writes: "One word in regard to the religious belief of yourself and the ideas of several of my children. My affections are too deep-rooted to be alienated from them; but 'my gray hairs must go down in sorrow to the grave' unless the true God forgive their denial and rejection of Him and open their eyes."

And again: "I would fain hope that the spirit of God has not done striving in our hard hearts. (I sometimes feel encouraged to hope that my sons will give up their miserable delusions and believe in God and in His Son, our Saviour.")

All this is evidence of a striving soul, of a man ~~to whom~~ who saw

4/9-25-47

the world ~~was~~ with neither the smug content of the man beyond religious doubt, nor the carelessness of the unharassed conscience. To him the world was a mighty drama. God was an actor in the play and so was John Brown. But just what his part was to be his soul in the long agony of years tried to know, and ever and again the chilling doubt assailed him lest he be unworthy of his place or had missed the call. Often the brooding masculine mind which demanded "Action! Action!" sought to pierce the mystic veil. His brother-in-law became a spiritualist, and he himself hearkened for voices from the Other Land. Once or twice he thought he heard them. Did not the spirit of Dianthe Lusk guide him again and again in his perplexity? He once said it did.

And so this saturation in Hebrew prophecy, the chastisement of death, the sense of personal sin and shortcoming and the voices from nowhere, deepened, darkened and broadened his religious life.

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Yet with all this there went a peculiar common sense, a spirit of thrift and stickling for detail; a homely shrewd attention to all the little facts of daily existence. Sometimes this prosaic tinkering with things burdened, buried and submerged the spiritual life and striving. There was nothing left except the commonplace, unstable tanner, but ever as one is tempted thus to fix his place in the world, there wells up surging spiritual life out of great unfathomed depths - the intellectual longing to see, the moral wistfulness of the hesitating groping doer. This was the deeper, truer man, although it was not the whole man. "Certainly I never felt myself in the presence of a stronger religious influence than while in this man's house," said Frederick Douglass in 1847.

But pure and untramelled as men may be in this world, after all we, as finite beings, must in the end judge men by the result, and when we come to this judgment we find the same great difficulty of opinion; the same duelism of purpose in each and all of us as it stands forth to us clearly in the life of John Brown. It is the world fight of the practical and ideal, of the man, that feels on the one hand that he ought to settle down and earn an honest, quiet living and on the other hand is urged forward by some great quest of the Holy Grail. It is the duelism of the man who would both rest quietly and comfortably at home, and on the other hand go forth to discover the unknown things of earth and life. It is the old fight between peace and endurance, on the one hand and discontent and aggression on the other; between submitting to circumstances and fighting for the Cause. Which is right? We cannot say off-handed but we can recall certain great

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lessons of history. It is perfectly possible that without John Brown we should still have slavery in the United States. Certainly everything was ranging in the latter fifties for compromise and submission to the demands of the slave power. To be sure further extension of slave territory toward the West and the Northwest was probably out of the question but there was on the other hand a chance for indefinite extension of slave empire toward the Tropics and the South, but such peaceful solution of the great human problem John Brown made impossible; ~~but~~ however he did it, at a bitter cost: at the cost of the Civil war in Kansas, which was a disgrace to civilization; at a cost of red murder and insurrection, but the question is if the cost that John Brown paid, added to the more terrific cost of the Civil War, was too much to pay for human freedom. To take another illustration: there was a day when practi-

ly the magnificent organization reared by the Catholic Church in the middle age was in serious danger of internal decay. Compromise after compromise had been accepted and reform after reform had been urged but not until Martin Luther, placing himself definitely outside the Church and in opposition to it, made himself the center of reform, did real reform begin both within and without the Catholic Church. And so to come back again to our own day, we all have known a young man who was teacher in the a school at Atlanta Ga., apparently an ordinary man, earning an ordinary living. The combined advice of all worldly-wise people would have been: Stick to your work; hold to your job, and earn a modest living. Yet Henry O. Tanner had a dream - a dream of things impossible to most men . He dropped the reality and followed the dream and that is the reason his name means something to us tonight. Thinking over

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such examples of the eternal conflict between the real present fact and the ideal vision, what must be our decision as to what we ~~must~~ ought to do? Must we be always ready to give up the substance for the mirage or must we be always too wise to exchange possible future for present fact? The truth is that both attitudes of mind are at times right. But that does not mean that they are both right at the same time. There are times when the world needs and must have the sword of Gideon like John Brown and there are other times when it needs the wise, compromising statesman like Abraham Lincoln. To say that John Brown was right does not mean that Lincoln was wrong, nor does the praise of Lincoln's optimism imply necessarily condemnation to Brown's radicalism. If we look over the rhythm of history we can find continually in varying ways this development taking place. A time of quite persistent advance among men or

portions of them - an advance which because of its successes becomes slower and slower and less and less noticeable until the forward movement quietly and unobtrusive ceases and the backward slower retrogressive movement replaces it. Once the forces of reaction in the saddle and before people know it the retrogression is swifter and swifter until there comes trouble, unrest and even physical violence which we call war. If the war for the right is won the people of the Nation are aroused and there is riot, turmoil, and heathless pressing forward; mistakes are made; the forward movement becomes slower and slower and then before we know it the slow retrogression has set in again. This great rhythm of history does not always take just these lines, and yet again and again we can trace much of this general development; and the kind of leader that is needed depends, I need not say, upon the phase of development in which the Nation finds itself. In times of

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quiet persistent advance it is perfectly possible that the opportunist should have his day, that to the man who complains and says that our advance is not fast enough; we are not reachin the heights, ~~it is sufficient to~~ learned say, nevertheless, we are advancing and if we have not reached, we have at least approached the heights, and as long as the world is moving on in ~~the right in~~ the right direction it is best to let well enough alone. || On the other hand, when we come to the period of slow advancement and the beginnings of retrogression, then is the day when the views of the complainer and the dreamer and idealist can not and must not lightly be hushed; then is the time when careful thought and just prophesy and successful interpretations of the lessons of the past can save a nation and a group infinite trouble and harm. That is the day when men can be reasoned with and shown the threatening future and that is

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the day, as I see it, is now facing the Negro race in America. It is not yet the time that calls for another sacrifice of a John Brown and the horror of physical resistence and war, but it is one of those great turning points of history, where with quiet persistence and unwavering determination the idealist may say to the thoughtless satisfaction of the opportunist, there is danger ahead and this is the time to correct it, and if John Brown has left any legacy to America it is this great legacy of warning, lest the same denial of human rights; the placing of moral successes before moral justification will lead men in America and in the world to the terrible result of the past.

JOHN BROWN.

I am to tell you to-night of a man whose life was a failure and yet one who in his failufes made a most triumphant success;and I speak of this all the more willingly because as John Brown himself said the great bulk of mankind estimate each others actions and motives by the measure of success or otherwise that attends them through life. Consequently in this fevered age especially we continually put the criterion of success as the one thing which determines whether or not a man's life is great. Did he do something; did he accomplish deeds? Then by that token he was great. Nor are we careful always to make a distinction as to whether the things which he has done are good or not. We call Napoleon great in the same breath that pronounces . also great;we come to consider that if a man accomplishes a deed for that reason the world should honor him. And yet this, of course, is not so. The world's honor should go not simply to the man who does the thing, but to the man who does the thing well and those things too worth the doing. Also honor must go to the man who tries to do good and

fails. Failure in a good cause is worth more applause than success in a bad one. As I have said John Brown's life measured by nearly every yard stick was a failure: Five especial and conspicuous failures I want to point to you to-night. First, there was the matter of his education; his training for life; he was a poor boy, poor not only in wealth but in parentage, in his social, surroundings having none of the great advantages of the modern world. His training had to come for the most part in the midst of his work and it was hard work; manual toil on the frontiers of life. Yet he had his ambition and his dream; some members of his family in other days, some neighbors had gone off to the great school of New England and he wanted to go too. So at last when he was an over-grown lad of nineteen he took his little store of goods and came to Plainfield Mass., where there was a little school in which men were fitted for Amherst college; he was a homely boy and gawky. He brought along with him leather and soled his shoes and even brought new precious book; he brought indomitable will and a determination never to be discouraged, and yet at the very threshold he failed. He was unable on account

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of a disease of his eyes to carry on his study and he had to turn back homeward and confess that it would be impossible that he should receive a liberal education. He came back home and took up the work which his father had taught him, namely the trade of tanning. Now the tanners trade is one of great importance in this country's history and in the world's development. It calls for care and skill and John Brown learned the trade . He carried it on in his father's tanning shop in eastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania until the establishment became one of considerable size and importance, Yet in spite of that the business went down in the panic of 1857, and John Brown became not only a bankrupt but for a few days was actually in jail. Then he turned again after some days of bewilderment and deep sorrow and entered into business. It happened in this way: From a boy as he writes he had a certain fasination for the calling of shepherd . He bought a small flock of sheep and managed to sustain them by helping to take care of other flocks. Gradually the sheep under his care became the most valuable flock in the United States. Then he saw how the wool business was developing; he became the agent for other wool- gxxx

46-25-3

growers, and in partnership with a rich man established a ware-house in Springfield, Mass. There his business prospered. Thousands of dollars a year passed through his hands; wealth even was in sight and he within less than ten years after the business was established, it had failed. He was harassed with loses after loses and people were him with his lack of business sense. So again he had to look back upon work unaccomplished or poorly done. Piled upon that came the fourth failure. In the midst of all his thoughts of education his work as an argument and his work as a merchant/he had gradually come to have more and more one great object in life, And that was because in his younger days he had met the slave boy; the boy had been kind to him and yet he found to his astonishment that this boy, as bright and good as he was was nevertheless without father and mother and subjected to the most brutal treatment. He could not understand it until he found that the boy was a slave and then he asked, Is God the father of the slave too? From that day not suddenly but gradually gathering imputence with the years, John Brown came to hate slavery with perfect hatred and when

49-25-4

at last in I854 three of his sons decided to go to Kansas, he stopped and listened for the call. Even before that he had his design upon slavery, he had hoped to found a school and teach the slaves, he had hoped to go South and own a plantation and spread sedition among the slaves; he had thought of various plans. But here came more and more distinct the call to go and fight for freedom in Kansas, and he went. His object was not to make Kansas a slave state; his object was to attack slavery throughout the nation by fighting against it in Kansas. But the people with whom he was fighting had no such broad ideas. They did not hate slavery they simply hated slaves; they wanted to get rid of Negroes; they wanted to establish a state where there were no Negro slaves and no free Negroes, where both alike were excluded, where no suffrage could be granted to Negroes. For this gradually they became willing and more and more eager to fight. John Brown tried to lead them further, when he saw them willing to compromise he struck a terrible blow for freedom. On one wild night he and his companions rode down in the midst of a pro-slavery den and in cold blood killed five of the

49-25-5

worst of the border-ruffians, left their mangled bodies lying there and their wives and children wailing. The deed was a terrible one; it startled all Kansas; it began the claim of civil war; it made people fight for freedom when they were about to compromise and give up the battle. But even after that they were not willing to go very far. Just as soon as there were signs of some yielding on the part of the pro-slavery party they threw down their arms and made Kansas a free state, but determined under no circumstances to oppose slavery no where else. When that had happened John Brown saw that in his chief reason for coming to Kansas he had failed, and he quietly laid down his arms

49-25-6

It was the fourth great failure of his life. Yet one thing there was about this man's failing it never doubted him, he never hesitated. Today when any of us fail in two or three things we begin to get superstitious; we begin to think that we had better give up the object with which we started out. If for instance we are starting out and asking for the Negro people of the United States their full rights as American citizens, and if on top of that we find a supreme court

decision against us, a newspaper editorial condemning our views, no notoriety or praise for those of us who stand for these particular . If all this happens to us we are apt to throw up our hands and give up the battle and say we must stand for those things in which there is a chance for success., now. To fight for things which we cannot win right off is foolish. John Brown, however, had no such ideas; he hesitated and wavered no more after his fourth failure than he did after his first. He determined to shake slavery to its foundation. His idea had been, even before he came to Kansas, that the place to attack slavery was in the Alleghany mountains. He said once quietly but with terrible impressiveness, God made those mountains from the beginning of the world as a way of escape for the slaves. Having failed in his object in Kansas therefore, he came back again to the Alleghany mountains with a determination to organize a great raid into the south which should succeed in freeing larger and larger numbers of slaves. The plans which he had were startling bold. He intended to enter the south at that mighty gate-way known as Harper's Ferry where the Shenandoah and the Potomac rivers hurling themselves

29-25-7

against the mast of the mountains, and cut their way to the side. Passing across the rivers there, and penetrating the great mountain fastnesses, he intended there to make a series of strongholds and to entice small numbers of slaves from time to time into the mountains and to make raids upon the plantations for food and clothes, and so retreat southward along the Great Black Way, because beginning with the mountains at Harper's Ferry one can pass in a continuous line down south and southwest to Louisiana through counties which in John Brown's time, and even today, contain a majority of black folk. If once those people could be started in small numbers to escaping systematically through this mighty highway, John Brown argued that slavery in the South could be made so unstabled that it would have to be given up. He did not plan for a wholesale slave insurrection; he did not plan for bloody vengeance upon the masters, no such idea had any place in his thoughts; he did plan to make the slaves free by a bloodless but effective resistance and organizations among themselves. He started about the carrying out of this plan with the utmost care and forethought. In Canada among the

49-25-8

fugitive slaves who had gone there and were possessed of property and an independent spirit. He gathered in I858 a convention composed principally of Negroes. They adopted a constitution suited to the kind of guerilla war-fare which Brown determined to carry out. He gathered a number of recruits and passed the declaration of Independance , then with a small number of men, one -third of whom were Negroes, he silently and secretly moved to Harper's Ferry on the I7th of October Fifty years ago struck the blow heard round the world. Within a few hours he was a prisoner; half of his men and more were killed , and a few had escaped. As he lay weltering in his own blood on the floor of the fort which he had defended, he said "calmly," My name is John Brown, I have been well-known as Old Brown of Kansas; two of my sons were killed here today and I am dying too. I came here to liberate the slaves and was to receive no reward, I have acted from a sense of duty and am content to await my fate. I am an old man, and yesterday I could have killed whom I chose but had no desire to kill any person. I could have sacked and burned the town but did not; I have treated the persons whom I took as hostages kindly

49-25-4

If I had succeeded in running off slaves this time I could have raised twenty times as many men as I have now for a similar expedition, but I have failed." This then was a life of a man. Could there be on the surface a more complete record of failure? He was born at the beginning of the nineteenth century and migrated to Ohio when a lad of five; he married when he was twenty-one and raised a great family. His bankrupt came in I837, then he started into the wool business in I84I but had to leave it in I854. He went to Kansas a year later and stayed there for a year; his convention in Canada took place in I858; in I859 his raid at Harper's Ferry was made, and in December of that year, fifty years ago, he was hanged at Charleston, W. Va.

And yet despite all that we are celebrating his martyrdom today, and we are doing beaause despite all appearance there was something more than mere failure in John Brown's lack of apparent success. Whenever you see a failure in the world it pays to ask why the thing has failed and your judgement of it must depend largely upon that reason. Simply to fail is no mark of condemnation. Every thing depends upon the reason, moreover, failures depend largely

upon time. A thing which is apparently a failure today may not be a failure tomorrow, and life which is a failure may after death prove to have been an astounding success. Let us, therefore, go back and ask again for the reason of some of John Brown's failure.

The first thing that confronts us is the matter of his failure to get an education. The reason was something beyond his control; he had been working outdoors all his life; he had been working in a tannery which was especially bad on the eyes; It was perfectly natural that when he came to use his eyes in close application it should be found that the inflamation which set up made it impossible. Now here was a failure and an exasperating failure but a failure that had nothing to do with character; a failure that was not the cause of anything that John Brown had done amist. Moreover, although, he did fail to get the formal education of the school, yet such a failure is not irretrieveable. A school is a short cut to knowledge, but if men cannot take the short way to a thing they can round the highway, and if they have the pluck

49-25-11

to go round it may easily happen that they will get more for their fame than the man who does not appreciate the short cut. Every one who can ought to save his time and the time of the world by getting a formal education, but no one cannot do that ought by any means to despair. John Brown of all men never despaired; he lost no time because of that initialed difficulty.

Now again when it came to the work of John Brown as an there is another phase of apparent failure at which we must look. When you see a carpenter, how do you judge his success? We judge him to-day, I regret to remind you, by the amount of money he is making. You say such and such a carpenter is a successful man because he has an income, because he lives on such and such a scale. But after all that is not the honest way of judging a man's work. A carpenter ought to be judged not by the money he gets but by the work he does. Of course, in any perfect society the reward of a man would not be measured by the goodness of his work, but we all know that in the imperfect society in which we live, this is not so. It is not the man who does the best work that necessarily earns the most money. When, therefore,

49-25-12

we judge the success or the failure of a man who is working with his hands or working with his brain, we must not make these two criterions of failure.

A man may be a good carpenter and be poor, and a man may be a poor carpenter and get rich. John Brown was a good tanner, when he went off to school he carried some little bits of sheepskin only an eighth of an inch wide. The boys in the school tried to break them they could not, John Brown had them seven years. The principal of the school looked at him mockingly and said" I shall snap this in two, but the tall brave young countryman stood and saw him try and strain in vain. There was absolutely no doubt about the fact that John Brown was an excellent tanner, one of the best of his day, an honest tanner who would not sell wet leather unless he received money for water and not for leather. Yet despite of this he failed but the failure was due to no lack of excellency in his work; it was due to the unfortunate economic organization of this land in 1837, which made it possible for honest hard working people to have their fortunes swept away because speculators and drones and dishonest men could get hold of the reward which ought to have gone

49-25-13

to honest industry. The panic of 1837 was a panic brought on by speculation . Speculation is simply gambling. It was the gamblers therefore of the day that made John Brown fail. There was nothing of disgrace in such a failure, but there was a great deal of sorrow and suffering. Out of two such failures as these as I have related could come and did come a strong chaste of character. A man whose face though young was already graven with wrinkles of trouble but who nevertheless was steadfast and honest and straight-forward , and absolutely certain that God had a great work for him to do in the world. Then came his chance to go into the wool business;he hailed it as an auspicious opening. But when John Brown went into business he understood business to be a philanthropy, that is he understood that if he went into business for the good of the people and not simply for his own good. Now today we are coming to see that public business is a public trust, for the good of all people;that business is a philanthropy. We are coming to see it we do not quite see it yet; it is not yet true but it is going to be true as time goes on. In John Brown's day people did not recognize that. They thought a man who went into business for anything else but his own

14-25-14

gain was a fool, and they so managed in practically all cases as to prove that man as a fool before the world. John Brown knew the wool business. He was one of themost expert sorters of the wool that the United States has seen, he was one of the best raisers of sheep that could be gotten; his tenderness toward the sheep and lambs was only exceeded by his tenderness toward human beings. He put his whole soul and thought into his work. He soon came to see that the wool business needed to be organized and directed, that as it was the wool was gathered in a haphazard manner and sold by people who had very little idea of its worth, and bought in turn by people who did not know how to grade it, and yet the best kind buy themselves. John Brown undretook to buy wool, to grade it and to sell it at a reasonable price. In that way he did a greatvdeal for the wool industry of the United States, and not only were the wool growers thankful, but the manufacturers of woolen cloth. However, the manaufacturers of woolen cloth soon came to see that John Brown was demanding a high price for his wool. He said that it was fair that he should, that he was demanding no higher price

49-25-13

than similar wools were selling for in England. They, however, said that he could make his fortune if he would sell wool to them more cheaper. He refused. Then they began to boycott him, nevertheless he kept straight on his way. He said this wool is worth so much money; it is fair that the wool-growers receive this amount for it; if you do not want to get it then leave it alone.

The difficulty, however, with this position was that John Brown was not master of the market. And while his wool was of undoubted goodness, nevertheless, if the wool buyers refused to buy of him they could starve him out. When he saw that they were doing this he said " I will take my wool to England and sell it" But here he reckoned without a for the English people are people of strong prejudice. (prestiges?) They did not believe that wool grown in America was good, they would not believe the evidence of their own sense and consequently although they said that apparently John Brown wool was excellent, they would not buy it at his price. The venture cost John Brown so much money that he had to go out of business. Here it was an

undoubted failure. But it after all was a kind of failure in which the lover of human nature takes delight. It was a failure of a man with a great ideal beaten by selfishness and narrow-prejudice. No man ever impugned John Brown's honesty; no man impugned him to kill; no man said for a moment that he was not trying to do the best for the wool trade. The greatest criticism that was brought against him was that he missed the opportunity of making a fortune. Such a failure is not a failure. It is a man of life.

49-25-17

While then John Brown had made these three failures nevertheless he had in his heart a greater thing to accomplish than success in any of these three things would have brought. He looked upon slavery as the sum of all villainies, he was determined to be rid of it. Nevertheless when he turned toward Kansasa he could not convince men that slavery in itseelf was a great evil, and that simply to bring in one new free state was not settling the matter. He saw even more clearly than Abraham Lincoln saw that this country could not exist half slave and half free. He believed that with a comparatively small number of men and

with some but little bloodshed he could get rid of slavery. He tried it in Kansasabut the men with whom he had to deal there were politicians and compromisers and they never realized how great a soul they were dealing with until he had gone. They still acknowledge today that John Brown made Kansas a free state, but they do not acknowledge that their own obtuseness and blindness kept John Brown from possibly from warding off Civil war. When now, he turned toward Harper's Ferry. His failure was not due to any defect in his plan. It is possible that the plan which he had in mind could not have been carried out, but the more we look upon the map and the organization which he had the more it seems possible and even probable that had it not been for extraordianry and unwarranted delay on the part of the men who left on the northern side of the Potomac river that John Brown might have carried out his ideas. As a matter of fact he captured Harper's Ferry without snaping a gun; he had the whole arsenal at his mercy; he held the town. If his supply, wagons and ammunition had come up he might have escaped to the southward in the great fastnesses of the Alleghany mountains and it

47-25-14

would have been, to say the least, an extremely difficult thing to dislodge him. Fully twenty-five slaves helped in the raid and hundreds of others were ready to help when once he had made his escape to the mountains. The men, however, who were bringing on the guns and ammunition delayed an unconscionable time. Instead of arriving at the Ferry at ten o'clock in the morning which they easily could have done, four o'clock in the afternoon still found them lingering. By that time the militia had gathered and John Brown was hemmed in. Even then if he had been willing to shed the blood of his hostages he might of escaped but he would not do it. There again, the failure was tremendous but the dream was glorious. And if by the killing of a few men John Brown had been able to make slave property so unsafe in the South that the South had voluntarily freed the slaves, think of the tremendous savings that there would have been in treasure and in human life. Out then of the five great failures of John Brown's life came a tremendous triumph, and that triumph was three fold. First, it produced a man; secondly it laid before the world the supreme technical of an unselfish sacrifice, and

40-25-19

thirdly it brought freedom to four million of human beings.

30-26-4

(+) What is there now in the present condition of our race that should cause us apprehension. Our progress has been undeniable — point and criticise you will weaknesses and short comings, and still the forward movement cannot be disputed. Why not then rest easy, keep up the progress and accelerate it, stop complaint and let well enough alone. Certainly the program

& Yield all has to.

of do nothing and say nothing ~~is~~ attractions & is comfortable. Few people voluntarily choose the darker and look — few normal minds prefer complaint & applause And yet the very comfortableness of the doctrine warns us to be watchful. ~~Good~~ If we look around us carefully we shall note a tremendous change in public opinion the world over touching us & our interests — a change so gradually and

30-26-5

momentous [redacted] that no sane man
can see it incessant alarm and action

To realize the full weight & mean-
ing of this new altitude let us return
& the philosophy of John Dewey & see
how he viewed the world and us.

30-26-6

undated

38-13-260

RACE PREJUDICE

It is easy to realize the historical place which human prejudices have held in the development of mankind. They have epitomized the experience of the fathers handed down to the children for their guidance in a fight with a hard world. Without such traditions and prejudices human society might have survived but it could not have made those advances which distinguish mankind from other animals. It is right, therefore, that we should look upon the history of prejudice as in a sense the history of human endeavor to preserve the best of the past and hand it down to help the future. At the same time, it is equally true that more error than truth has thus been handed down from father to son and that thw work of men has long been

38-13-201

to sift from the heritage of the past those assumptions which were untrue and false and mischievous, and to transmit the residue as the real heritage of mankind. The method of accomplishing this has always been to apply the criterian of thought and reason to the mass of given prejudice, and in so far as men have allowed reason and truth to guide the character of their prejudices in just so far has human advance been real and rapid.

So that while we, who stand as inheritors of Yesterday, may today receive with no little pride the mass of judgement which our forefathers have handed down to us, we will receive it with all the more equanimity and faith if we know that the unerring yard-

stick of trained reason will measure and value it. The history then of the triumph of reason and truth over fear and prejudice is the history of civilization, and when we look to see the work which human culture has yet to accomplish among men we look instinctively at the last bulwarks of prejudice which lie in the realm of Religion and Race. It is perfectly natural that prejudice should reign in the realm of the Unknown; since religion is designed to interpret the Unknown and Unknowable, and race is the present emphasis laid on the characteristics of people who know each other least. It is natural, therefore, that here we should meet the last great resting-place of deep-seated and long cherished prejudice.

38-13-262

38-13-2b3

The history of the advance of reason in the dark and awful forests of religious prejudice is a story that asks for more than one chapter of its own! It is my task this evening to speak more particular of prejudices of race. They are to be sure more or less connected with religious or other prejudices but it is perhaps fairly true to say that today the racial aspect of religious prejudice and indeed the racial aspect of nearly all of the larger and more widespread prejudices of mankind is the one which is at once the most appalling and the one which demands the most careful attention; it demands attention more particularly because it is apt to express itself in the most unobtrusive and harmless form.

38-13-264

It comes ###### more often as a mere matter of likes and dislikes so diaphanous and unimportant that men do not wish to attribute it to the harsher word, prejudice. They say: "I have no prejudice against Japanese. I would not harm them; I simply do not like them." or "I do not wish ill to negroes, but I do not want to associate with them," or again "Jews and Chinese and Indians have, I am ready to admit, their places in the world but I do not wish that place to be too near my own." The argument that begins thus lightly and even flippantly is apt, however, if followed to become larger and reappear in a different form with more subtle and farreaching reasons

[pp 6-7 missing]

would stigmatize or traduce or decry any of the less popular races in the United States. Under such circumstances the work of science in settling the questions which race prejudice bring to the front is abnormally slow. Science does not and cannot answer quickly with Yes or No. It must wait through long years of experiment and repeated questioning, and when that experiment and questioning is hindered by frank endeavor to mislead and by unconscious thirsting for evidence to prove an already assumed conclusion, the work of the scientist is doubly hard.

58-13-265

Meantime, however, while men are waiting for the final word of science as to the physical status and mental ability and moral worth of various groups of men, mean time men are living and working

23-13-82

and dying; hearts are throbbing; human souls are suffering; and the assumption that some people make, that here is a case where waiting costs little or nothing to human advance, is an assumption ludicrously, indeed criminally untrue. This racial prejudice exhibited today all over the world, and nowhere more viciously than here in America, is not a matter of mere whim. It is a mass of assumptions and judgments, the holding of which is costing Civilization a tremendous sum - a sum that can be measured only in part by money and is more properly measured in the retarded foot-steps of human advance and the increase of human suffering.

Let us note some of the obvious elements of this cost. As I have said before, racial prejudice rested primarily upon the

[pp 10-12 MISSING]

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where they are not known to exist or to ignore talent and desert because it does not appear where you would prefer to see it. Taking then this practical stand the true citizen of the world will refuse further to pay the cost of racial prejudices and will lay down five rights which every sane grown inhabitant of the world as it exists should demand: first, the right to INDIVIDUALITY, and I mean by this the right to his own color and his own way of thinking and to his own prejudices so far as these things do not interfere with other people's rights to the same things. People continually say to the Negro race and to other races "We can settle this matter of color in a few hundred years because you will be by that time absorbed into the American people." But that will be no solution. What I ask of a civilized world is a world where it is possible to be black and

see black

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yet be treated as a man and unhindered in development.

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prejudice. The third cost is the imparrment of national efficiency through disease. The slums of Northern cities, the black South, the tropics and semi-tropics of the world are today made pest-houses for the spread of disease because most people come slowly to believe that sick foreigners, "dagos", brown and black folk are not really worth saving. Something very like a hymn of praise would go up in this land if the next census showed Negroes to be decimated by consumption. Only when men realize that disease is no respecter of races do they awake to this cost of race prejudice.

A fourth cost of this prejudice is in the condition of women. We have so long been used to flattering the women of cultured nations boasting of their high eminence above their darker sisters that it

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is hard for us to realize that white women cannot remain far above the degradation of these same darker sisters; that their pre-eminence has in a large degree been built upon and has been the cause of that degradation, and that that degradation knows neither race or color and can be found as well in New York or Paris or London as it can in South America or Central Africa. The question of the uplift of women to a place of economic independence and political freedom is one that never can be answered so long as most of the women of the world are regarded as the rightful prey of irresponsible and debauched men. It is perfectly easy for those who have helped degrade womankind to sneer at the virtue and capacity of the degraded. And this whether it takes place in New Orleans or New York, whether it is an expression of race prejudice

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or of class prejudice amounts to the same thing, namely, the despising of human beings; and it is another one of those tremendous costs which the civilized world is paying today for the privilege of indulging in its whims and prejudices.

In the same way I might call to your mind the matter of child labor. Great advertisement and sensation has been raised in the United States recently because of the disclosure of the wide extent to which children are being used as beasts of burden, and practically every attempt to illiminate that situation has been confined to the white children of the North and South. Almost nothing has been said of the widespread and almost universal Negro child labor of the South. Yet, everybody knows the way in which Negro children

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are used systematically and regularly as the ligitimate tools of exploitation in one group of industries and among one group of people. It is practically impossible to stop the spread of such an evil to other groups. The capitalist who invests money in the South and can make dividends on black child labor is not going to be squeamish if his dividends are increased by white child labor and it is, therefore, perfectly natural to see going on with the expanding industries of the South a worse public school system for Negro children than existed twenty years ago - in other words, the desire and endeavor to stop and suppress the spread of intelligence among black people. Why? Because intelligence spoils labor; intelligence spoils house-servants; in the 19th Century intelligence spoiled the early factory system of England; intelli-

gence will spoil the present plantation system of the South. All this is historical and inevitable. If present labor conditions are to proceed in the South then the public schools for Negroes must go. Ignorance must be more and more the rule, and this definitely entertained program of ignorance among children is another cost of race prejudice in the United States.

But above and beyond these more or less material costs comes a cost of prejudice more indefinite and yet greater than perhaps all the others together: that is the distinct retrogression today in the spirit of humanity. A careful observer may see it everywhere: he may view it in the appalling increase of unpunished murder; in the recrudescence in delight in public torture; in the careless contemplation of human suffering and in the widespread and noticeable

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hilarity over the systematic humiliation of human beings. We would have to go back many hundred years to match the present low ebb of the feeling of human brotherhood in certain broad fields and this is due mainly to the increase and nourishing of unreasoning and unreasonable prejudices against certain human beings solely because of race.

Moreover, human prejudices grow to by what they feed upon and one of their worst effects is the killing of human individuality. We have just passed through a great century of levelling; we have wanted to make men of one pattern, and now finding that this is impossible, instead of accepting the verdict we have tried to rush to the conclusion that any people who cannot be made upon the one pattern should be exterminated; from this argument in the

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physical realm it is but a step to the spiritual realm, and to the extermination of all thought and desire that does not agree with ours. Consequently, today we see a group of prejudices which are altogether abnormal and which arise because people dare not follow their own likes and dislikes. The average child and the average foreign emmigrant and indeed the average American has very little racial prejudice. Black children and white children have played together in the South for ~~numbers of years~~ centuries never knowing until they were laboriously told that color made all the difference in the world. All kinds and sorts of people meet and mingle in New York and most of them would not know and would not care about differences of race - indeed would be disposed

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consciously and gladly to live in a realm above such differences did they not have it pointed out to them and forced upon their minds that survival in America is impossible for black , improbable for red men and undesirable for any one not of English descent. The result is now a current demand for equality and similarity - similarity in thought; similarity in likes and dislikes; similarity in dress, and similarity in the degree in which one hates Negroes. Here we have a growth not of prejudice but of all the outward signs of prejudice - a growth all the more bitter and dangerous because it is not only beyond reason, as all prejudice is, but it is even beyond instinct which real honest prejudice is not; it is simply a desire to outdo ones neighbors in hurting the feelings of the helpless. This is the reason why in

the South some of the worst people for the Negroes to get along with are not the native Southerners but the transplanted Northerners who are trying to show their recently acquired aristocracy. So throughout all America some of the worst jingoes and fighters of Japan and the East and haters of ~~the~~/Mongrel South America are not native Americans but new-comers, eager to make peace by emulating the worst American characteristics.

The end of course, of this whole tendency is a monstrous assumption that the world of the future is going to consist of the progeny of a few people whom we think ought to be in our racial set. Here in America the unspoken assumption is that this future wonder-land is to consist primarily of people of English descent.

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Jews and American Indians may be admitted, if they will deny themselves of their Jewish rights and Indian color and pass into the melting pot, but not otherwise; Germans may be admitted if they will try to be as little German as possible; Frenchmen if they will not be too Latin; Negroes and mulattoes are to be left out under all circumstances; Japanese, Chinese and East Indians are to be excluded if the power to exclude them can be found.

Here then we have the situation, the recrudescence of racial prejudices which is causing war and labor injustice; the danger to health; the subjection of women and the increase of ignorance and the narrowing of human brotherhood; and as the realm of this prejudice becomes greater more and more people begin to think it is a sign of aristocracy; and together with this goes [redacted] the

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assumption of an aristocratic world of the future on the most whimsical basis of appearance and descent. Under such circumstances it is certain that modern civilization cannot afford the continually increasing cost of racial prejudice and continue to advance. On the other hand, it is also certain that no final scientific dictum on the abilities and desert of mankind can be looked for in a hundred years or more. What then must be the practical path to peace and humanity? It must be assumed that a normal human being, regardless of race or color has a natural right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It is right and just to recognize differences of individual endowment and desert, but it is wrong and dangerous to assume differences

Second, the right to public courtesy. This world from now on is going to be a world of contact of races. It is going to be utterly impossible to seperate and isolate men. In the past contact meant war, caste and slavery, but today it must not and cannot mean ### these for these will cost too much to be indulged in. If then this is to be a world of contact, each being in it has the right of public courtesy; to visit public places without insult and to travel in public conveyances unmolested, and to be entertained in public hostelries. Any denial of these rights is not only wrong but in the end suicidal for it attempts to assume that the advantages of community life belong to a few people in the community, and are the exclusive property of those who have benefited most by that community life - a monstrous and revolutionary assumption. As a citizen of the world of men I have the right to contact with that world, and so far as that contact is of public and general nature no one can in justice and decency deny it to me.

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Third, a citizen of the world should have the right of opportunity. We used to say the right of education, but this demand should be broadened to the right of opportunity; the right to be educated in his childhood and then to have the doors of economic and political development thrown open to him according to his ability. Herein lies the answer to that great search for ability which human culture must make. Hitherto we have said not that we must have men of ability but they must be English or that they must belong to the first families. Now the Lord in his great wisdom did not confine the ability to acquire wisdom to any one class of people, but distributed to men of any races and all degrees of color, and this ability must be found and honored and put in command regardless of prejudice.

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Fourth, the citizen of the New World must have the right of peace. The protection from force and violence in the prosecution of work, and this cannot be done until a stop is put to war and lynching and peonage and wage-slavery.

Fifth, he has a right to the truth. If he has a right to be protected against physical violence he has a great right to protection against moral lies. Race prejudice in this land could not stand for a day if as much effort was made to have the truth in regard to all human beings known as is now made in trying to spread lies about them.

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lies about them.

These, then, are the five rights which all men, white and black, and of all religions have a right to demand: the right to Individuality; the right to Public Courtesy; the right to Opportunity; the right to Peace, and the right to Truth; and when men have these five rights the last bulwarks of prejudice must fall.

Race Prejudice.

It is easy to realize the historical place which human prejudices have held in the development of mankind. They have epitomized the experiences of the fathers handed down to the children for their guidance in a fight with a hard world. Without such traditions and prejudices human society might have survived but it could not have made those advances which distinguish mankind from other animals. It is right therefore, that we should look upon the history of prejudice as in a sense the history of human endeavor to preserve the best of the past and hand it down to help the future. At the same time it is equally true that more error than truth has thus been handed down from father to son and that the work of men has long been to sift from the heritage of the past those assumptions which were untrue and false and mischievous and to transmit the residue as the real heritage of mankind. The method of accomplishing this has always been to apply the criterian of thought and reason to the mass of given prejudice, and in so far as men have allowed reason and truth to guide the charater of their prejudices in just so far has human advance been real and rapid. So that while we who stand as heritors of yesterday may today receive with no little pride the mass of judgement which our forefathers have handed down to us, We will receive it with all the more equanimity and faith we know that the unerring yard stick of trained reason will measure and value it. The history then of the triumph of reason and truth over fear and prejudice is the history of

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civilization and when we look to see the work which human culture has yet to accomplish among men we look instinctively at ~~this~~ the last bulwarks of prejudice which lie in tne realm of Religion and Race. It is perfectly natural tha: prejudice should reign in the realm of the Unknown; ~~and~~ since religion ~~being~~ is designed & interpret ~~difided and follow of~~ the Unknown and Unknowable, and race ~~being~~ is the present emphasis laid onthe characteristics of ~~this~~ people who know each other least. It is natural, therefore that here we should meet the last great resting place of deep-seated and long cherished prejudice. The history of the advance of reason in the dark and awful forests of religious prejudice is ~~not~~ a story that asks for more than one chapter of its own. It is my task this morning to speak more particular of prejudices of race. They are to be sure more or less connected with religious and other prejudice but it is perhaps, fairly true ~~to say~~ that today the racial aspect of religious prejudice and indeed the racial ~~prejudice~~ aspect of nearly all of the larger and more widespread prejudices of mankind is the one which is at once the most appalling and one which demands the most careful attention; ~~and~~ it demands attention more particularly because it is apt to express itself in the most unobtrusive and harmless form. It comes more often as a mere matter of likes and dislikes so diafanous and unimportant that man do not wish to attribute it to the harsher word prejudice. They say "I have no prejudice against Japanese. I would not harm them; I simply do not like them." or "I do not wish ill to negroes but I do not want to associate with them." or again "Jews and Chinese and Indians have, I am ready to admit, their places inthe world but I do not wish that place to be too

near my own." The argument that begins thus lightly and even flippantly is apt, however, if followed to become larger and reappear in a different form with more subtle and far-reaching reasons. The average man today pressed for his underlying reasons ~~by which he~~ in regard to ~~boasts~~ his likes and dislikes in matters of race is apt to confess th t he does not believe in the physical stamina of the negro, of in the mental efficiency of the Japanese or in the moral worth of other peoples ~~the Jew.~~ He will point out the excessive death rate among Negroes from their liability to consumption and other enemies of the human body; then turning to the historical argument he will deny all evidence of civilization to the black race and whatever he may yield to the yellow race he will qualify it by asking why it stopped short ~~where it did~~ and did not accomplish ~~any~~ more for the world., and finally coming to races whose physical stamina ~~count for a moment~~ mental accomplishment is undoubted he will nevertheless point out what seem to ~~me abhorrent~~ him moral reasons for saying that ~~his reasons~~ his methods of work and thought should survive in the world rather than ~~others.~~ theirs. Directly one drops from misty and indefinite likes and dislikes into such questions of historic and scientific fact as this ~~we have to apply to reason which~~ approach solid ground. Here we can appeal to science & reason & this every student of the race problem should welcome. ~~but which is welcomed~~ They all do welcome this but they show it in a way that makes us strongly suspect ~~and~~ a desire on the part of ~~the rabble of the people~~ many of them to pick the jury and anticipate the verdict. When a few years ago a young scientist thought he had discovered some physical deficiencies in dissecting the Negro brain, he was not only able to rush into print but he was able to have that print in one of the oldest and most respected magazines in ~~the United States, and~~ New York; today ~~the record of practically every state in~~ throughout the United States ~~will show~~

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~~that~~ the pages of magazines and all the resources of the local & Associated Press are open to any person who can furnish ~~it~~ such any degree of plausibility an article which would stigmatize or traduce or decry ~~any~~ of the less popular races in the United States. Under such circumstances the work of science in ~~settling~~ settling the questions which race prejudice bring to the front is abnormally slow. Science does not and cannot answer quickly with Yes or No. It must wait through long years of experiment and repeated questioning, and when that experiment and questioning is hindered by frank endeavor to mislead, and by ~~its~~ unconscious ~~painting~~ distortion for evidence to prove ~~the~~ an already assumed conclusion, the work of the scientist is doubly hard. Meantime, however, while men are waiting for the final word of science as to the physical status and mental ability and moral worth of various groups of men ~~mankind~~, meantime men are living and working and dying; hearts are throbbing ; human souls are suffering; and the assumption that some people make, that here is a case where waiting costs little or nothing to human advance, ~~still goes on as~~ is an assumption ludicrously, ~~almost~~ indeed criminally untrue. This racial prejudice ~~is~~ exhibited today all over the world, and nowhere more viciously than here in America, ~~are~~ is not a matter of mere whim. ~~They are the~~ It is a mass of assumptions and judgments, the holding of which is costing ~~us~~ civilization a tremendous sum - a sum that cannot be measured only in part by money ~~but~~ is more properly measured in the retarded foot steps of human advance and the increase of human suffering. Let us note some of the obvious elements of this cost. As I have said before, racial prejudice rested primarily upon the likes and dislikes of unknown groups of people. The merest contact of such groups formerly meant war.

Today the existence of exclusive separate groups is being made more and more impossible. The economic organization of the world is binding its ends together. We not only want contact of nations but with ~~contact~~ our present tastes and desires we must have such contact. The result of this contact coupled with strong racial prejudice is war, and war in its crudest and worst form. It is the shooting down of unarmed natives with the machine guns; the wholesale murder of the ignorant and helpless by the strong and resourceful; the starving and mutilating of laborers in the Congo; the enslaving of them in Mexico; the selling of them in North Africa and the renting of them in South Africa. So far as possible we keep this cruelty at our back doors, and far from the polite conversation of our dinner tables. We know it and we know that we are profiting by it. In a few cases we are ~~apt to put reason before~~ unable to get rid of the facts by force history and the contact of races is brought before our eyes, as right here in America where we try hard to shut out eyes to lynching and everyday injustice. Nevertheless the conclusion is perfectly clear: race prejudice to day means war; war means increased race prejudice. So long as racial contempt and injury and exploitation is encouraged in the world, just so long the abolition of war will be impossible., and of all survival human barbarities the organized murder which has characterized the history of mankind is the most indefensible, and horrible as it is, it is today one of the costs of race prejudice. Take a step further in the great question of the distribution of wealth, particularly among the mass of laborers. The greatest hinderance to justice and understanding is prejudice of race. Right here in the United States, Southern white cotton spinners are taking the bread out of

mouth of Northern spinners and they are doing it willingly and with open eyes because they had rather do this than give the black man of the South a chance to earn a decent ~~living~~ wages. Throughout the South the white laborer, organized and unorganized, is more interested in keeping the black man under his feet than he is in fighting the cause of social justice for the labor class the world over; and so long as this is true in any large portion of the United States the cause of the laboring class is retarded if not held ~~people is wholly~~ helpless. They may gain temporary or local victories but they cannot make any permanent advance so long as they seek to make that advance on the necks of their fellow men. What is true locally in the United States is true on a larger scale in international labor problems. So long as well paid English labor is willing to fatten on the Chinese serf and Mexican peon and black slave just so long the white laborer must help the cause of the exploiter and cannot be counted on the side of human justice. This maladjustment of the economic situation and the arrested cause of labor uplift is then a second cost of race prejudice. The third cost is in the condition of women. We have so long been used to flattering the women of cultured nations, boasting of their high eminence above their darker sisters that it hard for us to realize that white women cannot remain far above the degradation of these same darker sisters, that their preeminence has in a large degree been built upon and has been the cause of that degradation, and that that degradation knows neither race or color and can be found as well in New York or Paris or London as it can in South America or Central Africa. The question of the uplift of women to a place of economic independence and political freedom is one that

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is the unfamiliarity national efficiency this
disease. The slums of northern cities, the black
south, the tropics & semi-tropics of the world
are today made safe homes for the spread of
disease because most people come blindly
& believe that rich foreigners, "dagoes", brown
& black folk are deadly with ray. Equally
very like a hydra-ray disease would go up in the
back if the next census showed negroes
& the dominated by consumption. Only when
men realize that disease is no respecter of
races do they awake to the cost of race prejudice.

P The fourth cost of this prejudice

never can be answered so long as most of the women of the world are regarded as rightfully the prey of ~~white~~ men. It is perfectly easy for those who have helped ~~the great~~ womankind to sneer at the virtue and capacity of the degraded. And ~~this~~ whether it takes place in New Orleans or New York, whether it is an expression of race prejudice or of ~~the of~~ class prejudice amounts to the same thing, namely, the despising of human beings, and it is another one of those tremendous costs of which the civilized world is paying today for the privilege of indulging in its whims and prejudices. In the same way I might call to you mind the matter of child labor. Great advertisement and sensation has been raised in the United States recently because of the disclosure of the wide extent to which children are being used as beasts of burden, and practically every attempt to illiminate that situation has been confined to the white children of the North and South. Almost nothing has been said of the widespread and almost universal Negro child labor of the South. Yet, everbody knows the way in which Negro children are used systematically and regularly as the ligitimate tools of exploitation in one group of industries and among one group of people. It is practically impossible to stop the spread of such an evil to other groups. The capitalist who invests money in the South and can make dividends on black child labor is not going to be squeamish if his dividends are increased by white child labor, and it is therefore perfectly natural to see going on with the expanding industries of the South a worse public school system for the Negro children than existed twenty years ago. In other words, the desire and endeavor to stop and suppress the spread of intelligence among black people. Why? Because

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intelligence spoils labor; intelligence spoils house servants; in the 19th Century intelligence spoiled the early factory system of England; intelligence will spoil the present plantation system of the South. All this is historical and inevitable. If present labor conditions are to proceed in the South then ~~at least~~ the public schools for Negroes must go. Ignorance must be more and more the rule, and this definitely entertained program of ignorance among children is another cost of race prejudice in the United States. But above and beyond ~~all~~ these more or less material costs comes ~~the~~ a cost of prejudice more definite and greater than perhaps all the others together; that is the distinct retrogression today in the spirit of the ~~community~~ humanity. A careful observer may see it everywhere: he may view it in the appalling increase of unpunished murder; in the recrudescence ~~in the like of~~ in delight in public torture; in the careless contemplation of human suffering and in the widespread and ~~rapid~~ reluctantly hilarity over the systematic humiliation of human beings. We would have to go back many hundred years to match the present low ebb of the feeling of human brotherhood in certain broad fields, and this is due ~~more~~ mainly to the increase and nurishing of unreasoning and unreasonable prejudices against certain human beings solely because of race. Moreover, human prejudices grow to be what they feed ~~are fed~~ upon and one of their worst effects is the killing of human individuality. We have just passed through a great century of levelling; we have wanted to make men of one patern, and now finding that this is impossible instead of accepting the verdict we have tried to rush to the conclusion that ~~this~~ any people who cannot

be made upon the one pattern ~~the patern that patern~~ should be exterminated; ~~and~~ from this argument in the physical realm it is but a step to the spiritual realm, and to the extermination of all thought and desire that does not agree with ours. Consequently, today we see a group of prejudices which are ~~is~~ altogether abnormal and which arise because people dare not follow their own likes and dislikes. The average child and the average foreign emmigrant and indeed the average American has very little racial prejudice. Black children and white children have played together in the South for numbers of years never knowing until they were Laboriously told that color made all the difference in the world. All kinds ~~of peo~~ and sorts of people meet and mingle in New York and most of them would not know ~~the~~ and would not care about differences of race, indeed would be disposed consciously and gladly to live in a realm above such differences did they not have it pointed out to them and forced upon their minds that survival in America is impossible for ~~black~~ unfortunate red men & undesirable for anyone not of English descent. The result is now a current demand for equality and similarity.- similarity in thought similarity in likes and dislikes; similarity in ~~class~~ dress and similarity in the degree in which one hates Negroes. Here we have a growth not of prejudice but of all the outward signs of prejudice - a growth all the more bitter and dangerous because it is not only beyond reason as all prejudice is but it is even beyond instinct which real honest prejudice is not, it is simply a desire to outdo ones neighbors in hurting the feelings of the helpless. Thus the reason why in the South some of the worst people for the Negroes to get along with are not the native Southerners but the transplanted Northerners who are trying to show their recently acquired aristocracy. So all throughout America some of the worst jingos and fighters of Japan and the

East and haters of the ~~Mongul~~ mongrel South are not native Americans but new-comers, eager to make peace by emulating the worst American characteristics. The end of course of this whole tendency is a monstrous assumption that the world of the future is going to consist of the progeny of a few people whom we think ought to be in our racial set. Here in America the unspoken assumption is that this future wonder-world is to consist primarily of people of English descent. Jews may be admitted if they will deny themselves of their Jewish rights and ~~adopt the English~~ but not otherwise ~~as Jews~~; Germans may be admitted if they will try to be as little German as possible; Frenchmen if they will ~~try~~ not be too Latin.

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Negroes and mulattoes are to be left out under all circumstances; Japanese, Chinese and Indians, ~~east and west,~~ are to be excluded if the power to exclude them can be found. Here then we have the situation, the recrudescence of racial prejudices which is causing war and labor injustices; the subjection of women and the increase of ignorance, and as the ~~increase~~ realm of this prejudice becomes greater, some people think it is a sign of aristocracy; together with this goes the assumption of an aristocratic world of the future on the most whimsical basis of ~~aristocracy~~ descent. Two things are certain: if we are to advance in civilization we cannot much longer pay the cost which racial prejudice is forcing upon us, and secondly the assumption that the inherent racial endowment is neither more nor less than freckles. It is one

~~[illegible]~~ a superiority of a minority of mankind ~~[illegible]~~ to exclude the mass of men from their heritage ~~[illegible]~~ danger ~~[illegible]~~

OVER

~~It is quite a different thing to say that all men who resemble in physical appearance are responsible & those who resemble~~

Under such ~~circ~~ circumstances it is certain that ~~the~~ modern ~~state~~ civilization cannot afford the continually increasing cost of racial prejudice & continue to advance. On the other hand it is also certain that no final scientific decision on the abilities & destiny of mankind can be looked for in a hundred years or more. What then must be the standard fair & peace & humanity? It must be assumed that a normal human being, regardless of race or color has a natural right to life liberty & the pursuit of happiness. It is right & just to recognize differences of individual endowment & merit, but it is wrong & dangerous to assume differences where they are not known & exist or to ignore talent & desert because it does not appear where you wanted & expected to see it.

Taking then this practical stand the true citizen
11. of the world will refuse further to play the court of racial
prejudices & will
~~What then must the civilized man of today say when he faces racial~~ ~~such Gods, such assumptions — such~~

~~prejudice? It seems to me he must~~ lay down five rights which
came grown
every inhabitant of the world as it exists, ~~ought, who is of full age~~
~~and in his right mind,~~ should ~~have a right to ask~~ demand: first, the
right to individuality, and I mean by this the right to his own
color and his own way of thinking and to his own prejudices so
far as these things do not interfere with other people's rights. To the same thing
People continually say to the Negro race & to other races "We can settle this
matter of color in a few hundred years because you will be
by that time absorbed in the ~~white race~~ American people." But I ask of a civili-
zed world, world where it is ~~practically~~ possible to be black and yet
be treated as a man and ~~to rise to a degree of advance~~ unhindered in development. ~~Where do~~
~~men grant such a right?~~

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Second, the right to public courtesy. This world from now on
is going to be a world of contact of races. It is going to be
utterly impossible to separate and isolate men. In ~~time~~ the past contact meant
mean war, caste and slavery, ~~all of which do~~ but today it must not and cannot mean these or these will cost too much
to be indulged in. If then this is to be a world of contact
each being in it has the right of public courtesy; to visit public
places ~~unmolested~~ without insult and to travel in public conveyances uninsulted;
and to ~~visit places of~~ be entertained in public ~~amusement~~ hostelries. Any denial of these
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belong to ~~but~~ a few people in the community, and are the exclusive
property of those who have benefited most by that community right ~~is~~ a
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I have the right to ~~the choice of~~ contact with that world, and so far as that contact is of public and general nature no one can in justice and decency deny it to me.

Third, ~~as~~ a cutizen of the world ~~he~~ should have the right of demand Opportunity. We used to say the right of education but this should be broadened to the right of opportunity. The right to be educated in his childhood and then to have the doors of economic and political development thrown open to him according to his ability. Herein lies the answer to that great search for ability which human culture must make. Hitherto we have said not that we must have men of ability but they must be English or that they must belong to the first families. Now the lord in his great wisdom did not confine the ability to acquire wisdom to any one class of people, but distributed it among men of many races & all degrees & color & this ability must be found & honored ~~recognition~~ & put in command regardless of prejudice

Fourth, the citizens of the New World must have the right of Peace. The protection from force and violence in the prosecution of ~~his~~ work ~~and~~ This cannot be done until a stop is put to war and lynching and peonage and wage- slavery.

Fifth, he has a right to the Truth. He has a right to be protected against physical violence and against moral lies. Race prejudice in this land could not stand for a day if as much effort was made to have the truth in regard to all human beings as known is now made use trying to spread lies about them.

These then are the five rights which all men white and black and of all religions have a right to demand: the right to inuividuality; the right to public courtesy; the right to opportunity; the right to peace, and the right to the truth; and when men have these five rights the last bulwarks of prejudice ~~will be overthrown~~ must fall.

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he has a great right & darkness

38-2-95

1910(?)

The Forward Movement

W. E. B. DuB.

1910

THE FORWARD MOVEMENT

The fall

October is the real beginning of the year. It is then that revivified, if not from rest at least from change of work, we come back to the old path and take up the burden again with new interest. We also rightly at such times pause a while to take new bearings and test the old, so as to be sure whither we are going and how great is the progress made; and I think we who belong to the Negro race here in America and who in the fall of 1910 pause to look at the present and forecaste the future must feel that we are at the beginning of a new cycle in the problem of our ad[redacted].

38-2-96

It is now some fifteen years since the dominant thought of the Negro race tried a new experiment in Negro advance, that

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is, new so far as the free Negro is concerned. It was in earlier years the only pathway open to the slave. He could not ask for freedom, or at least such asking was a waste of words, but he could by careful attention to the masters interests, real or supposed, obtain great concessions, and on the whole a comfortable living for at least himself and some of his race. This perfectly defensible polity of slavery days has been, as I have said, for the last fifteen years a more or less popular expressed theory of action among a large part of the race in America.

38-2-97

Some five years ago it seemed to me that the time was ripe to attack the logical foundations of this mode of thinking,

and I did so with vehemence and sincerity. Tonight I come not so much to attack the theory as to undertake, from the unbiased point of view of the student of social affairs, to extimate the effect of this theory and others in the past and to ask what we may hope to accomplish in the future. I do not, of course, in this view assume or pretend to assume any change of belief myself, but I do attempt to judge present facts impartially.

38-2-98

Of one thing we may today be reasonably certain and that is that the Negro race has made in the last fifteen years notable and substantial advance in many lines. This advance is subject to a good deal of exaggeration on both sides; an esaggeration on the one hand which makes our progress appear unbelievably

phenominal, and an exaggeration on the other hand which claims absence of substantial progress. A careful unbiased judgment of the facts before us point to indubitable proofs of advance. There is doubt, for instance, that never before in the history of the Negro race has the race owned so much material wealth. It is probably that the current estimates of $600,000,000 are not at all exaggerated. While an average of $60 a head by no means spells affluence for a people, it does , without doubt, mean more than its mere figures would indicate. Beside this, or rather with it, has come a higher standard of living. Negroes are bringing their homes out of the alleys to the front streets in the towns, and in the country districts to a considerable degree out of the one-room cabin. There is,too, a larger and larger part of Negro

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youth who are receiving higher education, and while the number as compared with the total who ought to be educated is still lamentably small, yet the Negro student is making his impression. Further it cannot be denied that unhealthy as the race is, it is growing slowly but decidedly healthier and is paying more attention to the laws of physical well-being. The organization of the race for general purposes which has been asked for among us for years has come at last in bewildering profusion. No one who considers the meetings of ~~this~~ last summer, from the seven thousand people at the National Baptist Convention at New Orleans to the couple of dozen at the Niagara Movement meeting at Sea Isle City, including such notable gatherings as the Odd Fellows, the Elks, the Physicians, the Negro Business League, the Woman's Clubs, the Political

League and many others can fail to realize that suddenly the organization for which we have been asking has come, and the real question before us is what are we going to do with the organizations we have.

38-2-101

When, now, we turn from wealth, education and organization to other matters of mind and morals, it is more difficult to give any certain answer. We have not developed in the last fifteen years many new names in the lines of literature and science, but we have a few, and on the whole I think the most of us would agree that the tone in Negro society in towns and cities show marks of genuine improvement. Thus in fifteen years we can point to positive advance. Nor can this advance be said to be due to any particular cause. The accumulation of property is not due to the Business Leagues but the Business Leagues to the accumulation of

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property, and again, education is not due to the advocates of higher training but vice versa. Of course the insistence on thrift and material well-being in these fifteen years has undoubtedly stimulated thrift and set new business ideals. So that on the whole we find a restless, almost nervous, pushing forward on the part of ten million men and with this a two-fold philosophy of its aims and meaning.

Now along with the undoubted evidences of advance among Negroes have gone an overwhelming number of causes for dismay and apprehension. So far as the Negroes themselves are concerned perhaps the only matter of distinct apprehension is their changed attitude toward education. After the War there was a desire, almost a craze, for education of any and all kinds. Today the children

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of the rank and file of the Negro race are not being sent to school with any such unanimity and while one cause of this is there are few schools to send children to, it is also partially because parents are losing faith in education.

Outside of the Negro race, however, and in the attitude of the dominant race there has come in the last fifteen years a series of disastrous events which calls for serious thought on our part. The disfranchisement movement which had reached only two states in 1895, has today swept over the whole Southern South, is pending in the border states and is actually trying to envade the North. The movement to cut down and discourage Negro education has been so successful that in the Southern South, the Negro public schools are worse than they were fifteen years ago, and in the border states

they have not made reasonable advance. Not only this, but the support given to Negro private schools has been growing smaller and smaller while the Negro secondary schools supported by the st states have had their corriculum progressively cheapened and spoiled in nearly every instance. Discrimination in civil rights has gone so far that the battle against it has apparently been given up, even in the North, and we face today continually an opinion among our own people that the wave of prejudice against Negroes in the United States is inevitable and that there is no use fighting it.

Now, while I think it is perfectly true that the advance of the Negro race can be claimed as due to no one party or set of doctrines, on the other hand it seems to me certain that the

policy of trying to make friends with the enemies of the Negro race, of surrendering ground to them, of yielding without protest or argument has undoubtedly been responsible for a great many of the calamities which are threatening us. I think it is perfectly true that if therehad been no such philosophy formulated we should have had to meet reaction from the sentimentalism of the War period, we would have had to meet wide-spread disfranchisement, attack upon our civil rights and attack upon the education of our children; but I cannot believe that such a movement could have triumphed withthe ease with which it has had it been met on our part, not by submission and surrender, but by thoughtful, dogged and persistent and unwavering opposition.

But be that as it may, the question is, now what might have

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been but what we are going to do about it now, and in order that we shall approach this question in its true proportions we ought to consider not simply our position here as Negroes in the United States, but our position as blood-relatives of the Negro race throughout the world and as near or distant cousins of the darker races throughout the world; for it is of the utmost importance that whatever battles we wage in the future shall be based upon a thorough and wide-spread knowledge of the things which we are fighting for and of the attitude of the world toward us.

Before then discussing further our imperative needs under the present circumstances, I want to ask you to glance with me over the world and consider how its race problems are affecting us.

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Primarily the problems of the world are today economic problems, the earning of a living and possibilities of enjoying the living justly earned; These economic problems resolve themselves very largely into the matter of regulating trade between the warmer and cooler regions of the earth, or in other words, between the world's whiter and darker peoples. In this vast problem of commerce there are three strategic points: America, Asia and Africa.

In America we have forst the United States, an example of tremendous industrial organization, whose problems are today not the problems of creating wealth, but the problems of justly distributing and consuming it, and the Negro problem arises from

the fact that color prejudice is being used as a method of denying to black men a fair share of the product of their hands and brains and denying them an opportunity to enjoy the consumption of that meagre part which they get. Outside of the United States there are industrial problems which arrange themselves even more largely around the color line. There is, for instance, Mexico, a country held by the throat through United States capital invested there, where the darker Indian and Negroid peasantry are struggling piteously for the elementary rights of manhood. If they should gain such rights, it is possible that Mexico would afford the greatest asylum for the Negroes of the United States. Further down in Central America we have from the building of the Panama Canal a number of intricate racial problems and these problems intermingled with the industrial problems connected on the one hand with

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the West Indies and on the other hand with Asia. Our coffee and our fruit, our sugar and a large part of the available laboring class is furnished by the West Indies, where the Negro people are overwhelmingly dominant. The problem of the West Indies can never be settled until these Negroes are given a status which will make them content, and thus far these Negroes have, I thank God, showed no disposition to be content with anything short of political power, civic liberty and social equality.

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Further down in South America the demand of Negro and Indian people for manhood rights has been won through a progressive amalgamation of the races and it only stands as a continuing problem on account of the rampant race prejudice in the United States. Industrially, America is one continent, but the color line still

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cuts off South America and binds her to Europe instead of North America; and the question is how long is that condition going to be continued.

Turning from the Western to the Eastern Indies we have a plain example of the lack of sympathy which the striving of the Negroes in the United States is able to gain in England and the peculiar reason why England is willing to welcome anybody who can say that the suppression of ten million people in the United States is not a burning problem and is in process of social solution. In the East Indies we have a mass of highly paid English officials at the top ruling a mass of millions of poorly paid, wretchedly conditioned darker people. These people have, however, just begun to get a class of educated leaders, and these educated leaders are doing the only thing that honest educated leadership could do un-

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der the circumstances: they are fighting for freedom. The fight while little noised aborad and holding but scant space in our newspapers is one of the greatest and most interesting battles of modern time, and its outcome depends simply upon the courage and endurance of the fighters.

Further east in China and Japan we have a development of the race problem which is of especial interest because these people began the fight before subjection to the West had taken place. China was on the verge of dismemberment and Japan was about to be shut in on a few islands of the Sea, when Japan undertook what the world called a foolish fight and won. This gave to the yellow race a position where it can defend itself successfully against the aggressions of the white race and assert its right to self-develop-

ment and respect.

211-2-88

How is it now with the black race at home in Africa? What chance is there that the black race is going to have the freedom for self-development, the right to become not simply useful to the white race but useful to itself? The problem in Africa is so complicated that it is extremely difficult to answer this question and any answer given today is simply guess work. In Egypt with its dark native races and large infiltration of Negro blood a fight similar to that in India has begun and apparently has a fair chance to succeed within a few decades. In the Soudan which is predominantly Negro and Negroid a development of the black race is taking place under white leadership which looks unusually promising.

On the other hand, the intimidation of the blacks on the

West Coast and their attempted suppression in South Africa is ominous. But no one , as I have said, can made final conclusions as to the outcome. There, at least, the Negro is overwhelmingly in the majority, the climate is fighting for him, and much of what he will do in the future depends upon what we, his brothers, prove we can do here in the present.

211-2-88

When now, Europe looks upon so vast an aggregation of problems which though industrial at bottom, are complicated tremendously by the fact of an unreasoning racial prejudice, it is not unnatural that there should come movements toward understanding and amelioration. There is the great Peace movement, but it is hampered by an unfortunate political situation in Europe itself. Nevertheless, it has gained a great victory in the Hague Conferences

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and out of them comes a still further advance in the Races Congress which is to meet in London in July, 1911, and in which all the races of the world, including ours here in America are to be represented. This is perhaps the most definite attack upon racial prejudice that the better thought of Europe has yet made.

This then is the situation the world over.

Let us now return to our own land and ask in view of this world ramification of the color line, what you and I are going to do? It has often been said that we have within the Negro race the conservative and the radical factions: the conservatives who want to leave things as they are for fear of making them worse, and the radicals who want to change everything in a moment. No such extreme description fits our situation. What we really have is

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the Opportunist and the Path-finder. The Opportunist who says the situation is not agreeable, who wants to make things better, but who believes the chances are that nothing can be done by our moving; we must wait until the opportunity is offered and then take hold of it. On the other hand, the Path-finder says that such sitting still and waiting is most dangerous, and it is of the greatest importance all the time that organized effort should be made for advance. This historic difference between opportunism and road-breaking can be seen in many historic movements. At the time of the Protestant Revolution the whole Catholic Church practically, except a few who were profiting by its plight, knew the need of radical reform, was sure that conditions were bad, but

how should satisfactory reform be brought about? Should it be brought about by widespread war and carnage or by slow and quiet internal movement? It was finally brought about by revolt and revolution, and that revolt and revolution not only gave birth to Protestantism but it gave birth to a counter reform inside, which helped the church to purify itself; and those who since that time have objected to Martin Luther and the horrible thirty years' war have to prove that the reformation within and without the church was possible at slighter cost. Or take the fight of Englishmen for the ballot; it might have been said in England in the early 19th Century that the rank and file of the English people were bound in time to get the ballot. Good-hearted men might have assured the leaders who protested against rotten burroughs that in time the rotten burrough was bound to go. But

men who depend upon time to right wrongs always unconsciously include in time the inevitable human action that time always brings forth; the protest against wrong and lawlessness and oppression, the determined, unceasing action of men who will not be satisfied with injustice. If , of course, you take these things out of time, then there is nothing in time itself that is going to settle any question; and if you put them in, then you have to ask how far we can count upon the power of human protest and what form shall it take.

Consider for instance the situation in Russia today. After the Japanese War it seemed as though the day of freedom had dawned. A representative assembly sat ant the voices of the people for the first time in hundreds of years became articulate; their wrongs

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were expressed and their rights demanded. Today Russia grows silent, the present Duma chosen by the restricted electorate is but a tool in the hands of the dominant class and oppression and injustice flourish. What should Russia do today? Make terms with the enemy and wait, or protest and keep protesting and continue to use every legitimate method in order to restore to the Russian people their long withheld rights?

But take an even more opposite example - Ireland. For many long years Ireland has been fighting for Home Rule - the right to have unhampered control of her local affairs. She has not yet gained this but she has gained many things: government aid in buying land, wide-spread philanthropic efforts of social uplift, educational foundations and industrial encouragement.

Is not this enough? Ought she not stop fighting and sit down and assure the world of her progress? Perhaps you think so - indeed I am afraid you do - but Ireland doesn't. Ireland is fighting as doggedly for Home Rule today as she ever fought and the Irishman that dared to cross the water and assure the world that his country was satisfied and happy would find it safer and healthier to stay across the water.

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Ought we then as Negroes with ten times as much to complain of as the Irish - Ought we to complain? For my part, the question is easily answered. We Negroes inthe United States must go forward. The policy of the mere opportunist is doubly dangerous. It is dangerous <u>first</u> because it gives aid and moral support to the enemy, and it is dangerous in the <u>second</u> place because it encourages the worse tendencies among ourselfes.

To take the first point: I wonder if many of you will believe me when I say that the greatest and on the whole most unbearable argument that has been brought against my attitude in the last ten years has been the assertion which I have met time and time again that I am practically the only Negro in the United States who objects to present conditions; that I and a small group of personal friends are protesting and making a good deal of noise about disfranchisement, civil rights and the curtailment of education, while, as matter of fact, not only are the great mass of the colored people satisfied with their condition, but the real leaders of the race also are satisfied; that they are making no protest, that they are (to use the current phrase) "Optimists", and on the whole are well-satisfied with conditions as they now

exist.

I have had several times sympathetic persons suggest to me that since the Negro race is satisfied with conditions and I was not satisfied the proper thing for me to do would be to go to France or to South America where I could be a man. They have said to me in most sympathetic tones that they understood my position perfectly well, that if they were in a similar position that they would feel and act and talk precisely as I have done, but that the Negroes of America did not feel so and that I was starting them to protest against things which did not particularly bother them. I have had men, Southern and Northern, white and black, use these arguments repeatedly to me. I know, as you know, that it is perfectly false. I know, as you know, that of the

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educated, thinking colored people, nine out of ten, demand precisely the things which I have been trying to demand, but the thing that exasperates me is that when I seek to prove this to doubting people who come to me for information, I find it exceedingly difficult to do so. If I send them for personal interviews to colored people, these colored people have their glib word of contentment ready. They are sure that the Negro has advanced, and that the white man is going to give them their rights while they sit still to receive them. If I refer them to the Negro newspapers, I will find in their columns today almost no straight out protest against present conditions. Personal enuendos, factional fights, petty jealousies and social doings practically fill them. If I refer to the speeches and the doings of our leading men, I find on the one hand Mr. Washington in Europe assuring the world that all is well in the United States, and on the other hand Mr. Vernon in Washington urging a Jim-Crow school system in Kansas, and again and again men among us of education and ability meekly and silently submitting to humiliation and insult such as no ~~well-bred dog could~~ man ought to bear without protest. All of which flatly contradicts my assertion that the Negroes in the United States are not only not satisfied with present conditions but are exceedingly dissatisfied and apprehensive of the future; that they regard disfranchisement as a denial of the fundamental rights of men, that they see in civil discrimination a denial of their manhood, and that they know that educational discrimination is deliberately seeking to deprive them of trained leadership. I know and you know that there sits in this room tonight not a single black man or woman who would not privately tell

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me ~~tonight~~ a tale of personal humiliation and insult, wanton discrimination, blighting of ambition and discouragement, systematic repression and callous hurt which would make anyhuman being mad from head to foot.

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Yet those same people in nine cases out of ten will turn to the newspaper reporter beside and assure him that they have no cause for complaint. Imagine my friends the peculiar position in which this attitude puts the white friends of this race through out the world when they are asked to fight for those who not only will not fight for themselves but who even declare fighting unnecessary. I have seen in ~~this very~~ in one city of Washington one white man make more and louder protest over a street car transfer than the whole hundred thousand black people of this city have made over the dis-

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graceful conditions at the Union Station. What is the cause of this? Is it a race trait? No my friends, its cause is clear. Its cause is slavery. It is the penalty we pay for three centuries of degradation. The blood of servility is yet in our veins. We are not only not free without, we are still servile within and unless you would hand down the taint to your children - to youn tents, O Israel. Under such circumstances it seems to me it is the business of the Negro race to nail this wide-spread lie that they are content and that in such a way as they will - quietly or noisily, privately or in public, in speech or personal conversation, lose no opportunity to let the people of the United States and the people of the world know that ten million human beings in this country are not willing today to be classed less than men.

In the second place our opportunist attitude is putting a premium upon selfishness and mediocrity among us. Twenty years ago when I was coming through school the Negro race said to me with one voice: "Get the best education possible and seek the highest". Today if the Negro race is saying anything openly and plainly to its children, I am at a loss to know just what that word is, but I am certainly sure that among the young people with whom I have worked for fffteen years the tendency is to question very materially whether it is worth while for a Negro boy to seek the best, whether it is not a good deal better to seek the biggest thing, the one that pays most or most quickly. And certainly the policy of the opportunist is putting forward today a set of men who owe their advancement neither to their brains nor to their work, not to their moral desert, but almost solely to

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their callousness or their sycophancy. And if this sort of thing goes on too long it will absolutely kill all the self-respect of the race, it will lead the race astray, and will set up false ideals and furnish proof of the incapacity of the Negro to their enemies. We have criticized and criticized harshly the policy of President Taft on Negro appointments to office. But recently I have been shown an authoritative statement saying that the policy "had the full approval" before it was uttered of several well-known leaders of the Negro race. In the light of that extraordinary revelation, I am not sure but that it is President Taft who has the best right to be angry and to ask if chosen leaders cannot speak for you, who in God's name can?

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After, now this long trial of Opportunism with whatever

business revival may be put to its credit to offset its wretched failure in all things else, is there not need of a new enlightened selfishness to start an upward and forward movement? I do not ask, and no one has a right to ask, any unusual and disinterested unselfishness; this is an exceptional thing at any time and in any race and when it comes it does not have to be asked, it comes of its own free will. We have got a living to earn and families to support; we must fight with our eyes upon our bread and butter, remembering all the time that without bread and butter there will in the end be no fighting, but remembering also that under some circumstances the best of food is tasteless. Then, too, we must not forget for whose bread and butter we are fighting. If we were merely fighting for our own then we could bargain according to individual taste. But it is for the lives and careers and

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surroundings of our children and our children's children that we strive today. Are we willing that they should live as we have lived?

Is it not time, then, that after fifteen years of experiment we should step forward in three definite directions: First, that we should seek to get a systematic and definite knowledge of ourselves; Second, that we should seek to make a systematic and continued protest against injustice, and Thirdly, that we should in every direction increase our organized endeavor. It does seem to me that this program is not one of frightful or forbidding radicalism, nor does it exclude anything for which an honest opportunist rightly strives. If we were living in a land by ourselves, knowledge would be supplied by a Census and by departmental reports

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and by newspapers. As it is, we have to depend for our knowledge of ourselves upon prejudiced and ill-informed official reports and upon newspapers whose business often is to disseminate what is not the truth. It seems to me that systematic gatherings of knowledge concerning conditions among us is a matter of first-hand importance, both for our own satisfaction, for purposes of social reform, and the refutation of slanders.

Then, as to protest: I think most men have in mind when they speak of agitation a wild haired man yelling and waving his arms in some place where he has no business to be. Personally, I have a good deal of respect for that sort of agitator and he has played his part in the world; it ill becomes you and me standing before the memory of William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass

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to object to the agitator, but I am not asking today of all of you agitation of that sort. I am asking for a systematic protest. I would wish the Negro race so organized that the newspaper to-morrow which printed an unfair report concerning Negroes would receive in its very next mail from ten to one thousand letters of respectful but firm protest and that these letters should not come simply from the colored people but from fair-minded white people whom you and I had induced to protest. It seems to me that the man who is afraid or unwilling to carry on protest of this sort - by writing, by personal visits, by attending decently conducted meetings of protest,- it seems to me that the man who is not willing to do these things for the preserving of his rights, for the safe-guarding of the future of his children, is unworthy to hold any position of preferment or to claim to be a man.

We minimize the effect of such protest. Unless we can see mountains tumbling after one prayer we are done with praying. We think the little thing, the silent persistent endeavor, the continually dropping is useless because its results are not immediately apparent. Yet believe me the little meeting of twenty-nine poor and uninfluential black men at Niagara Falls six years ago has done more to let the world know that American Negroes are dissatisfied with conditions than anything else in a decade. Has it bettered those conditions? No. But it has bettered us. It is a great thing for a man to gain his own self-respect. And when that spirit of persistent protest and dissatisfaction pervades ten millions, does anyone doubt but that conditions will yield?

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Thirdly, as to organized endeavor: If today we take into account the Negro church, secret societies, insurance associations and business organizations, the various philanthropic endeavors, we shall find that practically every member of the Negro race is a member of one or more organization. The problem before us is how shall we get these organizations to work for the best interests of the Negro race - to work for social uplift and cooperation in all lines and ways which shall make them affective and worthy organizations. To bring about such organized cooperation and set forth the lines of work and emphasize the need, calls in itself for organized endeavor, and toward this, it seems to me, you and I are called upon to start and to start right off. But first of all what is the goal? What is the Ideal? What do we want? Can we formulate a reasonable platform of Negro demands today which will unite conservative and radical, opportunist and

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and Path-finder?

I think we can. Certainly we can in private. Among Negroes themselves of all schools and any school there is substantial agreement on what we want; it is only when we come to tell white folks, that we get cautious and begin to express the most extraordinary differences of opinion. What do we want:

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We want to be treated like men.

We want the legal rights of American citizens - the right to vote, the ~~right~~ to travel without public stigma, and the right to enjoy public conveniences on the same terms as other people.

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We want education for our children - an education suited to their capacities and not simply to somebody's ideas of their capacities, and finally, we want the opportunity for self-develop-

ment and self-expression.

When we formulate our demands thus it may be objected: there are plenty of white people who do not get what you ask and what is the use of akking ~~what~~ all this when you know you cannot get all you ask. The answer is clear: the argument that a wrong is wide-spread is no excuse for its existence. If there are millions of people black and white who are today treated as beasts of burden, stunted by caste restrictions and denied opportunity this is reason for more and not less endeavor on the part of all thinking men to right these wrongs. If men stop asking for justice because some injustice will surely remain, then human progress is a dream. I do not expect to get all I ask today as a Negro, but I do expect to get something and I do expect to keep asking until the trump of doom.

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I am willing, nay eager, to accept every small concession, every inch of advance and be thankful for it, but I will not pay for it with the lying assertion that its all I want. Nor does the counter-argument of desert determ me in the least. If everybody got what they deserved in this universe, there would be a good many rich people begging, many white people in slaveyy and several saints in hell.

But the key-note of the world today is not desert but opportunity , not the grudging dole of charity to the guilty but the rich flood of inspiration and uplift to all, that whosoever will may come and drink of the waters of life freely.

To accomplish this the world is using social investigation of conditions, persistent protest against evil and organized effort toward betterment. When we are advocating these methods for the Negro we are not advocating untried methods, for all the great movements of the present time are organized absolutely on these lines - Child Labor, the Peace Movement, the Protest against Poverty, the New Education - all these movements are organized with these three things in view: to gather the facts, protest against the wrong, and to gain organized cooperation to bring the right. If the cause of ten million people who want to be free is not worth the use of these time-honored instruments of civilization - what is it worth? Today we have for this purpose in New York a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. And this association differentiates itself from other organizations in this one unusual respect, that is, it is organized in conjunction with those who are working in similar ways along other lines of social uplift. We comprise among us ~~Republican~~

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social workers and reformers interested in nearly every line of social uplift. Hitherto, the Negro in the United States has had little interest in the work of these people. Strange to say, he has rather sided with the great capitalists and philanthropists and is even found speaking against social reform, against races like the Jews and against all people who are fighting for a cause. The time for this foolishness has passed. These are the people who are revolutionizing the world. We must recognize that the cause of the Negro is one with every cause of world uplift and one which employs the same methods and uses the same arguments, and we must therefore, join hands with all people throughout the world who are working for the world's good.

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[Oct. 1910]

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THE FORWARD MOVEMENT

October is the real beginning of the year. It is then that revivified, if not from rest at least from change of work, we come back to the old path and take up the burden again with new interest. We also rightly at such times pause a while to take new bearings and test the old, so as to be sure whither we are going and how great is the progress made; and I think we who belong to the Negro race here in America and who in the fall of 1910 pause to look at the present and forecaste the future must feel that we are at the beginning of a new cycle in the problem of our advance.

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and we did so with vehemence and sincerity. Tonight I come not so much to attack the theory as to undertake, from the unbiased point of view of the student of social affairs, to estimate the effect of this theory and others in the past and to ask what we may hope to accomplish in the future. I do not, of course, in this view assume or pretend to assume any change of belief myself, but I do attempt to judge present facts impartially.

Of one thing we may today be reasonably certain and that is that the Negro race has made in the last fifteen years notable and substantial advance in many lines. This advance is subject to a good deal of exaggeration on both sides; an exaggeration on the one hand which makes our progress appear unbelievably

phenominal, and an exaggeration on the other hand which claims absence of substantial progress. A careful unbiased judgment of the facts before us point to indubitable proofs of advance. There is doubt, for instance, that never before in the history of the Negro race has the race owned so much material wealth. It is probable that the current estimates of $600,000,000 are not at all exaggerated. While an average of $60 a head by no means spells affluence for a people, it does , without doubt, mean more than its mere figures would indicate. Beside this, or rather with it, has come a higher standard of living. Negroes are bringing their homes out of the alleys to the front streets in the towns, and in the country districts to a considerable degree out of the one-room cabin. There is, too, a larger and larger part of Negro.

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youth who are receiving higher education, and while the number as compared with the total who ought to be educated is still lamentably small, yet the Negro student is making his impression. ¶ Further it cannot be denied that unhealthy as the race is, it is growing slowly but decidedly healthier and is paying more attention to the laws of physical well-being. ¶ The organization of the race for general purposes which has been asked for among us for years has come at last in bewildering profusion. No one who considers the meetings of this summer, from the seven thousand people at the National Baptist Convention at New Orleans to the couple of dozen at the Niagara Movement meeting at Sea Isle City, including such notable gatherings as the Odd Fellows, the Elks, the Physicians, the Negro Business League, the Woman's Clubs, the Political

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League and many others, can fail to realize that suddenly the organization for which we have been asking has come, and the real question before us is what are we going to do with the organizations we have.

When, now, we turn from wealth, education and organization to other matters of mind and morals, it is more difficult to give any certain answer. We have not developed in the last fifteen years many new names in the lines of literature and science, but we have a few, and on the whole I think the most of us would agree that the tone in Negro society in towns and cities show marks of genuine improvement. ¶ Thus in fifteen years we can point to positive advance. Nor can this advance be said to be due, whole, to any particular cause. The accumulation of property is not due alone to the Business Leagues but the Business Leagues to the accumulation of

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property, and again, education is not due to the advocates of higher training but vice versa. Of course the insistence on thrift and material well-being in these fifteen years has undoubtedly stimulated thrift and set new business ideals. & the crusading college men has encouraged college IP So that on the whole we find a restless, almost nervous, pushing forward on the part of ten million men and with this a two-fold philosophy of its aims and meaning.

Now along with the undoubted evidences of advance among Negroes have gone an overwhelming number of causes for dismay and apprehension. So far as the Negroes themselves are concerned perhaps the only matter of distinct apprehension is their changed attitude toward education. After the War there was a desire, almost a craze, for education of any and all kinds. Today the children

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of the rank and file of the Negro race are not being sent to school with any such unanimity and while one cause of this is there are few schools to send children to, it is also partially because parents are losing faith in education.

Outside of the Negro race, however, and in the attitude of the dominant race there has come in the last fifteen years a series of disastrous events which calls for serious thought on our part. The disfranchisement movement which had reached only two states in 1895, has today swept over the whole Southern South, is pending in the border states and is actually trying to envade the North. The movement to cut down and discourage Negro education has been so successful that in the Southern South, the Negro public schools are worse than they were fifteen years ago, and in the border states

they have not made reasonable advance. Not only this, but the support given to Negro private schools has been growing smaller and smaller while the Negro secondary schools supported by the st states have had their corriculum progressively cheapened and spoiled in nearly every instance. Discrimination in civil rights has gone so far that the battle against it has apparently been given up, even in the North, and we face today continually an opinion among our own people that the wave of prejudice against Negroes in the United States is inevitable and that there is no use fighting it.

Now, while I think it is perfectly true that the advance of the Negro race can be claimed as due to no one party or set of doctrines, on the other hand it seems tome certain that the

policy of trying to make friends with the enemies of the Negro race, of surrendering ground to them, of yielding without protest or argument has undoubtedly been responsible for a great many of the calamities which are threatening us. I think it is perfectly true that if therehad been no such philosophy formulated we should have had to meet reaction from the sentimentalism of the War period, we would have had to meet wide-spread disfranchisement, attack upon our civil rights and attack upon the education of our children; but I cannot believe that such a movement could have triumphed withthe ease with which it has had it been met on our part, not by submission and surrender, but by thoughtful, dogged and persistent and unwavering opposition.

But be that as it may, the question is, not what might have

been but what we are going to do about it now, and in order that we shall approach this question in its true proportions we ought to consider not simply our position here as Negroes in the United States, but our position as blood-relatives of the Negro race throughout the world and as near or distant cousins of the darker races throughout the world; for it is of the utmost importance that whatever battles we wage in the future shall be based upon a thorough and wide-spread knowledge of the things which we are fighting for and of the attitude of the world toward us.

Before then discussing further our imperative needs under the present circumstances, I want to ask you to glance with me over the world and consider how its race problems are affecting us.

Primarily the problems of the world are today economic problems, the earning of a living and possibilities of enjoying the living justly earned; These economic problems resolve themselves very largely into the matter of regulating trade between the warmer and cooler regions of the earth, or in other words, between the world's whiter and darker peoples. In this vast problem of commerce there are three strategic points: America, Asia and Africa.

In America we have first the United States, an example of tremendous industrial organization, whose problems are today not the problems of creating wealth, but the problems of justly distributing and consuming it, and the Negro problem arises from

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the fact that color prejudice is being used as a method of denying to black men a fair share of the product of their hands and brains and denying them an opportunity to enjoy the consumption of that meagre part which they get. Outside of the United States there are industrial problems which arrange themselves even more largely around the color line. There is, for instance, Mexico, a country held by the throat through United States capital invested there, where the darker Indian and Negroid peasantry are struggling piteously for the elementary rights of manhood. If they should gain such rights, it is possible that Mexico would afford the greatest asylum for the Negroes of the United States. Further down in Central America we have from the building of the Panama Canal a number of intricate racial problems and these problems intermingled with the industrial problems connected on the one hand with

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the West Indies and on the other hand with Asia. Our coffee and our fruit, our sugar and a large part of the available laboring class is furnished by the West Indies, where the Negro people are overwhelmingly dominant. The problem of the West Indies can never be settled until these Negroes are given a status which will make them content, and thus far these Negroes have, I thank God, showed no disposition to be content with anything short of political power, civic liberty and social equality.

Further down in South America the demand of Negro and Indian people for manhood rights has been won through a progressive amalgamation of the races and it only stands as a continuing problem on account of the rampant race prejudice in the United States. Industrially, America is one continent, but the color line still

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cuts off South America and binds her to Europe instead of North America; and the question is how long is that condition going to be continued.

Turning from the Western to the Eastern Indies we have a plain example of the lack of sympathy which the striving of the Negroes in the United States is able to gain in England and the peculiar reason why England is willing to welcome anybody who can say that the suppression of ten million people in the United States is not a burning problem and is in process of social solution. In the East Indies we have ~~a mass of~~ highly paid English officials at the top ruling a mass of millions of poorly paid, wretchedly conditioned darker people. These people have, however, just begun to get a class of educated leaders, and these educated leaders are doing the only thing that honest educated leadership could do un-

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der the circumstances: they are fighting for freedom. The fight while little noised aborad and holding but scant space in our newspapers is one of the greatest and most interesting battles of modern time, and its outcome depends simply upon the courage and endurance of the fighters.

Further east in China and Japan we have a development of the race problem which is of especial interest because these people began the fight before subjection to the West had taken place. China was on the verge of dismemberment and Japan was about to be shut in on a few islands of the Sea, when Japan undertook what the world called a foolish fight and won. This gave to the yellow race a position where it can defend itself successfully against the aggressions of the white race and assert its right to self-develop-

ment and respect.

How is it now with the black race at home in Africa? What chance is there that the black race is going to have the freedom for self-development, the right to become not simply useful to the white race but useful to itself? The problem in Africa is so complicated that it is extremely difficult to answer this question and any answer given today is simply guess work. In Egypt with its dark native races and large infiltration of Negro blood a fight similar to that in India has begun and apparently has a fair chance to succeed within a few decades. In the Soudan which is predominantly Negro and Negroid a development of the black race is taking place under white leadership which looks unusually promising.

On the other hand, the intimidation of the blacks on the

West Coast and their attempted suppression in South Africa is ominous. But no one , as I have said, can made final conclusions as to the outcome. There, at least, the Negro is overwhelmingly in the majority, the climate is fighting for him, and much of what he will do in the future depends upon what we, his brothers, prove we can do here in the present.

When now, Europe looks upon so vast an aggregation of problems which though industrial at bottom, are complicated tremendously by the fact of an unreasoning racial prejudice, it is not unnatural that there should come movements toward understanding and amelioration. There is the great Peace movement, but it is hampered by an unfortunate political situation in Europe itself. Nevertheless, it has gained a great victory in the Hague Conferences

and out of them comes a still further advance in the Races Congress which is to meet in London in July, 1911, and in which all the races of the world, including ours here in America are to be represented. This is perhaps the most definite attack upon racial prejudice that the better thought of Europe has yet made.

This then is the situation the world over.

Let us now return to our own land and ask in view of this world ramification of the color line, what you and I are going to do? It has often been said that we have within the Negro race the conservative and the radical factions: the conservatives who want to leave things as they are for fear of making them worse, and the radicals who want to change everything in a moment. No such extreme description fits our situation. What we really have is

the Opportunist and the Path-finder. The Opportunist who says the situation is not agreeable, who wants to make things better, but who believes the chances are that nothing can be done by our moving; we must wait until the opportunity is offered and then take hold of it. On the other hand, the Path-finder says that such sitting still and waiting is most dangerous, and it is of the greatest importance all the time that organized effort should be made for advance. This historic difference between opportunism and road-breaking can be seen in many historic movements. At the time of the Protestant Revolution the whole Catholic Church practically, except a few who were profiting by its plight, knew the need of radical reform, was sure that conditions were bad, but

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how should satisfactory reform be brought about? Should it be brought about by widespread war and carnage or by slow and quiet internal movement? It was finally brought about by revolt and revolution, and that revolt and revolution not only gave birth to Protestantism but it gave birth to a counter reform inside, which helped the church to purify itself; and those who since that time have objected to Martin Luther and the horrible thirty years' war have to prove that the reformation within and without the church was possible at slighter cost. Or take the fight of Englishmen for the ballot; it might have been said in England in the early 19th Century that the rank and file of the English people were bound in time to get the ballot. Good-hearted men might have assured the leaders who protested against rotten burroughs that in time the rotten burrough was bound to go/ But

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men who depend upon time to right wrongs always unconsciously include in time the inevitable human action that time always brings forth; the protest against wrong and lawlessness and oppression, the determined, unceasing action of men who will not be satisfied with injustice. If , of course, you take these things out of time, then there is nothing in time itself that is going to settle any question; and if you put them in, then you have to ask how far we can count upon the power of human protest and what form shall it take.

Consider for instance the situation in Russia today. After the Japanese War it seemed as though the day of freedom had dawned. A representative assembly sat and the voices of the people for the first time in hundreds of years became articulate; their wrongs

were expressed and their rights demanded. Today Russia grows silent, the present Duma chosen by the restricted electorate is but a tool in the hands of the dominant class and oppression and injustice flourish. What should Russia do today? Make terms with the enemy and wait, or protest and keep protesting and continue to use every legitimate method in order to restore to the Russian people their long withheld rights?

But take an even more opposite example - Ireland. For many long years Ireland has been fighting for Home Rule - the right to have unhampered control of her local affairs. She has not yet gained this but she has gained many things: government aid in buying land, wide-spread philanthropic efforts of social uplift, educational foundations and industrial encouragement.

Is not this enough? Ought she not stop fighting and sit down and assure the world of her progress? Perhaps you think so - indeed I am afraid you do - but Ireland doesn't. Ireland is fighting as doggedly for Home Rule today as she ever fought and the Irishman that dared to cross the water and assure the world that his country was satisfied and happy would find it safer and healthier to stay across the water.

Ought we then as Negroes with ten times as much to complain of as the Irish - Ought we to complain? For my part, the question is easily answered. We Negroes inthe United States must go forward. The policy of the mere opportunist is doubly dangerous. It is dangerous first because it gives aid and moral support to the enemy, and it is dangerous in the second place because it encourages the worse tendencies among ourselves.

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To take the first point: I wonder if many of you will believe me when I say that the greatest and on the whole most unbearable argument that has been brought against my attitude in the last ten years has been the assertion which I have met time and time again that I am ~~practically~~ + a half dozen others are the only Negro in the United States who objects to present conditions; that I and a small group of personal friends are protesting and making a good deal of noise about disfranchisement, civil rights and the curtailment of education, while, as matter of fact, not only are the great mass of the colored people satisfied with their condition, but the real leaders of the race also are satisfied; that they are making no protest, that they are (to use the current phrase) "Optimists", and on the whole are well-satisfied with conditions as they now

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exist.

I have had several times sympathetic persons suggest to me that since the Negro race is satisfied with conditions and I was not satisfied the proper thing for me to do would be to go to France or to South America where I could be a man. They have said to me in most sympathetic tones that they understood my position perfectly well, that if they were in a similar position that they would feel and act and talk precisely as I have done, but that the Negroes of America did not feel so and that I was starting them to protest against things which did not particularly bother them. I have had men, Southern and Northern, white and black, use these arguments repeatedly to me. I know, as you know, that it is perfectly false. I know, as you know, that of the

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educated, thinking colored people, nine out of ten, demand precisely the things which I have been trying to demand, but the thing that exasperates me is that when I seek to prove this to doubting people who come to me for information, I find it exceedingly difficult to do so. If I send them for personal interviews to colored people, these colored people have their glib word of contentment ready. They are sure that the Negro has advanced, and that the white man is going to give them their rights while they sit still to receive them. If I refer them to the Negro newspapers, I will find in their columns today almost no straight out protest against present conditions. Personal enuendos, factional fights, petty jealousies and social doings practically fill them. If I refer to the speeches and the doings

of our leading men, I find on the one hand Mr. Washington in 48-2-70
Europe assuring the world that all is well in the United States, and on the other hand Mr. Vernon in Washington urging a Jim-Crow school system in Kansas, and again and again men among us of education and ability meekly and silently submitting to humiliation and insult such as no well-bred dog could bear without protest. All of which flatly contradicts my assertion that the Negroes in the United States are not only not satisfied with present conditions but are exceedingly dissatisfied and apprehensive of the future; that they regard disfranchisement as a denial of the fundamental rights of men, that they see in civil discrimination a denial of their manhood, and that they know that educational discrimination is deliberately seeking to deprive them of trained leadership. I know and you know that there sits in this room tonight not a single black man or woman who would not privately tell

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me ~~tonight~~ a tale of personal humiliation and insult, wanton discrimination, blighting of ambition and discouragement, systematic repression and callous hurt which would make anyhuman being mad from head to foot.

Yet those same people in nine cases out of ten will turn to the newspaper reporter beside them and assure him that they have no cause for complaint. Imagine my friends the peculiar position in which this attitude puts the white friends of this race through out the world when they are asked to fight for those who not only will not fight for themselves but who even declare fighting unnecessary. I have seen in this very city one white man make more and louder protest over a street car transfer than the whole hundred thousand black people ~~of this city~~ have made over the dis-

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graceful conditions at the Union Station. What is the cause of this? Is it a race trait? No my friends, its cause is perfectly clear. Its cause is slavery. It is the penalty we pay for three centuries of degradation. The blood of servility is yet in our veins. We are not only not free without, we are still servile within and unless you would hand down the taint to your children - to your tents, O Israel. Under such circumstances it seems to me it is the business of the Negro race to nail this wide-spread lie that they are content and that in such a way as they will - quietly or noisily, privately or in public, in speech or personal conversation, lose no opportunity to let the people of the United States and the people of the world know that ten million human beings in this country are not willing today to be classed less than men.

In the second place our opportunist attitude is putting a premium upon selfishness and mediocrity among us. Twenty years ago when I was coming through school the Negro race said to me with one voice: "Get the best education possible and seek the highest". Today if the Negro race is saying anything openly and plainly to its children, I am at a loss to know just what that word is, but I am certainly sure that among the young people with whom I have worked for fifteen years the tendency is to question very materially whether it is worth while for a Negro boy to seek the best, whether it is not a good deal better to seek the biggest thing, the one that pays most or most quickly. And certainly the policy of the opportunist is putting forward today a set of men who owe their advancement neither to their brains nor to their work, not to their moral desert, but almost solely to

their callousness or their sycophancy. And if this sort of thing goes on too long it will absolutely kill all the self-respect of the race, it will lead the race astray, and will set up false ideals and furnish proof of the incapacity of the Negro to their enemies. We have criticized and criticized harshly the policy of President Taft on Negro appointments to office. But recently I have been shown an authoritative statement saying that the policy "had the full approval" before it was uttered of several well-known leaders of the Negro race. In the light of that extraordinary revelation, I am not sure but that it is President Taft who has the best right to be angry and to ask if chosen leaders cannot speak for you, who in God's name can?

After, now this long trial of Opportunism with whatever

business revival may be put to its credit to offset its wretched failure in all things else, is there not need of a new enlightened selfishness to start an upward and forward movement? I do not ask, and no one has a right to ask, any unusual and disinterested unselfishness; this is an exceptional thing at any time and in any race and when it comes it does not have to be asked, it comes of its own free will. We have got a living to earn and families to support; we must fight with our eyes upon our bread and butter, remembering all the time that without bread and butter there will in the end be no fighting, but remembering also that under some circumstances the best of food is tasteless. Then, too, we must not forget for whose bread and butter we are fighting. If we were merely fighting for our own then we could bargain according to individual taste. But it is for the lives and careers and

There is no great no small
To the soul that maketh all
Where it cometh all things are
& it cometh everywhere

~~(one)~~

To such high souls I do not now need to speak
but I speak to common men

(one)

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surroundings of our children and our children's children that we strive today. Are we willing that they should live as we have lived?

Is it not time, then, that after fifteen years of experiment we should step forward in three definite directions: First, that we should seek to get a systematic and definite knowledge of ourselves; Second, that we should seek to make a systematic and continued protest against injustice, and Thirdly, that we should in every direction increase our organized endeavor. It does seem to me that this program is not one of frightful or forbidding radicalism, nor does it exclude anything for which an honest opportunist rightly strives. If we were living in a land by ourselves, knowledge would be supplied by a Census and by departmental reports

and by newspapers. As it is, we have to depend for our knowledge of ourselves upon prejudiced and ill-informed official reports and upon newspapers whose business often is to disseminate what is not the truth. It seems to me that systematic gatherings of knowledge concerning conditions among us is a matter of first-hand importance, both for our own satisfaction, for purposes of social reform, and the refutation of slanders.

Then, as to protest: I think most men have in mind when they speak of agitation a wild haired man yelling and waving his arms in some place where he has no business to be. Personally, I have a good deal of respect for that sort of agitator and he has played his part in the world; it ill becomes you and me standing before the memory of William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass

to object to the agitator, but I am not asking today of all of you agitation of that sort. I am asking for a systematic protest. I would wish the Negro race so organized that the newspaper to-morrow which printed an unfair report concerning Negroes would receive in its very next mail from ten to one thousand letters of respectful but firm protest and that these letters should not come simply from the colored people but from fair-minded white people whom you and I had induced to protest. It seems to me that the man who is afraid or unwilling to carry on protest of this sort - by writing, by personal visits, by attending decently conducted meetings of protest,- It seems to me that the man who is not willing to do these things for the preserving of his rights, for the safe-guarding of the future of his children, is unworthy to hold any position of preferment or to claim to be a man.

We minimize the effect of such protest. Unless we can see mountains tumbling after one prayer we are done with praying. We think the little thing, the silent persistent endeavor, the continually dropping is useless because its results are not immediately apparent. Yet believe me the little meeting of twenty-nine poor and uninfluential black men at Niagara Falls six years ago has done more to let the world know that American Negroes are dissatisfied with conditions than anything else in a decade. Has it bettered those conditions? No. But it has bettered us. It is a great thing for a man to gain his own self-respect. And when that spirit of persistent protest and dissatisfaction pervades ten millions, does anyone doubt but that conditions will yield? * over

There never has been in human
history a case where the wishes &
ambitions of 10 million people has been
permanently & successfully ignored unless
they themselves gave up & surrendered
& quickly crawled

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Thirdly, as to organized endeavor: If today we take into account the Negro church, secret societies, insurance associations and business organizations, the various philanthropic endeavors, we shall find that practically every member of the Negro race is a member of one or more organization. The problem before us is how shall we get these organizations to work for the best interests of the Negro race - to work for social uplift and cooperation in all lines and ways which shall make them affective and worthy organizations. To bring about such organized cooperation and set forth the lines of work and emphasize the need, calls in itself for organized endeavor, and toward this, it seems to me, you and I are called upon to start and to start right off. But first of all what is the goal? What is the Ideal? What do we want? Can we formulate a reasonable platform of Negro demands today which will unite conservative and radical, opportunist and

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and Path-finder?

I think we can. Certainly we can in private. Among Negroes themselves of all schools and any school there is substantial agreement on what we want; it is only when we come to tell white folks, that we get cautious and begin to express the most extraordinary differences of opinion. What do we want:

We want to be treated like men.

We want the legal rights of American citizens - the right to vote, the right to travel without public stigma, and the right to enjoy public conveniences on the same terms as other people.

We want education for our children - an education suited to their capacities and not simply to somebody's idea of their capacities, and finally, we want the opportunity for self-develop-

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ment and self-expression.

When we formulate our demands thus it may be objected: there are plenty of white people who do not get what you ask and what is the use of asking ~~what~~ all this when you know you cannot get all you ask. The answer is clear: the argument that a wrong is wide-spread is no excuse for its existence. If there are millions of people black and white who are today treated as beasts of burden, stunted by caste restrictions and denied opportunity this is reason for more and not less endeavor on the part of all thinking men to right these wrongs. If men stop asking for justice because some injustice will surely remain, then human progress is a dream. I do not expect to get all I ask today as a Negro, but I do expect to get something and I do expect to keep asking until the trump of doom.

I am willing, nay eager, to accept every small concession, every inch of advance and be thankful for it, but I will not pay for it with the lying assertion that its all I want. Nor does the counter-argument of desert deter me in the least. If everybody got what they deserved in this universe, there would be a good ~~many~~ several rich people begging, ~~many~~ several white people in slavery and several saints in hell.

But the key-note of the World today is not desert but opportunity, not the grudging dole of charity to the guilty but the rich flood of inspiration and uplift to all, that whosoever will may come and drink of the waters of life freely.

To accomplish this the world is using social investigation of conditions, persistent protest against evil and organized

effort toward betterment. When we are advocating these methods for the Negro we are not advocating untried methods, for all the great movements of the present time are organized absolutely on these lines - Child Labor, the Peace Movement, the Protest against Poverty, the New Education - all these movements are organized with these three things in view: to gather the facts, protest against the wrong, and to gain organized cooperation to bring the right. If the cause of ten million people who want to be free is not worth the use of these time-honored instruments of civilization - what is it worth? Today we have for this purpose in New York a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. And this association differentiates itself from other organizations in this one unusual respect, that is, it is organized in conjunction with those who are working in similar ways along other lines of social uplift. We comprise among us ~~Republican~~

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social workers and reformers interested in nearly every line of social uplift. Hitherto, the Negro in the United States has had little interest in the work of these people. Strange to say, he has rather sided with the great capitalists and philanthropists and is even found speaking against social reform, against races like the Jews and against all people who are fighting for a cause. The time for this foolishness has passed. These are the people who are revolutionizing the world. We must recognize that the cause of the Negro is one with every cause of world uplift and one which employs the same methods and uses the same arguments, and we must therefore, join hands with all people throughout the world who are working for the world's good.

(over)

We want your help.
We want your Cooperation
We want you to Contribute Thought & effort
We want you to give us money whether 10 cents or 10 dollars
And we ask that not in our own names but in the
name of 10 million suffering people who by the Grace of God
& your right hands shall set their faces
toward the stars

(1)

1910

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THE CITY NEGRO

In 1900 twenty-three per cent of the Negro population (or, about two millions of people) lived in cities and towns, and about one and a half million lived in cities of eight thousand or more inhabitants, while in the large cities of one hundred thousand, there were about 650,000 persons of Negro descent. As compared with the white population, therefore, the Negroes are essentially a country people, and there are those among us who argue that they should remain such. Notwithstanding this, the proportion of city Negroes is increasing steadily and will increase. Probably the census of the present year will show nearly three millions living in the cities and towns. Now the reasons for this are ~~obvious~~ perfectly obvious. The same forces that have put forty-three percent of the white people in towns are operating among Negroes. They are attracted by the more interesting life and larger social opportunities, a greater economic return, a better chance for civilization and culture. But in the case of Negroes there are additional reasons: the country life of the Negro still savours of slavery and often the only way to escape peonage is to run away to town. In fact there are today many resemblances between the situation of the Negro in the country districts of the United States, and the serf of the Middle Age who ran away to town to escape serfdom. Under such circumstances, the person who wishes the Negro to stay in the country districts of the South, must make those country districts places where human beings with reasonable aspirations will want to stay: the crop lein system and contract labor laws must go; land ownership must be made possible to the poor; law and order must be established and above all, public schools maintained. Until this is possible in the country

(2)

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districts of the South, the rush to town and city among black people is going to continue; and for my part I do not see that we can blame people for such migration. Not only that, but practically the whole migration from South to North is a migration to cities. The reasons for this, too, are obvious: Northern agriculture is unknown to the Negro and farmland is high. On the other hand there are some economic openings in the city and of these the Negro takes advantage. Consequently we face ~~this situation of the~~ various Negro problems in the United States involving ~~which involves~~ many different circumstances and surroundings and conditions.

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One of these problems we are to talk about tonight, that is the problem of the city Negro in the North. When one first comes to face such a problem there are one or two answers that spring to the lips: the first is, why should one single out the colored people in the North and call them a problem any different from the problem of a half dozen other nationalities who are crowding ~~crowded here~~ our large cities? and secondly, why is it that Negroes trained in the United States & particularly in the North for long years, and with opportunities for education and work, should remain a problem. In answer to these questions we must remember that much as we may deplore it there is a line of demarcation and a line of discrimination against Negroes which

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is drawn, in the United States, against almost no other race; and that it is this discrimination which makes the Negro problem in our Northern cities call, in some degree, for special treatment. Primarily the discrimination is economic. It resolves itself into a difficulty, a very great difficulty, ~~to find~~ in finding remunerative employment. This is ~~not~~ sometimes but not always on account of lack of ability among the colored applicants ~~, but on~~ in too many cases it is on account of the distaste of workingmen to work with them ~~on the same money basis,~~ and also ~~from too~~ on account of the feeling of the employers that Negroes on the whole should be kept in certain more or less menial posi-

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tions. The result is , of course, that such positions carry with them a certain mark of degradation, ~~and~~ so long as a proscribed people are forced into certain kinds of work, ~~despite their~~ regardless of their ability and fitness, the work itself becomes proscribed. All the difficulties of the house servant problem do not, or course, arise from this fact. But No one can deny that the coupling of a partially emancipated people with certain kinds of domestic service has tended to make a perfectly honorable line of employment degraded in the eyes of working people. Many would say, to this that if the economic opportunities of Negroes are so small in Northern cities why do they come? and also they would silently add ~~say~~ is it not best on the whole to discourage their coming.[2] The difficulty is that while the economic

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opportunities of Negroes in ~~the~~ a city like New York are small as compared with the economic opportunities offered to white people they are on the other hand, large as compared to what is opened to them in the South, either in city or country. We have, therefore, this peculiar situation: people are attracted to certain centers by wages and opportunities ~~higher and~~ better than they can get at home; but, at the same time, these wages and opportunities are much less ~~and differ~~ than what their fellow workingmen get in these same centers. The result, now, is going to be a two-fold difficulty. First, the tendency is going to be that

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the Negroes earning more than they have been used to before are going to be lulled to a certain indifference to conditions. These conditions, however, both of work and home and daily life are going to be below the standard of the community in ~~the~~ which they live, and they are going to bring upon the Negroes, not only the moral condemnation of their neighbors who object to their mode of life, but also the economic condemnation of their fellow workingmen who object to the standard of living which allows the Negroes to lower the general level of wages. If now the complications stopped here, the remedy would be obvious, namely: to raise the standard of living, to encourage cooperation among colored

people and ambition among colored children. Here, however, is where the discrimination along the color line works. The young Jew who is bright and aspiring, the young Pole who has ability, the young Italian who is ambitious finds on the whole, a pretty open way before him, and large encouragement. The young Negro not only finds the way difficult and the encouragement hesitating, but he always must face the fact, that no matter how high he may force himself by sheer ability and desert, he will in the judgment of his neighbors be continually classed with the worst of his fellows who happen to be of the same color; to illustrate this, note the history

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of the Negro in New York City: in the eighteenth century there were 1500 Negroes living in the city, at the beginning of the nineteenth there were 6,000 in Manhattan and 600 in Brooklyn, at the beginning of the twentieth century there were 38,000 in Manhattan and the Bronx, and 18,000 in Brooklyn. These Negroes up until 1850 were largely distributed among different white families or in scattered districts among themselves. In 1850 there began a segregation of them, which culminated perhaps in 1890, — a movement which, After the Civil war, sent much of the Negro population to Brooklyn. Such a group has had a history and an interesting history, and that history has this peculiarity, which differentiates it from similar groups of men, namely: that the attempt of the

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best of the group to climb higher in the organized life of the community, has been continually so frustrated by racial prejudice, that the oncoming new emigrants have unwittingly but certainly buried the higher life beneath their lower standard. This has been the history of the Negro not only in New York, but in Philadelphia, Chicago and nearly all of the large cities. To turn to New York again: The first Negro school of the United States was opened at the beginning of the 18th Century in Manhattan ~~New York~~ yet the Negro plots of 1707 and 1712 brought tremendous opposition against Negro education in general. When the Negro school was continued up until middle of the 18th Century and new Negroes arrived, a third Negro plot again nearly overwhelmed it and it took the brave fighting of the black men in the

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Revolutionary War to over come the strong sentiment against them at this time. In 1777 the right of suffrage was extended to New York Negroes and they began to push forward. Ten years later they had a large free school, the slave trade was prohibited from the state, and the Free African Society founded. Notwithstanding this new life ~~that~~ the color discrimination against them grew ~~Negroes~~ became so great that they had to withdraw even from some of the churches ~~the Methodist church~~ and start a church of their own. Again In the War of 1812, Negroes ~~pa~~ fought under Perry and Chauncey, and one-half of McDonough's men at Lake Champlain were Negroes; two thousand Negro soldiers were called for, and the Negro school at

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And on the heels of

~~and the Negro school~~ in William St., had two hundred pupils. ~~But with~~

this pressing forward came the burning of that Negro school, ~~and~~ & the

restriction of Negro suffrage by property qualifications which applied

to them alone. Later The education of Negroes increased and a larger Negro

was

school opened on Mulberry street, having five hundred pupils. In 1820

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Lafayette visited the school and his chief surprise was not at the

~~way in~~ excellent conduct of the pupils, but at of the ~~spirit~~ spread of color

prejudice in the United States, since the day when he had fought side

by side with black men for the freedom of white men in this land.

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Slavery finally disappeared from New York in 1827 the same year that the

first Negro newspaper was established, edited by the first Negro college

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graduate, John Russwurm of Dartmouth. The Public School Society in

1834 took the Negro schools under their supervision, and the same year

both in N.Y. and Philadelphia

saw the beginning of riots against Negroes and Negroes were refused even

ride on the street cars in some cases, &

the opportunity to act as drayman, and the legislature refused to remove

restrictions on their voting. During all ~~of~~ this time men of influence

from time to time

and education had arisen in the city among the black group. James Macune

Smith, unable to gain admission to an medical school in America received his

degree with

honors from Edinburgh in Scotland. He practiced in New York City

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for twenty-five years. He was a man of culture and skill, and in any other civilization, and almost any other land, would have been recognized as such. Charles L. Reason became a teacher and leader of the colored people in the days before the War. Henry ~~Allen~~ Highland Garnett became one of their leading ministers. The group not only had their schools and their leaders but ~~ow~~ they owned property. When Governor Ward Hunt recommended the passage of the black laws which would have forbidden even the settlement of any blacks or mulattoes within the City of New York, and would have placed further restrictions on those ~~at that time citizens~~ already here, the charge of unthrift was utterly disproven by a statement showing that ~~in those places~~ even where ~~in which the~~ conditions were the worst, in New York, Brooklyn and Williamsburg, the Negro had increased twenty-five per cent in population and one hundred per cent in holdings of real estate, and that in these three cities they had, in 1847, $800,000 invested in business and $1,160,000 in real estate. // If now this group of people had been allowed to rise in the community according to their desert, and if economic and political opportunities had been freely opened to them, large numbers of them would have arisen out of the way of the new emigrants who poured into the cities since the War. This was not the case, however, so that we have even today

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a peculiar congestion: a pressing down upon the better class from the top, and a pressing in of the new negroes from the bottom. Such a result calls for special social work such as is represented by the Lincoln Settlement. The need for this social work throughout the land has been recognized, not simply by white people but by Negroes themselves, and they have been in the last ten years hastening to cooperate. There are in the United States today some six social settlements (outside of the Negro schools in the South which are largely settlements in character) about forty-~~five~~ hospitals which have been organized ~~by the~~ and manned by colored people, ~~60 or more~~ orphanages, ~~x 75~~ old folk's homes; 136 Young

Men's Christian Associations and ~~a large number of~~ 30 or 40 Young Women's Christian Associations. All these represent very largely an attempt at social betterment within the Negro group. To be effective, however, this attempt must be seconded by the best thought and larger economic power of the white neighbor. Lincoln Settlement represents this union of forces. In no other way can the efficiency of a community of white people and black people and their striving for the best social betterment be raised ~~consummated~~. Here is a constituent part of the population of the city. It needs encouragement to develop itself. It meets a peculiar pressing difficulties It is willing and even determined to help in its own development.

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Its need of development is wholly not its own fault, either in the past or now. What it asks ~~for~~ of you is sympathy in its higher aims, cooperation and money to help in the work. I know of no more effective way to work for the social uplift, ~~in~~ not simply of the Negro people but of the city of Brooklyn and the state of New York and indeed of the United States, than through efficient aid to an institution like the Lincoln Settlement.

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once the largest body of officers and the greatest expenditure of public funds."

The casual reader might not note all the implications of this statement. 1868 was the year when black voters came into power in South Carolina and the first and greatest gift of the Negro to South Carolina in reconstruction days was the public school system. This was not only true in South Carolina but true in practically every other state which has since disfranchised these black voters. How now is the situation of public education in the South affected by reason of this disfranchisement? The main conditions which must be borne in mind are these: there is throughout these states a double

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system of schools - one for whites and one for persons of Negro descent; in two states there are also parts of a third system for Indians. This means that the Negro schools are primarily the schools of the laboring class. They are, however, supervised invaribly by white officials. In none of the states that have the disfranchised Negroes is there, so far as I have been able to find out, a single Negro superintendent or trustee in charge of Negro schools.* ~~There may be some few exceptions in Virginia and North Carolina.~~ Moreover, so far as the Negro public schools are concerned, they exist under the disfavor of the majority of the whites; White employers frowning upon them because, as they say, they make labor dissatisfied and aggressive and the white laborers disliking them because they increase competition. The result, now, of this situation can be summed up in four different propositions: first, there is discrimination against Negro schools as compared with white schools; second there is an attempt to decrease the efficiency of Negro schools; third, the forward movement among the white schools is made impossible or improbable among Negroes; and lastly, disfranchisement has led to peculiar cases of discrimination among the whites, based largely upon property.

* Note No 1

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4

4 pages

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Let me take up each one of the propositions in order.

First, there is discrimination against the Negro schools as compared with the whites. ~~First,~~ There is the almost inevitable discrimination arising from two school systems. If ~~you had a~~ the white and black population were evenly distributed ~~and~~ or perfectly segregated, the double system of schools need bring no particular race discrimination or waste. This, however, very seldom occurs and, ~~moreover, it does not occur but~~ usually if there are in districts ~~of~~ few white people ~~and~~ or few Negroes, ~~where~~ they are very apt under this double system to be left entirely without schools. There are districts in Missouri Kentucky, Maryland and in the hill counties of the Gulf states where the scattered Negro population is left practically without schools. There are also ~~some~~ cases in the mountains and in the Black Belt where the white people are similarly neglected, ~~but~~ although for reasons which I shall give later this ~~Rather~~ case is more seldom in the Black Belt.

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When it comes to the expenditure of money the discrimination between whites and blacks is painfully apparent. In South Carolina for instance, the white schools cost $1,600,000 in 1909, while the Negro schools cost $300,000, and this notwithstanding the fact that

[pp 7-19 missing]

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~~were paid on an average of $113 a year~~.

Some of these discriminations have been known for some time and have been defended to some extent by two arguments: first, that the Negroes pay so few taxes that the burden of their schools falls upon the whites and that white schools are bad and until the whites make their own schools better it is not to be expected that they are going to spend money on Negro schools. The other argument is that the Negro's standard of living being low, their schools should cost less, ~~being less pat entions~~, their teachers de paid less and equipment Their

of himself."

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The Superintendent of the schools of Wilson, N. C. says:*

"I am confident, whether my figures are absolutely accurate or not, that any one who takes the pains to ascertain the present sources of the public funds of these States and then tries to make a fair division of them between the races will come to the conclusion that the Negro school is not very much of a white man's burden, in at least three States, unless the white man is ready to say that the division I suggest is not a fair one. And, in view of the facts set forth for these three States, will the white man be able to maintain successfully that he

* Paper read before 12th annual Conference for Education in the South, April 1909

pays nearly all the cost of the Negro public schools in these States?

Time is not at hand to make a d tailed study of this question for all the eleven states under consideration. What is true of the school funds of the three States considered above is probably true of all the others. A somewhat careful study of this question for several years leads me tothe conclusion that the Negro school of the South is no serious burden on the white taxpayer. The same conclusion will be reached if the subject is approached from another standpoint. Suppose the Negro children of these states were all white. Then it will be

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And also that while the white people of Fulton County own seventy-five and a half million dollars worth of property, the Negroes own but one and a third million. If now in any community of the North the schooling of the laboring population was made dependent upon ~~their~~ the poorest classes giving, ~~outside~~ outside of their regular taxation, enough money to build, & equip their own school houses, there is not an honest citizen in the country who would not cry "shame"! The argument as to the standard of living among colored people is, of course, fallacious. If we are ~~not~~ training Negroes for citizenship in the United States, we are training them for equal

citizenship, and to keep them down on the plea that they are down would be a contradiction of such argument. If the standard of living among the Negroes is low, then there is every reason why their wages should be gradually but persistently increased and that standard raised. Otherwise they pull down the wages of all white laborers with whom they come into competition. If their standard of education is low, then they need not poor teachers or poorly equipped teachers, but the very best teachers and these well paid. There has been an attempt, however, to evade this question and cloud its logic by saying that the Negroes need good training, to be sure, but it ought to be a special training suited to their peculiar

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situation. This, on its face is perfectly true; all education ought to be special.- special so far as the group is concerned and special so far as the individual is concerned. When however it is assumed that everybody without investigation or knowledge knows just what special education is suited to one people, a one individual in this land, and when it is also assumed that such special education should be so essentially different from the education given to whites that Negroes should be precluded from taking advantage of the higher avenues of education, then these assumptions are

not only wrong but dangerous. It is said, for instance, that Negroes need agricultural training, that ~~the~~ a great field is open for them in agriculture in the South. This is true, but instead of ~~giving~~ allowing them agricultural training the money which is appropriated by the United States Government for agricultural education to the Southern States is for various reasons and excuses and by means of various [redacted] subterfuges given very largely to the education of the whites. Moreover, there has recently been started a movement for the establishment of agricultural schools in the congressional districts of the South. Such schools have been established in Georgia at a cost of $508,000; every cent of which has gone to white schools. Other Southern States have done the

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same thing. It cannot be said ~~even~~ then that there is any disposition in the South to give the Negroes that agricultural training which they are said to especially need, and which they do need. Not only is this true of agricultural training but it is also true of industrial training. The Superintendent of North Carolina says:

"When we are apportioning only $366,734.28 for the education of 350000 231,801 negro children (230000 and some of us are complaining about that) we need not be entertaining many hopes of giving the negro much helpful industrial education yet, for everybody ought to know that this amount

The Superintendent of the North Carolina schools says that the sum of

is not sufficient to give this number of children thorough instruction

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in the mere rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic, so essential to civilized living and intelligent, efficient service in the humblest calling of life. As long as we are appropriating only this much money for this number of children, nobody need have any real concern about turning the negro's head by the study of Latin and Greek and other higher branches of learning. The statistical tables of this report show that not a single negro is reported as studying Latin in a single public school of the State." The real animus and meaning of those who are advocating special education for Negroes was plainly stated in the meeting of the ~~Superin-~~ ~~tendents~~ Georgia State Teachers' Association ~~last week in~~ in May 1910 at Atlanta:

appropriation for Negro schools by the state

Again ~~Thirdly~~, the situation on account of disfranchisement makes it impossible for Negroes to use the weapon of group compulsion. A white community in the South can vote a special school tax and if the majority consent they can make the minority pay this tax regularly and support a school. The Negroes can do nothing of the sort, but are usually compelled to pay taxes toward the white school and get little or nothing in return. ~~In one county of Georgia,~~ for instance

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~~withhold but will give to responsible parties,~~ in a certain county of Georgia a Negro private school is granted a small amount from the county school fund received from the state. In the town, however where the school is situated there is a special school tax laid on colored and white alike. ~~There~~ Nearly all of this tax goes to the white school. When the principal of the Negro private school called the attention of the school superintendent to this fact, the superintendent threatened to take away the county appropriation of his school if he did not keep still. Thus we have not only taxation without representa-

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tion, but taxation without sharing its benefits. All these facts which I have given must be well-known to the agents for education and uplift like the Southern EducationalBoard. A prominent Southern member of that board asked them to put the question of Negro education on its programme at its last meeting at Little Rock but the Board refused to do so. From the first the Southern Educational Board accepted the ~~species~~ argument: "whites first, then Negroes". The result is a policy ~~it has adopted~~ that says: "The education of whites ~~but~~ and as little education for Negroes as possible."

Thus the Negroes are ~~disfranchi~~ discriminated against; their pub-

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lic schools show a distinct signs of a retrogressive movement; help from the North is discouraged, and they themselves have their hands tied, so that it is difficult, if not impossible, to initiate a forward movement so far as the schools are concerned. Their only remedy is double taxation and private schools.

So far, I have spoken of the affect of disfranchisement on the Negro schools, and the facts that I have brought forward are but a cry for justice toward these schools. I realize, however, that an appeal for justice for black men without showing how that justice is

VIOLATIONS OF PROPERTY RIGHTS

Few people who argue about the race problem ~~realize~~ know how rapidly that problem changes. Within the last twenty years this change has been so great that many fail to realize it or if they do realize it more or less vaguely they are puzzled at its new outcropings. It seems to them as though this human difficulty was continually developing new and unexpected centers

of trouble. As a matter of fact, however, what we have today might easily have been fore-seen twenty years ago. We are having a change in the problem but the change is logical and represents a more or less regular development.

To illustrate this let us remember what the argument against the Negro was in slavery days. It was said that he was an indolent tropical being who would not work without being driven, and that it was utterly impossible that he should become a self-directing worker, and work with initiative and a decent standard of life and that if he was allowed to go free he would become a pauper or criminal and verysoon be extinct. This argument was thoroughly believed in by the mass of the best Southern people, and it undoubtedly did much to hold their hands back from all schemes of emancipation.

After the War the South and its friends hastened to point

out that exactly what they fore-told was happening. Their accusation against the Negro race was still inborn laziness, and most superficial students of the Negro problem ~~have seen~~ can see what they ~~think is~~ thought was ocular evidence of this laziness: the loafing about depots of Southern railway ~~stations~~, the unreliability of Negro help, etc. So that from emancipation for a period of perhaps ten or twenty years the argument against the Negro in this country took this form: the Negro is lazy and is relapsing into barbarism, the young folks born during and since slavery are utterly worthless, and the better slaves of the old regime are going to disappear.

There was some truth in these assertions, but friends of the black man pointed out that a sudden revolution had taken place in

the economic and social relations of these men; that they had been taught laziness both by the tropical climate of their forefathers' home and by slavery, and that the only real present dangers were the hindrances which race prejudice was putting in their way. Gradually in the last fifteen or twenty years an answer to this argument was evolved. It was frankly admitted that there was prejudice and intense prejudice in social relations but that this prejudice had absolutely nothing to do with the Negro as a workingman and that consequently the argument of prejudice was outside of the question; that it was simply a matter of laziness and was to be cured by thrift. The Negro people were told, therefore, to work hard and regularly and save their money.

In this counter ~~later~~ argument, again, there was a tremendous amount

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of truth. Certainly the first thing that a freedman must learn is regular habits and labor. He has been taught by slavery that labor is a badge of serfdom. He must teach himself that labor is a necessity of life. Moreover under the slave regime money was an infrequent commodity which was immediately to be spent; while under the responsibilities of a free labor system it must be accumulated in small lots and very carefully guarded and saved.

While, however, this argument was strong and an argument that ought to have been made, it was not the argument that should have utterly displaced the insistence upon the evil of race prejudice. It was not too much to have asked intelligent people to foresee that race prejudice in the United States was going to hinder Negroes in getting work, and keep down their wages, and make it difficult for them to develop habits of thrift and to save. While on the one hand it was necessary and imperatively necessary that work and thrift should be insisted upon so far as Negroes were concerned, just as careful and wide-spread ~~and~~ a campaign should have been carried on to see that the way before the faltering feet of the freedman was clear of hurtful and deadening discriminative prejudice. This necessity was not only not attended to, but was even forgotten. The public have in later years come to be impatient of hearing about prejudice. They call it dwelling on the unpleasant side. They ask social students and observers to be optimistic and to dwell simply upon the shortcomings of the Negroes.

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What has been the result of this policy? In the first place, so far as the Negroes are concerned, there can be no doubt that their energies have more and more been given to work and thrift, and despite all the testimonies of car-window sociologists there is absolute-

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ly undisputed evidence that the Negro has accumulated property. // Full statistics unfortunately do not exist to prove this assertion; so far as crime is concerned we can get statistics of Negroes in practically egery state, county and city in the United States, but when it comes to property there are only available figures in three states, and only in one state ~~had~~ do these figures go back for a considerable period.

The state of Georgia beginning with 1874 has kept a careful account of the assessed value of the property owned by its Negro citizens. I have put on a chart here the way in which that property has increased. It began at six millions in 1874 and did not increase for about six years owing to the reconstruction troubles in this state. Then as gradually law and order were restored the accumulations began to go up and once started they went very rapidly until they reached the culminating point in 1893. At that time the Negroes of Georgia

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were paying taxes on $14,000,000 worth of property. Then there came a check. First the panic of 1892, then a series of Jim Crow laws, four-cent cotton, and the epidemic of lynching. The result was that for five years the accumulations decreased or wavered. Then they took a new forward movement with the new century and went up rapidly until today the Negroes of Georgia pay taxes on about $30,000,000 worth of property. Moreover, as the assessments of property in Georgia are low it is probable that this represents between fifty and sixty millions of actual value.

I have also tried to indicate on the chart the increase per capita of Negro property by a dotted line, and I have put down the Atlanta riot and the campaign for disfranchisement to indicate to you what is very clear in my mind, that this campaign was carried on chiefly because the Negroes were getting on too well.

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Other states have made similar advancement, although there are fewer data. In Virginia for instance in 1891 Negroes paid taxes on $12,000,000 worth of property; in 1908 they paid taxes on $25,500,000. In North Carolina in 1900 Negroes paid taxes on nine and a third million dollars worth of property; in 1909 they paid taxes on $21,000,000 worth. Taking these three states together and considering simply the years 1900 to 1908 we find that in Georgia, Virginia and North Carolina colored people owned in 1900, $40,000,000 worth of taxable property and in 1908 it had increased to $74,000,000 or an increase of 87 1/3 per cent.

Not only this but the Census of 1900 made an attempt to get some figures of the ownership of property by Negroes as a whole. They found that the Negroes both as owners and tenants operated 750,000 farms containing 60,000 square miles and that the total value of the property

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thus under Negro control was $560,000,000, with annual products to the amount of $256,000,000. Of these 750,000 farms, one-fourth were owned by colored people and the number of owners increased nearly sixty per cent between 1890 and 1900, and there is every reason to believe that between 1900 and 1910 the increase has been far more than sixty per cent and that today Negroes own somewhere near one-third of the farms which they operate.

Taking the 200,000 farms of the Negro owners we find that they had in 1900 nearly 15,000,000 acres of land which was worth $180,000,000 and raised $60,000,000 worth of products. All Negro farm property was extimated by the Census to be worth about $230,000,000 ten years ago. The American Economic Association took up the subject and concluded that the total property of the Negro race in 1900 was $300,000,000. If, however, the property has increased in the last ten years throughout

the land in the same ratio as in Georgia, North Carolin and Virginia, then it would be fair to infer that the property of the Negroes in the United States should be assessed at $600,000,000.

Compared with the wealth of the United States these figures are small, but considered in the light of the fact that they represent the savings of a race that began practically without capital a generation ago, they are simply astounding. But what I want to point out today is that this accumulation has been made in the face of discouragements and violations of property rights such as no other class of Americans ever met. In the first place we must remember that it is the despised second generation since slavery that have made these accumulations and that these people have saved their money in the face of the following impediments:

1. The lack of facilities for saving, and deliberate cheating.
2. The hostility of local municipal policy.
3. Discrimination in wages.
4. Mob Violence.
5. Legal Violence.

I want to take up each one of these in turn.

First, as to the lack of facilities for saving. Few people realize how difficult it is in the South for the poor man to save who wants to. Usually in the country districts there are but two methods open to him: to horde his money or to hand it over to some white friend. There have been numberless cases where such white friends and patrons have taken care of the money of their Negro clients and acted as bankers with the result that the colored man has been able to keep his savings secure and to accumulate. However, in an unfortunately large number

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of other cases the colored man has been cheated. Sometimes the patron has died suddenly and the client has been able to get no accounting from the heirs. This was peculiarly the case in regard to the property which free Negroes and favorite slaves accumulated before the War. In other cases the client has died and his heirs have been deliberately cheated by the patron. This has often been defended: Here is an old and favorite colored man whose property is ~~safe in the~~ kept by a white man. So long as he lives the property is safe in the white man's hands. If he dies the white man decides that the children ought not have the property or do not deserve it, and takes it for his own purposes.. In still other cases there is a deliberate attempt to cheat the client by false accounts or other devices. It is of course impossible to present figures to show the extent of this prac-

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is scarcely a city in the South where the tenderloin district has not been deliberately placed in the Negro quarter and kept there despite the protest of the better class of Negroes. All this hurts Negro property and makes the investment of Negroes in property difficult. Moreover the same thing that happens so often in the North is accentuated in this case, i.e., the small householder pays a disproportionately large share of the taxes as compared with the large householder or capitalist. The burden of taxation in Southern cities is shifted upon the small Negro property owner to an extent which is astounding. All this discourages accumulation and particularly discourages investment. But particularly the gross and glaring injustice to Negroes in the lower courts makes it difficult and often impossible to defend their property rights. The magistrates and judges are usually elected for most terms often on an anti-Negro platform and are bitter and openly unfair.

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Third, Wage discrimination. It is the deliberate policy of the South to pay Negroes less wages for the same work than they would pay white people, just as is the case in the North where they pay women less wages for the same work than they pay men. The argument in the South is that the Negro has a lower standard of life and therefore does not need as much money. The discrimination varies from twenty-five to fifty per cent. This makes it more difficult for Negroes to save money because, as a matter of fact, while their standard of living is lower than that of the average white person it is rapidly rising and the demand upon their meagre income for better housing, better food and better clothing is such that the margin for saving is very small or entirely disappears.

Fourth, Mob violence. Of all the hindrances enumerated: lack of facilities for saving, hostility of municipal policy and wage discrimination, none are such determents to saving in the South as the fear of mob violence. It is hard to realize in a law-abiding community how the fear of physical violence broods in the air in the South. No Negro can feel himself safe from it. He cannot invest in property without taking it into account. In some cases it is impossible to get his property insured for this very reason, and almost always when for any reason there is an outbreak of great violence in the South, it is the Negro property-holder who actually pays the bill. The result is that continually men who might otherwise invest in property refrain from doing this and other colored men who invest do so with the idea of removing to the North just as soon as they get large enough investments. The feeling of insecurity against the jealousy and viciousness of certain Southern elements is daily in their minds. It is this feeling too that drives the Negro into the cities; there his property gets greater

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31-9-88

police protection because it cannot be destroyed without in some degree injuring the property of white owners or injuring the general credit of the community. I know numbers of cases where prosperous Negro farmers have given up their farms and moved to the city because they were afraid to live in that degree of comfort on the farm which their rising standard of living and ownership of property entitled them to. A new building better than that of some of their white neighbors or a new carriage and new horses was simply a red rag to the mob.

Finally, this kind of mob violence has gone so far that we are seeing attempts today to translate it into legal violence. Just as the cheating of the Negro out of his vote was done by extra legal methods at first and now is done by methods called legal, so the cheating of Negroes out of their property rights is now about to be translated into some semblance of legal form. The whole question of segregation in property is comeing up at a later session and therefore does not fall within the province of this paper, however, I wish to point out that segregation is the violating of ~~pop~~ property rights and that it is as futile an attempt to solve the Negro problem as any of the previous subterfuges have been.

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In the time of slavery we had the subterfuge of colonization to tempt the conscientious mind; in the time of Reconstruction we had the subterfuge of threatened Negro domination to blind those who ought to have seen; in the days since Reconstruction we have had the subterfuge of industrial inefficiency to make people forget race prejudice. Today the world, north and south, is being asked to believe that the crux of the Negro problem lies in keeping black men from buying property on your street. All through this history of subterfuge and evasion has

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run the great and dominating fact of a racial prejudice which denies the application of the ethics of Jesus Christ in the relations of men if these men happen to be of a different race. It is theobject of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to impress the fact upon the American people that the foundation difficulty of the race problem is this dispicable race prejudice and unless we attak this central difficulty we never shall settle this problem. Moreover, we insist that this peoblem must be settled and settled right because it is but a part of a greater problem which is as wide as the world.

[1911] (Lyceum club Dinner) [use or not as you think best]

Mr. Du Bois spoke in substance as follows;

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen:
Once when a friend of mine sought to tell a New York clergyman about the race problem in the U.S., the clergyman said: "Don't tell me I'm afraid I may become interested!" I think most of us have that feeling when in a complicated world we are asked to listen to further complications. Therefore I hasten to assure you tonight that my task is not to bring you an additional problem to solve but rather to point out a point of view from which you may look at all your problems. No matter what great social problem a man is interested in today he will find that sooner or later it crosses the Color Line: if it is the Problem of sex and the freedom of women certainly the women of the white race have more than a sentimental interest in the welfare of the mass of their darker sisters; for it is race prejudice [illegible] today that makes the quantity

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rather than the quality of children of greater importance in the future world and ~~[illegible]~~ womanhood can never rise to its rightful place in the worlds respect so long as white men may degrade black women & commingle and more.

So too with the problem of labor; today the laborers of the world through the fluidity of capital are coming more and more into competition and so long as black slaves and yellow coolies are degraded, white workingmen will not be able to maintain a satisfactory wage. And this dissatisfaction brings us to the problem of democracy — that theory that the governed should have some voice in their government. It is a theory hard to work and we realize yet. we have come to believe ~~[illegible]~~ in it thoroughly for white men, but

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if it is not true for the many races of the darker world that democratic government even in the white world will be called upon to tyrannize over their fellow men in a way which will soon endanger their own democratic ideals

And finally in the paramount problem of peace & war what great provocative of war is there today than race & color prejudice — either directly or indirectly that the race interests of Nordic nations in the undeveloped races.

So that to me the problem of the 20th Century seems to me to be the problem of the Color line, because rightly viewed nearly all other problems assume their truest relations when viewed from the interests of the majority of mankind belonging to the darker races.

For this reason I venture to speak to you to night concerning one land where

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This world-wide race problem presents an acute at most significant aspect. In the U.S. we are dealing with one of the worlds races usually assumed to be the lowest and least with minimum contact than a diametric duality with the white race. The outcome of this contact is therefore of immense significance for the race problems of the world.

The Negro race in America has made great strides in advancement in the single generation that has elapsed since emancipation. 94 is too be sure still a poor larger ignorant people with its usual problems of sickness & crime, but in less than 50 years it has reduced its illiteracy from over ninety to less than 35%; it has increased its property from almost nothing to an assessed value of 600 millions of dollars, it owns land equal to Holland + Belgium in area

38-2-140

and its organized life in religion & social lines has shown remarkable development.

How has this advancement been met by the white Americans? At best the enthusiasm of post bellum times & a fleeting kind — the crusade for education & uplift in three days was one of the finest movements of the 19th century, & there is still much help & encouragement But on the whole it must be confessed that the unbelievable enmity of the white south has succeeded in coolly the enthusiasm of the north and has met the hand now advanced of the black man by a steady and determined resistance & race prejudice In the states where 3/4 of the Negroes live they have been disfranchised and the laws so enforced and & exclude the

38-2-150

educated & prosperous working class as well as the others; the ~~race has be~~ attempt has been made so to segregate the race in daily life that the ordinary sources of information and enlightenment shall be cut off; the door of opportunity for uplift & advancement has been more & more often closed in colored men's faces — a system of brutal insult & humiliation ~~to~~ is daily practised against colored blood today & gain extent almost unbelievable.

Why is this? It is not because the American White people are naturally devilish — they are on the whole about the same kindly people that you are and you under similar circumstances in India and Africa have shown similar tendencies. Con-

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sequently ~~you~~ the Americans interpolate the public opinion of Europe as judging them to make what I may call the 3 Refusals:

1. The refusal to treat cultured black men as cultured.
2. The refusal to allow particular black men to become cultured
3. The refusal to assume the possibility of culture in black men.

These refusals involve great and lamentable moral evil:

Among the whites they give rise to insulting manners toward the lowly, they prevent the contact of the cultured and the undeveloped, they lead to an abuse of logic as for instance accusing of bad manners those against whom every effort is made to give them no chance to see good manners; ~~to extend those of dressing~~ ~~strict equality with man~~ and above all crying

for purity of race after the whites have been responsible for 2 or 3 million mulattoes. Further than this the Three Refusals lead to injustice in the courts and a terrible paradox in religion for while they affirm a religious humility and equality the Christian church in America has for the most part refused fellowship with black men.

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Among Negroes these Three Refusals lead to loss of self respect or unwonted self-assertion; they hinder the natural differentiation of classes according to culture & efficiency & they force thereby Negroes either into contentment hypocrisy or paralyzing bitterness.

How far true is America's interpretation of Europe's attitude toward the darker world justified? It must be confessed with sorrow that modern European civilization has fallen victim to the temptation of all former civilizations — the temptation of despising men; of assuming that no other peoples

are worthy consideration & respect but those whose share their own culture. The tendency is to assume an essentially antagonism of races with whites at the top and blacks at the bottom. No sooner is this assumption baldly stated however than we remember that the same assumption was made less than a century ago concerning classes in the same nation & that today European culture is largely sustained by descendants of round classes whose the 19th century pronounced incapable of uplift.

"Whatever science today places no metes & bounds to the development of races. Given the favorable environment & there is no scientific proof that any individual of any race may not reach the highest. On this reason is it not the truest & best course to refuse to tread the paths of exclusion

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& human dignity & to see that the gates of opportunity are absolutely closed in the faces of no race or people. To be sure this policy will have its difficulties — the advancement of men is no easy path and the direct & indirect economic cost will be great. But above all cost will float the Vision Splendid — the realization of a world with the Chief cause of war — race hygiene — removed and humanity a real present possibility & not a mere hopeful phrase

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THE LAST WORD IN CASTE.

by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

It is now nearly a ~~full~~ quarter of a century since the South presented to the Nation a new and plausible method of settling the Negro problem. The arguments ~~are~~ is familiar to ~~you~~ all. "Take the Negro out of politics;" "Train him for work and particularly for farm work." "The result will be the disappearance of the Negro problem." ~~It is unnecessary to say that~~ this prophecy ~~has not~~ was been fulfilled. ~~and it is my purpose to-night to examine with you the results of the policy and the proposals now put forward by its advocates for the future.~~

Disfranchisement has been carried through ruthlessly. In Louisiana for instance, less than one per cent of the colored men twenty-one years of age are registered, although over half of the Negro population in that State can read and write. This situation is typical for most of the gulf

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states. In the ~~lower~~ border states a larger number vote but still the great majority of adult male Negroes in the South are disfranchised. It was promised, ~~however,~~ that in return for such disfranchisement the Negro was to have educational and economic rights. ~~In a previous Conference of this Association I have tried to show how distressingly the South has failed to carry out this promise in education.~~

The last study of "The Negro Common School" made by Atlanta University sums up the Negro Educational situation by saying:

1. That the overwhelming majority of Negro children of school age are not in school.

2. That the chief reason for this is the lack of school facilities; and a further reason is the poverty and ignorance of parents.

3. That those Negro children who are in school are as a rule poorly taught by half-prepared and poorly paid teachers and through short

terms of three to six months a year.

4. That the school houses and equipment for Negro schools are for the most part wretched and inadequate.

5. That the Negro schools as a rule receive little or no helpful superintendence from the school authorities.

6. That the result and apparently one of the objects of disfranchisement has been to cut down the Negro school fund, bar out competent teachers, lower the grade and efficiency of the course of study and employ as teachers in the Negro schools those willing tools who do not and will not protest or complain.

7. That in the attempt to introduce much needed and valuable manual and industrial training there has been introduced into the curriculum of the Negro common school a mass of ill-considered, unrelated work which has overburdened the teacher and pushed into the background the vital studies of reading, writing and arithmetic. In a large measure this has been done

with the avowed object of training Negroes as menials and laborers and of cutting them off from the higher avenues of life.

8. That the forward movement in education in the South during the last ten years has been openly confined almost entirely to white people. The movement for local school taxes, better high schools, consolidation of schools and transportation of children has with small exception been encouraged and made possible among the whites and not among the Negroes. In many cases the Negroes have been taxed for the improvement of white school fscilities, while their own schools have not been allowed to share in these improvements.

9. That along with this curtailment of elementary public education for Negroes has gone a tendency to decry the work of those schools which are devoted to the higher training of the Negro youth, to lower their curricula, to cut off northern benevolence and to decrease the supply of intellectual leaders for the Negro race.

Even ~~But~~ with these patent facts staring the Nation in the face most people have come to the idea that at least the economic rights of the Negro are secure and many have been willing to say not only, "Give up the ballot," but also, "give up educational ideals so long as the race learns to work efficiently and accumulate property, particularly as farmers." Let us now ask what has been results here? So ~~long~~ far as work is concerned we again find the barriers up and not tending to fall. The attempt to establish a strict caste of occupations in the South has not been successful but it has been possible to keep the majority of Negroes in the most disagreeable and poorest paid occupations and in the lowest positions in most occupations. The Negro has pushed his way into some skilled occupations but it has been a long and tedious fight. It is therefor wrong to assume that economic opportunity has been opened to the Negro ~~and in~~ with any great degree of freedom. But this is true: The South has been

advancing in wealth at a phenominal rate during the last two or three decades. It has been impossible, particularly in cities, to with-hold some of the economic advantages of this great advance from the colored workers. The result has been a great increase of property-holding among Negroes in cities and towns.

In Virginia the town and city property of colored people increased from an assessed value of four millions in 1899 to nine and one half millions in 1911.

Unfortunately there are no complete figures to illustrate this as a whole but a few facts and localities throw some light upon it. The property of the Negro church situated chiefly in Negro cities increased 115% between 1890 and 1906. The town and city property of the Negroes of Georgia increased nearly 100% between 1890 and 1907. There is reason to believe that throughout the United States the increase of Negro city property has been very large in the last ten years. The chief reason for this conclusion ~~number~~ is

unfortunately

the increase of the city segregation movement. In other words, just as soon as the Negro city laborer working on a wage scale lower than that of any other single group of people, saved out of his meagre earnings enough to move out of the alleys and slums to the front streets there immediately arose the question as to who should bear the economic cost of race prejudice. Most people in their careless indulgence in race prejudice forget this economic cost. It shows itself in the social cost of crime, prostitution and slums and it shows itself in the fall of values when a socially despised group moves into a decent neighborhood. That such a movement results in a real financial loss no one denies or attempts to deny. But the question is who shall bear the loss?

The segregation movement as illustrated in Baltimore, ~~Greenville~~, ~~South Carolina~~ and many other Southern cities and as advocated in St. Louis answers this problem plainly. It proposes to put the whole cost

of this economic loss absolutely upon the Negroes. That this is unjust goes without saying. They, of all parties, are the ones who should be exempt from any loss. But even here, it has not been altogether easy to gain the sympathy of right-minded Americans. They have said, "It is largely a social matter," and "let the Negroes develope their own settlements," forgetting the absolute injustice and preposterous demand which such an attitude makes. A further argument is, however, "let the Negro stop crowding into the cities. Here they have in the country and in the South a wonderful chance for development. They can get hold of land, they know how to raise a great staple crop and many auxiliary crops. Here is an open economic field, let them take advantage of it."

It must not be thought that the Negroes themselves or their friends have been unaware of the ecomomic chance of the Negro in Southern agriculture, but they have been trying to say ~~after these years of educa-~~

~~tional deference~~ even in the Country that the economic man of to-day must be backed by social and political rights else the fruit of his labor is not safe.

I doubt if in modern economic history the truth of this proposition has been more clearly proven ~~and~~ than in the recent history of the Negro race in America. Here is a people which has been asked to give up ~~their~~ its political and social rights in order to achieve economic freedom. Despite the protest of a few far seeing men among them the race has virtually done this. They have let themselves be deprived of the vote almost without a struggle and they have openly and slavishly acknowledged that they are not fit associates for their fellow men, and they have hoped by reason of this craven surrender to earn a living, accumulate property and achieve ~~through education~~ finally the recognition of their fellow men. The result has been ~~as I have tried to show~~ that their educational opportunities have been curtailed rather than expanded.

Their right to work has been admitted but slowly and grudgingly ~~under~~ among all but the lowest and worst-paid occupations. And their right to accumulate property in cities is threatened to-day with serious ~~contamer~~ encumbrement. With this astonishing record as an answer to the program of twenty years ago what is the present situation of the Negro with regard to agricultural land in the South? Here indeed, we reach the last boundaries in the question. Let us bring to mind once more what has been said and promised in the past.

The movement fathered by men like the late Morris K. Jesup and Robert Ogden stated to the world and ~~told~~ paid with conviction, "You have here ten million inferior folk. You have got to stop treating them like ordinary white humanity and treat them as Negroes. You must educate them for work and particularly for farm labor and when you do that you will find the white South meeting you more than half way and willing to agree to accord the Negroes every economic right which they deserve. Not only

did the overwhelming public opinion of the North believe and acknowledge this policy but ~~the~~ many colored people acquiesed it with enthusiasm. Consequently the movement toward farm life among Negroes in the last decade has been phenominal. While farms conducted by white farmers have increased nine and one half per cent between 1900 and 1910 farms conducted by colored farmers have increased nearly twenty per cent. There were seven and one half per cent more white farmers conducting their farms in 1910 than in 1900 but there were seventeen percent more colored owners conducting their farms. The land in Negro farms increased from forty-two to forty-seven million acres in that time and the land in the hands of Negro farm owners from sixteen to nineteen million acres. To-day twenty-nine per cent of the farms in the South are conducted by colored men not counting the vast number of farms conducted by white men with colored labor. This would seem to be most encouraging and especially so when we remember under

what difficulties it has been accomplished. The thought in the back of the heads of many people who urged the Negro to the Southern farms was not the Negroes' good but the knowledge that the organization of Southern farm labor was such that under it the Negro could hardly hope for economic freedom.

In the country the disfranchisement of the Negro was completest, in the country the task idea of slavery lasted longest and in the country ~~the~~ new legislation did everything it could to reduce the black farm hand into peonage. To-day in many rural districts of the gulf states the refusal of a colored man to work for a white man on any terms which the white man wishes to make, can ~~could~~ without ~~absolute ease~~ great difficulty be made a penetentiary offence and the colored man ~~made a slave~~ sent as a slave of the State to work in chains for a large part of his natural life.

Despite this worst condition there were chances here and there for the Negro to buy land and receive some social protection. This he has

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The revolt of the black laborer however made this programme impossible. He could not strike for higher wages but he could run away & town and he did in such numbers that labor scarcity was the cry of the plantations and hard contract and vagrancy laws were passed. The most effective bait however to keep the laborer was to sell him land on installments. In nine cases

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and of ten he was unable to keep his contract and remained a laborer. But in the tenth case he got his land. Sometimes he was helped by the better class land lords, by his relatives in the north, by ~~[illegible]~~ the breaking up of big plantations and in a few cases by philanthropy

In the main ways

It was sometimes impossible to keep the Negro from the land. Some landlords in the black belt were willing to sell to black men and some had to on account of pressure from Black labor revolted when it could and escaped to Town, while some intelligent Town Negroes bought farms

done and the value of the farm property owned by Negroes between 1900 and 1910 increased from one hundred and eighty million dollars to four hundred and forty million dollars or one hundred and forty-five per cent. During this same time the farm property of whites throughout the country increased but ninety-three per cent and the farm property of Southern whites increased one hundred and eight per cent. This increase in value is shown in the land which went from one hundred and two to two hundred and seventy-seven millions or one hundred and seventy-two per cent; in the buildings which went from twenty-nine to sixty-nine millions or one hundred and forty-two per cent; in implements and machinery which went from eight to sixteen millions or ninety per cent and in live stock which increased ninety-two percent or from forty-one to seventy-eight millions.

Negro land ownership has increased from about three million acres in 1875 to six million acres in 1880, to eight million acres in 1890, 15 mill in 1900 - 20 m 1910

fifteen twelve million in 1900 and nearly twenty million in 1910.

This is most gratifying and if the prophets of the past were correct we would expect to hear a chorus of congratulation and good will from the best friends of the Negro in the South. We would expect an argument something like this: "You see we have kept our word in the main issue. We have disfranchised the Negro and while we have not given him large educational opportunity and have kept him in his place in the industrial world nevertheless he has become a house holder in the cities (although there we must limit him) and especially he has become fifty years after Emancipation a land holder in the United States by his own unaided efforts. This shows the wisdom of our policy."

When, however, we come forward prepared to hear this argument and to answer its weak places, for it has weak places, we find on the part of the dominant South not only absence of all enthusiasm for this increase of Negro agricultural well being but a distinct air of disappointment and some-

thing worse. Indeed this air of disappointment is so wide-spread that one cannot help wondering if the Negro has not been urged to take advantage of Southern agriculture just because some Southerners were convinced that he could not take such advantage and that in the country districts of the South he could be held in his place, politically, socially and economically.

It would be unfair to assume this without undoubted proof and such proof comes to us unfortunately from North Carolina. In order to understand that development in North Carolina let us just look at some significant figures.

Farms owned by Negroes in North Carolina have increased in the decade from seventeen thousand to twenty-one thousand and the land from nine hundred and sixty-five thousand acres to twelve hundred thousand acres; not only has there been this numberical increase, but while all farm property in North Carolina increased one hundred and thirty per cent Negro farm

property increased two hundred and eleven per cent or from nine million dollars to twenty-seven million dollars; and the value of the land alone increased from five to seventeen million or two hundred and twenty per cent.

Has this caused any rejoicing in North Carolina? I regret to say it has not. On the contrary it has led to wide-spread proposal for the most ~~certain~~ vital attack upon the economic rights of the Negro ever put forward in the United States. Let no one misconceive the significance of this. The Negro was asked to give up his political rights for the sake of ? advance. He finds that with the giving up of his political rights his educational rights are curtailed, the right to work is increased but inadequately, his right to hold property in cities is being questioned and now, finally, there is a movement in the South to curtail his right to own agricultural land. This movement has not started with an ignorant agitator of the Blease and Vardaman and Tillman type. Its sponser is

Clarence Poe, editor of the "Progressive Farmer" and a man representing in many ways the best traditions of the South.

Mr. Poe began his campaign last summer in the "Progressive Farmer" a weekly paper with a wide circulation among the most intelligent farmers all over the South. As a result of this campaign week after week, a growing mass of white farmers are crying with one of Poe's correspondents!

"North Carolina and the South for the white race, should be the slogan from now henceforth."

Or as another says: "Mr. Clarence Poe's suggestions that the Negroes buy land adjoining and settle in communities to themselves is a good one and will do more than anything else to adjust the race relations between the whites and blacks of the South. It is the 'Jim Crow' law put into effect in the rural districts."

Mr. Poe suggested that the Negro should be separated from the whites

in the country districts by a law prohibiting future sale of land to him in white communities. His suggestion took immediate root and a third correspondent writes: "Negro children are not allowed to attend school with whites, Negroes do not sit on the same cars, loaf in the same depots, and feed at the same hotels as the white folks. Why, then, should landlords be allowed to impose them on white farmers and ruin entire sections of the country?"

Mr. Poe then began to carefully fortify and elaborate his original proposition.

"Everybody knows that the Negroes stand together. They are notoriously clannish in everything. They help one another even to the extent of shielding Negro criminals from the law.

"But while the Negroes have been pulling together in this way, what has been the attitude of our white people in the vital matter of saving the rural South to the white race? Everybody knows that the shameful

and disgraceful fact is that the white people have not been pulling together, but that the white city land-owner and merchant has too often practically taken sides against the struggling white tenant and small farmer and in favor of the Negro. I once said to a big plantation owner living in Memphis who had lands in Mississippi, "What Mississippi needs is fewer big plantations cultivated by Negro tenants and more thrifty, enterprising, indudtrious white farmers - more white people. Why don't you try to get white tenants?" "I don't want them," he replied, "They won't spend money and run accounts at our stores like the Negroes will, and besides, they soon want to buy land themselves. The Negroes make more money for us."

A friend writes him elaborating this argument: "I believe the great trouble is with a certain class of white land-owners. They have Negro tenants on their lands who are, in fact, really peons. They furnish

their tenants everything in the spring at high rates and in the fall take everything at low rates. I have in mind a certain Negro who purchased a mule worth about $90 for $150, and after fifteen years of hard work the mule died without being paid for. In the meantime, the white man got all the Negro made. Such land-owners don't want intelligent white tenants. They want those whom they can use to their advantage. They are the ones who have sold land at exorbitant prices to Negroes, thinking, perhaps, they could not pay for it."

Here is evidently a situation calling for remedy. A modern reformer would suggest the uprooting of peonage and the company store system; co-operative buying of large tracts of land. But this remedy is far from these men's minds and we discover that if the peon escapes and becomes an independent small farmer and land-owner that he is, if anything even more objectionable.

"The Negroes first ran us out because some white people moved to town, became merchants who furnished supplies for the Negro to make their crops, and now have sold their country land to them in farms containing 20,30 and 40 acres, and occasionally 100 acres or more. They sometimes give them a long time for payment, the Negroes seldom getting out of debt until they go to the public works to get out. They settle on these farms, have large families generally, and simply crowd us out, causing us to seek a village or town where white people can co-operate, have schools and churches, and where it is understood that no Negroes own lots mixed with white people."

Poe therefore drops the subject of the wretched underpaid and ruthlessly exploited peonage and addresses himself to this dangerous newcomer.

"Briefly I should say that the law we need is one which will say that wherever the greater part of the land acreage in any given district

that may be laid off is owned by one race, a majority of the voters in such a district may say (if they wish) that in future no land shall be sold to a person of a different race - provided such action is approved or allowed (as being justified by considerations of the peace, protection and social life of the community) by a reviewing judge or board of country commissioner."

He goes on to develope his thought: "Atlanta has just passed a law saying that a majority of property-owners in a city block can say that in future no land shall be sold to a person of a different race from them. Why, then, cannot Georgia or any other State pass a law giving a similiar privilege to its country people? Why can it not be said that where there is a white community and the majority of white land owners wish to keep their community white, they can lay-off a district in which it will be unlawful to sell to a person of a different race? And since the same

privilege would be given Negroes where they own land, the law could not be said to discriminate against any race; and the whites would lose little because they do not care to buy in communities wholly surrounded by Negroes, anyhow.

This has a certain semblance of even handed justice; Mr. Poe says: "It may be argued, I know, that such a law is unjust, that with the Government of the South as it is, it could be utilized by white people to keep their communities white but the Negroes would rarely be able to use it to keep their communities wholly Negro. All of which I admit is possible, and yet, as I have said, I believe it is just."

Why would the Negro "rarely be able" to make a wholly Negro community? Because Negroes cannot vote, cannot select county commissioners and consequently could not drive out the whites. Nevertheless Mr. Poe is not moved.

"Studying it with all possible desire for truth and justice, I repeat, therefore, I cannot see that it is right or just to say that because a white majority shall have the right to limit future land sales to their race, a Negro majority must everywhere have exactly the same privilege."

The difficulty is that Mr. Poe has his eye on the landlords of the black belt where a few land barons still drive their slaves with the lash. He wants to reassure them that no matter if the blacks out number them ten to one they are not to be disturbed in their reign.

But Mr. Poe's correspondents are not so canny. One of them says: "It is the gravest problem confronting us of the South to-day - this selling land promiscuously to the Negro race. In my neighborhood the white school population is 12. The Negro school population is 140. Can I be satisfied to raise my children under such conditions? I am trying to sell out. Have been offered $12,000 cash for my farm by a Negro. It

is worth $20,000 and would bring it if the surroundings were different."

At this we rub our eyes: if the Negro population out numbers the white ten to one surely this is the place, if any, for the white man to move. But this man does not want to move. What does he want there? Does he want the Negroes to go? No, but he wants them kept down. He does not even want to allow them the advantages of his disadvantages. As one he says: "In protecting their home and social life, it is necessary for our rural white people to use some extraordinary measures to offset the Negroes' advantages in driving them out. In the first place, the Negro can live on less than the white man, and, therefore, if he is doing the same kind of work, he has this economic advantage over the white man."

Mr. Poe now appears in the offing again and serves this new argument. It is Negro cheap labor that has ruined the South. "Why is Southern agriculture so far behind the North?" he asked.

The answer is easy. "The man in the North was driven to do his own work because he did not have scores of Negroes to do it, and this caused him to look around and seek other means with which to do it. And see how he has profited because he has always had to do his own labor, and see the great rut we now find ourselves in because we had plenty of Negroes to do our work, and therefore did not need to seek to improve our farm labor conditions as our Northern neighbor did."

The answer to this would seem obvious; make Negro labor dearer by turning it into an independent farm owning class. But no, Mr. Poe will have none of this, but reports this case:

"I was reared and am now living in a community that only a few years ago was famed for its social features- live, well filled churches and schools. But alas! it is hopelessly ruined. Churches and schools can hardly hold together. There are three non-resident land owners who are

responsible for it all. This being a very fertile section, they have bought most of the land and want only Negro tenants. The land is unsurpassed for fertility by any section in several miles radius and therefore has induced the best type of Negroes to cultivate it; but nevertheless they are Negroes and have completely destroyed the social features of the community."

It would seem from this that there is no place on earth for the best Negroes either as tenants or landowners. Their very presence destroys all real life. "We might as well admit," says Mr. Poe, "the argument that the present wholesale sandwiching of whites and Negroes in our rural districts is perhaps the main thing in the way of developing rural co-operation in the South. If we can once get groups of wholly white communities, it will be far easier to get the farmers in them to pull together, whereas at present, the white people in the South are too scattered

to win success with ten thousand co-operative enterprises that would succeed if white farmers were grouped together. And especially does the present sandwiching of whites and Negroes militate against education - against good schools for both races."

But if educational justice is not done to the Negro in the white community, will it be anywhere? One Negro correspondent is in despair. He writes: "If we own a good farm or hourse or cow, dog or yoke of oxen, we are harassed until we are bound to sell, give away, or run away before we can have any peace of our lives."

Mr. Poe prints this but with apology and warning.

"We may say in this connection that it was our idea in printing the letters from Negroes simply to show what they are saying and thinking and to give all sides a fair hearing. And if Negroes are bragging that they send their children to school when white people keep theirs away for

lack of fine clothes, or because they are shut up in factories, or if they brag that there are white people who can't read and write and they help them, or that white people won't work and the Negroes will, it will be a mighty good thing if we get mad enough about such boasting to see to it that they shall have no excuse even for saying such things in the future.

Mr. Poe therefore repeatedly returns to his original proposal. He has no fear of constitutions.

"It may be that the Atlanta segregation and the similiar segregation plans we have suggested for our country districts might be declared in conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment. Some lawyers think so, some do not. But we repeat that if our people make up their minds that segregation is a good and necessary thing, they will find a way to put it into effect; - just as they did in the case of Negro disfranchisement despite an iron-bound Amendment specifically designed to prevent it.

"If such a direct law as we proposed last week would be unconstitutional, might not the same result be effected indirectly by saying that no land should be sold to any man in any specified district if a petition against the sale were signed by a majority of the resident land-owners in such a district? If a predominantly white community then, it could be understood (or formally declared) that this new law would be invoked only to keep the community white, and so the matter would be settled without further trouble."

"It is objected to by some, that the plan does not go far enough. For example, the Knoxville, Tennessee, Sentinel says that, "It seems to have a practical weakness as so far advanced - that it does not take tenants into account.

"Well, there is no doubt but that the indiscriminate renting of land to Negroes by absentee land-owners is a crying evil. The letters we

have received from all over the South indicate that mistakably. And yet we do not now see any plan of regulating this evil that would not be susceptible of much abuse. As yet the proportion of white people wanting to rent land is small, and it would not be fair to absolutely limit the renting to white people even in these white communities.

"But it is our confident conviction that if the Negroes should refuse to work where the white people decided upon such a measure of protection, it would only be a form of industrial suicide for them, and after a few months of trouble in working out a new adjustment, the white people would be as well off - or better off - from a labor standpoint than ever before. In the first place, young Southern white men would be willing to go into hese all-white communities and work as laborers, and in the second place, it would not be long until good white labor would come in from other sections."

Here then, is the culmination of this extraordinary argument:

The South says here: we despise the Negro because he is down and yet we cannot allow him to rise, we cannot educate him lest he grow intelligent, we cannot allow him in industry lest he compete with us and save money; we cannot allow him to buy property because he will be independent and live beside us; we cannot let him live by himself because we want his labor and because we dare not give him political power enough to establish and protect his own segregated communities.

The South is not wholly to blame for this logic. The North shares that blame.

The high and only tenable ground of the past was educate the Negro, give him work and wages, give him civil rights, give him a vote and let him make his way as a freeman.

This ground the North has joined the South in undermining::

I have received hundreds and hundreds of letters, representing fifteen States, endorsing the plan of race segregation I advocated on this page, August 30th. A few of the many letters are printed herewith, others will come later; and I wish every other Progressive Farmer reader interested would write me. Write me anyhow, and if you do not want your letters published, say so. What must be done about the non-resident land-owner who will rent land only to Negroes?

The law I advocated August 30, it will be remembered was just this:

"Whenever the greater part of the land acreage in any given district that may be laid off is owned by one race, the majority of the voters in such a district may say, if they wish, that in future no land shall be sold to a person of a different race; provided such th[illegible]ion is approved or allowed (as being justified by considerations of [illegible]e peace, protection and social life of the community) by a reviewing judge or board of county commissioners."

"Such a board as I have said, could be used by any white community to keep itself white, but the Negro would almost never be able to use it to make a community wholly Negro. If you are in favor of such a plan and want to know more about it, send me a postal card or letter at once."

Clarence Poe.

NORTH CAROLINA.

COLORED FARMERS	1900	1910
Value of farm property, colored farmers	$28,986,165	$81,424,800
" " " oc colored owners	8,828,581	27,448,410
" " land owned, colored owners	5,351,290	17,063,588

W.E.B. Du B.

THE LAST WORD IN CASTE.

It is now nearly a full quarter of a century since the South presented to the Nation a new and plausible method of settling the Negro problem. The arguments are familiar to you all. "Take the Negro out of politics," "train him for work and particularly for farm work." "The result will be the disappearance of the Negro problem." It is unnecessary to say that this prophecy has not been fulfilled and it is my purpose tonight to examine with you the results of the policy and the proposals now put forward by its advocates for the future.

Disfranchisement has been carried through ruthlessly. In Louisiana for instance, less than one per cent of the colored men twenty-one years of age are registered although over half of the Negro population in that State can read and write. This situation is typical for most of the gulf states. In the lower border states a larger number vote but still the great majority are disfranchised. It was promised, however, that in return for such disfranchisement the Negro was to have educational and economic rights. In a previous Conference of this Association I have tried to show how distressingly the South has failed to carry out this promise in education.

The last study of "The Negro Common School" made by Atlanta University sums up the situation by saying:

1. That the overwhelming majority of Negro children of school age are not in school.

2. That the chief reason for this is the lack of school facilities; and a further reason is the poverty and ignorance of parents.

3. That those Negro children who are in school are as a rule poorly taught by half-prepared and poorly paid teachers and through short

terms of three to six months a year.

4. That the school houses and equipment for Negro schools are for the most part wretched and inadequate.

5. That the Negro schools as a rule receive little or no helpful superintendence from the school authorities.

6. That the result and apparently one of the objects of disfranchisement has been to cut down the Negro school fund, bar out competent teachers, lower the grade and efficiency of the course of study and employ as teachers in the Negro schools those willing tools who do not and will not protest or complain.

7. That in the attempt to introduce much needed and valuable manual and industrial training there has been introduced into the curriculum of the Negro common school a mass of ill-considered, unrelated work which has overburdened the teacher and pushed into the background the vital studies of reading, writing and arithmetic. In a large measure this has been done with the avowed object of training Negroes as menials and laborers and of cutting them off from the higher avenues of life.

8. That the forward movement in education in the South during the last ten years has been openly confined almost entirely to white people. The movement for local school taxes, better high schools, consolidation of schools and transportation of children has with small exception been encouraged and made possible among the whites and not among the Negroes. In many cases the Negroes have been taxed for the improvement of white school facilities, while their own schools have not been allowed to share in these improvements.

9. That along with this curtailment of elementary public education for Negroes has gone a tendency to decry the work of those schools which are devoted to the higher training of the Negro youth, to lower their curricula, to cut off northern benevolence and to decrease the supply of intellectual leaders for the Negro rade.

But with these patent facts staring the Nation in the face most people have comeeto the idea that at least the economic rights of the Negro are secure and many have been willing to say not only, "Give up the ballot," but also, "give up educational ideals so long as the race learns to work efficiently and accumulate property particularly as farmers." Let us now ask what has been results here? So far as work is concerned we again find the barriers up and tending to rise. The attempt to establish a strict caste of occupations in the South has not been successful but it has been possible to keep the majority of Negroes in the most disagreeable and poorest paid occupations and in the lowest positions in most occupations. The Negro has pushed his way into some skilled occupations but it has been a long and tedious fight. It is therefor wrong to assume that economic opportunity has been open to the Negro with any great degree of freedom. But this is true. The South has been

advancing in wealth at a phenominal rate during the last two or three decades. It has been impossible, particularly in cities, to with-hold some of the economic advantages of this great advance from the colored workers. The result has been a great increase of property-holding among Negroes in cities and towns.

In Virginia the town and city property of colored people increased from an assessed value of four millions in 1899 to nine and one half millions in 1911.

Unfortunately there are no figures to illustrate this as a whole but a few facts and localities throw some light upon it. The property of the Negro church situated chiefly in Negro cities increased 115% between 1890 and 1906. The town and city property of the Negroes of Georgia increased nearly 100% between 1890 and 1907. There is reason to believe that throughout the United States the increase of Negro city property has been very large in the last ten years. The chief reason for this conclusion is

unfortunately
the increase of the city segregation movement. In other words, just as soon as the Negro city laborer working on a wage scale lower than that of any other single group of people, save out of his earnings enough to move out of the alleys and slums to the front streets there immediately arose the question as to who should bear the economic cost of race prejudice. Most people in their careless indulgence in race prejudice forget this economic cost. It shows itself in the social cost of crime, prostitution and slums and it shows itself in the fall of values when a socially despised group moves into a decent neighborhood. That such a movement results in a real financial loss no one denies or attempts to deny. But the question is who shall bear the loss?

The segregation movement as illustrated in Baltimore, Greenville, South Carolina and many other Southern cities and as advocated in St. Louis answers this problem plainly. It proposes to put the whole cost of this economic loss absolutely upon the Negroes. That this is unjust goes without saying. They, of all parties, are the ones who should be exempt from any loss. But even here, it has not been altogether easy to gain the sympathy of right-minded Americans. They have said, "It is largely a social matter," and "let the Negroes develope their own settlements," forgetting the absolute injustice and preposterous demand which such an attitude makes. A further argument is, however, "let the Negro stop crowding into the cities. Here they have in the country and in the South a wonderful chance for development. They can get hold of land, they know how to raise a great staple crop and many auxiliary crops. Here is an open economic field, let them take advantage of it."

It must not be thought that the Negroes themselves or their friends have been unaware of the ecomomic chance of the Negro in Southern agriculture, but they have been trying to say ~~after these years of educa-~~

~~tional defence~~ that the economic man of to-day must be backed by social and political rights else the fruit of his labor is not safe.

I doubt if in modern economic history the truth of this proposition has been more clearly proven than ~~and~~ in the recent history of the Negro race in America. Here is a people which has been asked to give up ~~their~~ its political and social rights in order to achieve economic freedom. Despite the protest of a few far seeing men among them the race has virtually done this. They have let themselves be deprived of the vote almost without a struggle and they have openly and slavishly acknowledged that they are not fit associates for their fellow men and they have hoped by reason of this craven surrender to earn a living, accumulate property and achieve ~~through education~~ finally the recognition of their fellow men. The result has been as I have tried to show that their educational opportunities have been curtailed rather than expanded.

Their right to work has been admitted but slowly and grudgingly ~~under~~ among all but the lowest and worst-paid occupations. And their right to accumulate property in cities is threatened to-day with serious ~~contemor~~ curtailment. With this astonishing record as an answer to the program of twenty years ago what is the present situation of the Negro with regard to agricultural land in the South? Here indeed, we reach the last boundaries in the question. Let us bring to mind once more what has been said and promised in the past.

The movement fathered by men like the late Morris K. Jessup and Robert Ogden stated to the world, ~~and told~~ and with conviction, "You have here ten million inferior folk. You have got to stop treating them like ordinary white humanity and treat them as Negroes. You must educate them for work and particularly for farm labor and when you do that you will find the white South meeting you more than half way and willing to agree to accord the Negroes every economic right which they deserve. Not only

did the overwhelming public opinion of the North believe and acknowledge this policy but ~~the~~ many colored people acquiesed it with enthusiasm.

The movement toward farm life among Negroes in the last decade has been phenominal. While farms conducted by white farmers have increased nine and one half per cent between 1900 and 1910 farms conducted by colored farmers have increased nearly twenty per cent. There were seven and one half per cent more white farmers conducting their farms in 1910 than in 1900 but there were seventeen percent more colored owners conducting their farms. The land in Negro farms increased from forty-two to forty-seven million acres in that time and the land in the hands of Negro farm owners from sixteen to nineteen million acres. To-day twenty-nine per cent of the farms in the South are conducted by colored men not counting the vast number of farms conducted by white men with colored labor. This would seem to be most encouraging and especially so when we remember under

what difficulties it has been accomplished. The thought in the back of the heads of many people who urge the Negro to the Southern farms was not the Negroes' good but the knowledge that the organization of Southern farm labor was such that under it the Negro could hardly hope for economic freedom.

In the country the disfranchisement of the Negro was completest, in the country the task idea of slavery lasted longest and in the country the new legislation did everything it could to reduce the black farm land into peonage. To-day in the gulf states the refusal of a colored man to work for a white man on any terms which the white man wishes to make ~~could~~ can with great difficulty ~~absolute ease~~ be made a penetentiary offence and the colored man made a slave of the State to work in chains for a large part of his natural life.

Despite this worst condition there were chances here and there for the Negro to buy land and receive some social protection. This he has

done and the value of the farm property owned by Negroes between 1900 and 1910 increased from one hundred and eighty million dollars to four hundred and forty million dollars or one hundred and forty-five per cent. During this same time the farm property of whites throughout the country increased but ninety-three per cent and the farm property of Southern whites increased one hundred and eight per cent. This increase in value is shown in the land which went from one hundred and two to two hundred and seventy-seven millions or one hundred and seventy-two per cent; in the buildings which went from twenty-nine to sixty-nine millions or one hundred and forty-two per cent; in implements and machinery which went from eight to sixteen millions or ninety per cent and in live stock which increased ninety-two percent or from forty-one to seventy-eight millions.

Negro land ownership has increased from about three million acres in 1875 to six million acres in 1880, to eight million acres in 1890, twelve million in 1900 and nearly twenty million in 1910.

This is most gratifying and if the prophets of the past were correct we would expect to hear a chorus of congratulation and good will from the best friends of the Negro in the South. We would expect an argument something like this: "You see we have kept our word in the main issue. We have disfranchised the Negro and while we have not given him large educational opportunity and have kept him in his place in the industrial world nevertheless he has become a house holder in the cities, although there we must limit him, and especially he has become fifty years after Emancipation a land holder in the United States by his own unaided efforts. This shows the wisdom of our policy."

When, however, we come forward prepared to hear this argument and to answer its weak places, for it has weak places, we find on the part of the dominant South not only absence of all enthusiasm for this increase of Negro agricultural well being but a distinct air of disappointment and some-

thing worse. Indeed this air of disappointment is so wide-spread that one cannot help wondering if the Negro has not been urged to take advantage of Southern agriculture just because some Southerners were convinced that he could not take such advantage and that in the country districts of the South he could be held in his place, politically, socially and economically.

It would be unfair to assume this without undoubted proof and such proof comes to us unfortunately from North Carolina. In order to understand that development in North Carolina let us just look at some significant figures.

Farms owned by Negroes in North Carolina have increased in the decade from seventeen thousand to twenty-one thousand and the land from nine hundred and sixty-five thousand acres to twelve hundred thousand acres but not only has there been this numberical increase, but while all farm property in North Carolina increased one hundred and thirty per cent Negro farm

property increased two hundred and eleven per cent or from nine million dollars to twenty-seven million dollars; and the value of the land alone increased from five to seventeen million or two hundred and twenty per cent.

Has this caused any rejoicing in North Carolina? I regret to say it has not. On the contrary it has led to wide-spread proposal for the most vital certain attack upon the economic rights of the Negro ever put forward in the United States. Let no one misconceive the significance of this. The Negro was asked to give up his political rights for the sake of ? advance. He finds that with the giving up of his political rights his educational rights are curtailed, the right to work is increased but inadequately, his right to hold property in cities is being questioned and now, finally, there is a movement in the South to curtail his right to own agricultural land. This movement has not started with an ignorant agitator of the Blease and Vardaman and Tillman type. Its sponser is

Clarence Poe, editor of the "Progressive Farmer" and a man representing in many ways the best traditions of the South.

Mr. Poe began his campaign last summer in the "Progressive Farmer" a weekly paper with a wide circulation among the most intelligent farmers all over the South. As a result of this campaign week after week, a growing mass of white farmers are crying with one of Poe's correspondents!

"North Carolina and the South for the white race," should be the slogan from now henceforth."

Or as another says: "Mr. Clarence Poe's suggestions that the Negroes buy land adjoining and settle in communities to themselves is a good one and will do more than anything else to adjust the race relations between the whites and blacks of the South. It is the 'Jim Crow' law put into effect in the rural districts."

Mr. Poe suggested that the Negro should be separated from the whites in the country districts by a law prohibiting future sale of land to him in white communities. His suggestion took immediate root and a third correspondent writes: "Negro children are not allowed to attend school with whites, Negroes do not sit on the same cars, loaf in the same depots, and feed at the same hotels as the white folks. Why, then, should landlords be allowed to impose them on white farmers and ruin entire sections of the country?"

Mr. Poe then began to carefully fortify and elaborate his original proposition.

"Everybody knows that the Negroes stand together. They are notoriously clannish in everything. They help one another even to the extent of shielding Negro criminals from the law.

"But while the Negroes have been pulling together in this way, what has been the attitude of our white people in the vital matter of saving the rural South to the white race? Everybody knows that the shameful

and disgraceful fact is that the white people have not been pulling together, but that the white city land-owner and merchant has too often practically taken sides against the struggling white tenant and small farmer and in favor of the Negro. I once said to a big plantation owner living in Memphis who had lands in Mississippi, "What Mississippi needs is fewer big plantations cultivated by Negro tenants and more thrifty, enterprising, indudtrious white farmers - more white people. Why don't you try to get white tenants?" "I don't want them," he replied, "They won't spend money and run accounts at our stores like the Negroes will, and besides, they soon want to buy land themselves. The Negroes make more money for us."

A friend writes him elaborating this argument: "I believe the great trouble is with a certain class of white land-owners. They have Negro tenants on their lands who are, in fact, really peons. They furnish their tenants everything in the spring at high rates and in the fall take everything at low rates. I have in mind a certain Negro who purchased a mule worth about $90 for $150, and after fifteen years of hard work the mule died without being paid for. In the meantime, the white man got all the Negro made. Such land-owners don't want intelligent white tenants. They want those whom they can use to their advantage. They are the ones who have sold land at exorbitant prices to Negroes, thinking, perhaps, they could not pay for it."

Here is evidently a situation calling for remedy. A modern reformer would suggest the uprooting of peonage and the company store system; co-operative buying of large tracts of land. But this remedy is far from these men's minds and we discover that if the peon escapes and becomes an independent small farmer and land-owner that he is, if anything even more objectionable.

"The Negroes first ran us out because some white people moved to town, became merchants who furnished supplies for the Negro to make their crops, and now have sold their country land to them in farms containing 20,30 and 40 acres, and occasionally 100 acres or more. They sometimes give them a long time for payment, the Negroes seldom getting out of debt until they go to the public works to get out. They settle on these farms, have large families generally, and simply crowd us out, causing us to seek a village or town where white people can co-operate, have schools and churches, and where it is understood that no Negroes own lots mixed with white people."

Poe therefore drops the subject of the wretched underpaid and ruthlessly exploited peonage and addresses himself to this dangerous newcomer.

"Briefly I should say that the law we need is one which will say that wherever the greater part of the land acreage in any given district that may be laid off is owned by one race, a majority of the voters in such a district may say (if they wish) that in future no land shall be sold to a person of a different race - provided such action is approved or allowed (as being justified by considerations of the peace, protection and social life of the community) by a reviewing judge or board of country commissioner."

He goes on to develope his thought: "Atlanta has just passed a law saying that a majority of property-owners on a city block can say that in future no land shall be sold to a person of a different race from them. Why, then, cannot Georgia or any other State pass a law giving a similiar privilege to its country people? Why can it not be said that where there is a white community and the majority of white land owners wish to keep their community white, they can lay-off a district in which it will be unlawful to sell to a person of a different race? And since the same

privilege would be given Negroes where they own land, the law could not be said to discriminate against any race; and the whites would lose little because they do not care to buy in communities wholly surrounded by Negroes, anyhow.

This has a certain semblance of even handed justice, Mr. Poe says: "It may be argued, I know, that such a law is unjust, that with the Government of the South as it is, it could be utilized by white people to keep their communities white but the Negroes would rarely be able to use it to keep their communities wholly Negro. All of which I admit is possible, and yet, as I have said, I believe it is just."

Why would the Negro "rarely be able" to make a wholly Negro community? Because Negroes cannot vote, cannot select county commissioners and consequently could not drive out the whites. Nevertheless Mr. Poe is not moved.

Studying it with all possible desire for truth and justice, I repeat, therefore, I cannot see that it is right or just to say that because a white majority shall have the right to limit future land sales to their race, a Negro majority must everywhere have exactly the same privilege."

The difficulty is that Mr. Poe has his eye on the landlords of the black belt where a few land barons still drive their slaves with the lash. He wants to reassure them that no matter if the blacks out number them ten to one they are not to be disturbed in their reign.

But Mr. Poe's correspondents are not so canny. One of them says: "It is the gravest problem confronting us of the South to-day - this selling land promiscuously to the Negro race. In my neighborhood the white school population is 12. The Negro school population is 140. Can I be satisfied to raise my children under such conditions? I am trying to sell out. Have been offered $12,000 cash for my farm by a Negro. It

is worth $20,00 and would bring it if the surroundings were different."

At this we rub our eyes: if the Negro population out numbers the white ten to one surely this is the place, if any, for the white man to move. But this man does not want to move. What does he want there? Does he want the Negroes to go? No, but he wants them kept down. He does not even want to allow them the advantages of his disadvantages. As he says: "In protecting their home and social life, it is necessary for our rural white people to use some extraordinary measures to offset the Negroes' advantages in driving them out. In the first place, the Negro can live on less than the white man, and, therefore, if he is doing the same kind of work, he has this economic advantage over the white man."

Mr. Poe now appears in the offing again and serves this new argument. It is Negro cheap labor that has ruined the South. "Why is Southern agriculture so far behind the North?" he asked.

The answer is easy. "The man in the North was driven to do his own work because he did not have scores of Negroes to do it, and this caused him to look around and seek other means with which to do it. And see how he has profited because he has always had to do his own labor, and see the great rut we now find ourselves in because we had plenty of Negroes to do our work, and therefore did not need to seek to improve our farm labor conditions as our Northern neighbor did."

The answer to this would seem obvious; make Negro labor dearer by turning it into an independent farm owning class. But no, Mr. Poe will have none of this, but reports this case:

"I was reared and am now living in a community that only a few years ago was famed for its social features- live, well filled churches and schools. But alas! it is hopelessly ruined. Churches and schools can hardly hold together. There are three non-resident land owners who are

responsible for it all. This being a very fertile section, they have bought most of the land and want only Negro tenants. The land is unsurpassed for fertility by any section in several miles radius and therefore has induced the best type of Negroes to cultivate it; but nevertheless they are Negroes and have completely destroyed the social features of the community."

It would seem from this that there is no place on earth for the best Negroes either as tenants or landowners. Their very presence destroys all real life. "We might as well admit," says Mr. Poe, "the argument that the present wholesale sandwiching of whites and Negroes in our rural districts is perhaps the main thing in the way of developing rural co-operation in the South. If we can once get groups of wholly white communities, it will be far easier to get the farmers in them to pull together, whereas at present, the white people in the South are too scattered

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lack of fine clothes, or because they are shut up in factories, or if they brag that there are white people who can't read and write and they help them, or that white people won't work and the Negroes will, it will be a mighty good thing if we get mad enough about such boasting to see to it that they shall have no excuse even for saying such things in the future.

Mr. Poe therefore repeatedly returns to his original proposal. He has no fear of constitutions.

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"It is objected to by some, that the plan does not go far enough. For example, the Knoxville, Tennessee, Sentinel says that, "It seems to have a practical weakness as so far advanced - that it does not take tenants into account.

"Well, there is no doubt but that the indiscriminate renting of land to Negroes by absentee land-owners is a crying evil. The letters we

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"But it is our confident conviction that if the Negroes should refuse to work where the white people decided upon such a measure of protection, it would only be a form of industrial suicide for them, and after a few months of trouble in working out a new adjustment, the white people would be as well off - or better off - from a labor standpoint than ever before. In the first place, young Southern white men would be willing to go into these all-white communities and work as laborers, and in the second place, it would not be long until good white labor would come in from other sections."

Here then, is the culmination of this extraordinary argument:

The South says here: we despise the Negro because he is down and yet we cannot allow him to rise, we cannot educate him lest he grow intelligent, we cannot allow him in industry lest he compete with us and save money, we cannot allow him to buy property because he will be independent and live beside us, we cannot let him live by himself because we want his labor and because we dare not give him political power enough to establish and protect his own segregated communities.

The South is not wholly to blame for this logic. The North shares that blame.

The high and only tenable ground of the past was educate the Negro, give him work and wages, give him civil rights, give him a vote and let him make his way as a freeman.

This ground the North has joined the South in undermining::

To be returned

To Malcolm Davis

Esq. P.S.

they have half ruined his schools, they have curtailed his work and lowered his wages, they have made him a legal pariah and social out-caste and now they are cooly proposing to steal the bits of property which by the sweat of his face he has saved.

For stealing it is: for everybody knows that segregation is confiscating. Have we not the shameful treatment of the Indian to prove this?

How fine a program of solving the race problem this is which after twenty-five years of trumpeting and advertising lands us right in the same black slough of despond out of which we are just starting to raise the robbed and raped Indian. Fine statesmanship for the 20th century - fine cowardice for the Land of the Free.

If ever the cause of human liberty needed help that need is here

and now this race with its shackled hands and bruised and insulted body is the people whose wrongs speak loudest for Justice.

THE LAST WORD IN CASTE

. . . by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois . . .

It is now nearly a quarter of a century since the South presented to the Nation a new and plausible method of settling the Negro problem. The argument is familiar to all. "Take the Negro out of politics." "Train him for work and particularly for farm work." "The result will be the disappearance of the Negro problem." Has this prophecy been fulfilled?

Disfranchisement has been carried through ruthlessly. In Louisiana for instance, less than one percent of the colored men twenty-one years of age are registered, although over half of the Negro population in that State can read and write. This situation is typical for most of the gulf states. In the border states a larger number vote but still the great majority of adult male Negroes are disfranchised in the south.

It was promised that in return for such disfranchisement the Negro was to have educational and economic rights.

The last study of "The Negro Common School" made by Atlanta University sums up the Negro Educational situation by saying:

1. That the overwhelming majority of Negro children of school age are not in school.
2. That the chief reason for this is the lack of school facilities; and a further reason is the poverty and ignorance of parents.
3. That those Negro children who are in school are as a rule poorly taught by half-prepared and poorly paid tea-

chers and through short terms of three to six months a year.

4. That the school houses and equipment for Negro schools are for the most part wretched and inadequate.

5. That the Negro schools as a rule receive little or no helpful superintendence from the school authorities.

6. That the result and apparently one of the objects of disfranchisement has been to cut down the Negro school fund, bar out competent teachers, lower the grade and efficiency of the course of study and employ as teachers in the Negro schools those willing tools who do not and will not protest or complain.

7. That in the attempt to introduce much needed and valuable manual and industrial training there has been introduced into the curriculum of the Negro common school a mass of ill-considered, unrelated work which has overburdened the teacher and pushed into the background the vital studies of reading, writing and arithmetic. In a large measure this has been done with the avowed object of training Negroes as menials and laborers and of cutting them off from the higher avenues of life.

8. That the forward movement in education in the South during the last ten years has been openly confined almost entirely to white people. The movement for local school taxes, better high schools, consolidation of schools and transportation of children has with small exception been encouraged and made possible among the whites and not among the Negroes. In many cases the Negroes have been taxed for the improvement of white school facilities, while their own schools have not been allowed to share in these improvements.

9. That along with this curtailment of elementary public education for Negroes has gone a tendency to decry the work of those schools which are devoted to the higher training of Negro youth, to lower their curricula, to cut off northern benevolence and to decrease the supply of intellectual leaders for the Negro race.

Even with these patent facts staring the Nation in the face most people have come to the idea that at least the economic rights of the Negro are secure and many have been willing to say not only, "Give up the ballot," but also, "give up educational ideals so long as the race learns to work efficiently and accumulate property, particularly as farmers." Let us now ask what has been results here?

So far as work is concerned we again find the barriers up and not tending to fall. The attempt to establish a strict caste of occupations in the South has not been successful but it has been possible to keep the majority of Negroes in the most disagreeable and poorest paid occupations and in the lowest positions of most occupations. The Negro has pushed his way into some skilled occupations but it has been a long and tedious fight. It is therefore wrong to assume that economic opportunity has been opened to the Negro with any great degree of freedom. But this is true: The Sputh has been advancing in wealth at a phenominal rate during the last two or three decades. It has been impossible, particularly in cities, to with-hold some of the economic advantages of this great advance from the colored workers. The result has been a great increase of property-holding among Negroes in cities and towns.

Unfortunately there are no complete figures to illustrate this as a whole but a few facts and localities throw some light upon it. The property of the Negro church situated chiefly in Negro cities increased 115% between 1890 and 1906. The town and city property of the Negroes of Georgia increased nearly 100% between 1890 and 1907. In Virginia the town and city property of colored people increased from an assessed value of four millions in 1899 to nine and one half millions in 1911. There is reason to believe that throughout the United States the increase of Negro city property has been very large in the last ten years.

The chief reason for this conclusion is unfortunately the increase of the city segregation movement. In other words, just as soon as the Negro city laborer working on a wage scale lower than that of any other single group of people, saved out of his meagre earnings enough to move out of the alleys and slums to the front streets there immediately arose the question as to who should bear the economic cost of race prejudice. Most people in their careless indulgence in race prejudice forget this economic cost. It shows itself in the social cost of crime, prostitution and slums and it shows itself in the fall of values when a socially despised group moves into a decent neighborhood. That such a movement results in a real financial loss no one denies or attempts to deny. But the question is who shall bear the loss?

The segregation movement as illustrated in Baltimore, and many other Southern cities and as advocated in St. Louis answers this problem plainly: It proposes to put the whole cost of this economic loss absolutely upon the Negroes. That this is unjust goes without saying. They, of all parties, are the ones who should be exempt from any loss. But even here, it has not

been altogether easy to gain the sympathy of right-minded Americans. They have said, "It is largely a social matter," and "let the Negroes develope their own settlements," forgetting the absolute injustice and preposterous demand which such an attitude makes. A further argument is, however, "let the Negro stop crowding into the cities. Here they have in the country and in the South a wonderful chance for development. They can get hold of land, they know how to raise a great staple crop and many auxiliary crops. Here is an open economic field, let them take advantage of it."

It must not be thought that the Negroes themselves or their friends have been unaware of the economic chance of the Negro in Southern agriculture, but they have been trying to say that even in the country the economic man of to-day must be backed by social and political rights else the fruit of his labor is not safe.

I doubt if in modern economic history the truth of this proposition has been more clearly proven than in the recent history of the Negro race in America. Here is a people which has been asked to give up its political and social rights in order to achieve economic freedom. Despite the protest of a few far seeing men among them the race has virtually done this. They have let themselves be deprived of the vote almost without a struggle and they have openly and slavishly acknowledged that they are not fit associates for their fellow men, and they have hoped by reason of this craven surrender to earn a living, accumulate property and achieve finally the recognition of their fellow men. The result has been that their educational opportunities have been curtailed rather than expanded. Their right to

work has been admitted but slowly and grudgingly among all but the lowest and worst-paid occupations. And their right to accumulate property in cities is threatened to-day with serious curtailment. With this astonishing record as an answer to the program of twenty years ago what is the present situation of the Negro with regard to agricultural land in the South? Here indeed, we reach the last boundaries in the question. Let us bring to mind once more what has been said and promised in the past.

The movement gathered by men like the late Morris K. Jesup and Robert Ogden stated to the world and said with conviction, "You have here ten million inferior folk. You have got to stop treating them like ordinary white humanity and treat them as Negroes. You must educate them for work and particularly for farm labor and when you do that you will find the white South meeting you more than half way and willing to agree to accord the Negroes every economic right which they deserve. Not only did the overwhelming public opinion of the North believe and acknowledge this policy but many colored people acquiesed it with enthusiasm. Consequently the movement toward farm life among Negroes in the last decade has been phenominal. While farms conducted by white farmers have increased nine and one half per cent between 1900 and 1910 farms conducted by colored farmers have increased nearly twenty per cent. There were seven and one half per cent more white farmers conducting their farms in 1910 than in 1900 but there were seventeen percent more colored owners conducting their farms. The land in Negro farms increased from forty-two to forty-seven million acres in

that time and the land in the hands of Negro farm owners from sixteen to nineteen million acres. To-day twenty-nine per cent of the farms in the South are conducted by colored men not counting the vast number of farms conducted by white men with colored labor. This would seem to be most encouraging and especially so when we remember under what difficulties it has been accomplished.

In the country the disfranchisement of the Negro was completest, in the country the task idea of slavery lasted longest and in the country new legislation did everything it could to reduce the black farm hand into peonage. To-day in many rural districts of the gulf states the refusal of a colored man to work for a white man on any terms which the white man wishes to make, can without great difficulty be made a penetentiary offence and the colored man sent as a slave of the state to work in chains for a large part of his natural life.

The revolt of the black laborer however make this programme impossible. He could not strike for higher wages but he could run away to town and he did in such numbers that labor scarcity was the cry of the plantations and harsh contract and vagrancy laws were passed. The most effective bait however to keep the laborer was to sell him land on installments. In nine cases out of ten he was unable to keep his contract and remained a laborer. But in the tenth case he got his land. Sometimes he was helped by the better class land lords, by his relatives in the north, by the breaking up of big plantations and in a few cases by philanthropy.

In these ways the value of the farm property owned by Negroes between 1900 and 1910 increased from one hundred and

eighty million dollars to four hundred and forty million dollars or one hundred and forty-five per cent. During this same time the farm property of whites throughout the country increased but ninety-three per cent and the farm property of Southern whites increased one hundred and eight per cent. This increase in value is shown in the land which went from one hundred and two to two per cent; in the buildings which went from twenty-nine to sixty-nine millions or one hundred and forty-two per cent; in implements and machinery which went from eight to sixteen millions or ninety per cent and in live stock which increased ninety-two percent or from forty-one to seventy-eight millions.

Negro land ownership has increased from about three million acres in 1875 to six million acres in 1880, to eight million acres in 1890, fifteen million in 1900 and nearly twenty million in 1910.

This is most gratifying and if the prophets of the past were correct we would expect to hear a chorus of congratulation and good will from the best friends of the Negro in the South. We would expect an argument something like this: "You see we have kept our word in the main issue. We have disfranchised the Negro and while we have not given him large educational opportunity and have kept him in his place in the industrial world nevertheless he has become a house holder in the cities (although there we must limit him) and especially he has become fifty years after Emancipation a land holder in the United States by his own unaided efforts. This shows the wisdom of our policy."

When, however, we come forward prepared to hear this argument and to answer its weak places, for it has weak places, we find on the part of the dominant South not only absence of

all enthusiasm for this increase of Negro agricultural well being but a distinct air of disappointment and something worse. Indeed this air of disappointment is so wide-spread that one cannot help wondering if the Negro has not been urged to take advantage of Southern agriculture just because some Southerners were convinced that he could not take such advantage and that in the country districts of the South he could be held in his place, politically, socially and economically.

It would be unfair to assume this without undoubted proof and such proof comes to us unfortunately from North Carolina. In order to understand that development in North Carolina let us just look at some significant figures.

Farms owned by Negroes in North Carolina have increased in the decade from seventeen thousand to twenty-one thousand and the land from nine-hundred and sixty-five thousand acres to twelve hundred thousand acres; not only has there been this numberical increase, but while all farm property in North Carolina increased one hundred and thirty per cent Negro farm property increased two hundred and eleven per cent or from nine million dollars to twenty-seven million dollars; and the value of the land alone increased from five to seventeen million or two hundred and twenty per cent.

NORTH CAROLINA

COLORED FARMERS	1900	1910
Value of farm property, colored farmers	$28,986,165	$81,424,800
" " " of colored owners	8,828,581	27,448,410
" " " land owned, colored owners	5,351,290	17,063,588

Has this caused any rejoicing in North Carolina? I regret to say it has not. On the contrary it has led to wide-spread proposal for the most vital attack upon the economic rights of the Negro ever put forward in the United States. Let no one

misconceive the significance of this. The Negro was asked to give up his political rights for the sake of ? advance. He finds that with the giving up of his educational rights are curtailed, the right to work is increased but inadequately, his right to hold property in cities is being questioned and now, finally, there is a movement in the South to curtail his right to own agricultural land. This movement has not started with an ignorant agitator of the Blease and Vardaman and Tillman type. Its sponsor is Clarence Poe, editor of the "Progressive Farmer" and a man representing in many ways the best traditions of the South.

Mr. Poe began his campaign last Summer in the "Progressive Farmer" a weekly paper with a wide circulation among the most intelligent farmers all over the South. As a result of this campaign week after week, a growing mass of white farmers are crying with one of Poe's correspondents:

"North Carolina and the South for the white race, should be the slogan from now henceforth".

Or as another says: "Mr. Clarence Poe's suggestions that the Negroes buy land adjoining and settle in communities to themselves is a good one and will do more than anything else to adjust the race relations between the whites and blacks of the South. It is the 'Jim Crow' law put into effect in the rural districts."

Mr. Poe suggested that the Negro should be separated from the whites in the country districts by a law prohibiting future sale of land to him in white communities. His suggestion took immediate root and a third correspondent writes: "Negro

children are not allowed to attend school with whites, Negroes do not sit on the same cars, loaf in the same depots, and feed at the same hotels as the white folks. Why, then, should landlords be allowed to impose them on white farmers and ruin entire sections of the country?"

Mr. Poe then began to carefully fortify and elaborate his original proposition.

"Everybody knows that the Negroes stand together. They are notoriously clannish in everything. They help one another even to the extent of shielding Negro criminals from the law.

"But while the Negroes have been pulling together in this way, what has been the attitude of our white people in the vital matter of saving the rural South to the white race? Everybody knows that the shameful and disgraceful fact is that the white people have not been pulling together, but that the white city land-owner and merchant has too often practically taken sides against the struggling white tenant and small farmer and in favor of the Negro. I once said to a big plantation owner living in Memphis who had lands in Mississippi, "What Mississippi needs is fewer big plantations cultivated by Negro tenants and more thrifty, enterprising, industrious white farmers - more white people. Why don't you try to get white tenants?" "I don't want them," he replied, "They won't spend money and run accounts at our stores like the Negroes will, and besides, they soon want to buy land themselves. The Negroes make more money for us."

A friend writes him elaborating this argument: "I believe the great trouble is with a certain class of white landowners. They have Negro tenants on their lands who are, in fact, really peons. They furnish their tenants everything in the spring

at high rates and in the fall take everything at low rates. I have in mind a certain Negro who purchased a mule worth about $90 for $150, and after fifteen years of hard work the mule died without being paid for. In the meantime, the white man got all the Negro made. Such land-owners don't want intelligent white tenants. They want those whom they can use to their advantage. They are the ones who have sold land at exorbitant prices to Negroes, thinking, perhaps, they could not pay for it."

Here is evidently a situation calling for remedy; A modern reformer would suggest the uprooting of peonage and the company store system; co-operative buying of large tracts of land. But this remedy is far from these men's minds and we discover that if the peon escapes and becomes an independent small farmer and land-owner that he is, if anything even more objectionable.

"The Negroes first ran us out because some white people moved to town, became merchants who furnished supplies for the Negro to make their crops, and now have sold their country land to them in farms containing 20,30 and 40 acres, and occasionally 100 acres or more. They sometimes give them a long time for payment, the Negroes seldom getting out of debt until they go to the public works to get out. They settle on these farms, have large families generally, and simply crowd us out, causing us to seek a village or town where white people can co-operate, have schools and churches, and where it is understood that no Negroes own lots mixed with white people."

Poe therefore drops the subject of the wretched underpaid and ruthlessly exploited peonage and addresses himself to this dangerous newcomer.

"Briefly I should say that the law we need is one which will say that wherever the greater part of the land acreage in any given district that may be laid off is owned by one race, a majority of the voters in such a district may say (if they wish) that in future no land shall be sold to a person of a different race - provided such action is approved or allowed (as being justified by considerations of the peace, protection and social life of the community) by a reviewing judge or board of country commissioner."

He goes on to develope his thought: "Atlanta has just passed a law saying that a majority of property-owners in a city block can say that in future no land shall be sold to a person of a different race from them. Why, then, cannot Georgia or any other State pass a law giving a similiar privilege to its country people? Why can it not be said that where there is a white community and the majority of white land owners wish to keep their community white, they can lay-off a district in which it will be unlawful to sell to a person of a different race? And since the same privilege would be given Negroes where they own land, the law could not be said to discriminate against any race; and the whites would lose little because they do not care to buy in communities wholly surrounded by Negroes, anyhow.

This has a certain semblance of even handed justice; Mr. Poe says: "It may be argued, I know, that such a law is unjust, that with the Government of the South as it is, it could be utilized by white people to keep their communities white but the Negroes would rarely be able to use it to keep their communities wholly Negro. All of which I admit is possible, and yet, as I have said, I believe it is just."

Why would the Negro "rarely be able" to make a wholly Negro community? Because Negroes cannot vote, cannot select county commissioners and consequently could not drive out the whites. Nevertheless Mr. Poe is not moved.

"Studying it with all possible desire for truth and justice, I repeat, therefore, I cannot see that it is right or just to say that because a white majority shall have the right to limit future land sales to their race, a Negro majority must everywhere have exactly the same privilege."

The difficulty is that Mr. Poe has his eye on the landlords of the Black belt where a few land barons still drive their slaves with the lash. He wants to reassure them that no matter if the blacks out number them ten to one they are not to be disturbed in their reign.

But Mr. Poe's correspondents are not so canny. One of them says: "It is the gravest problem confronting us of the South to-day - this selling land promiscuously to the Negro race. In my neighborhood the white school population is 12. The Negro school population is 140. Can I be satisfied to raise my children under such conditions? I am trying to sell out. Have been offered $12,000 cash for my farm by a Negro. It is worth $20,000 and would bring it if the surroundings were different."

At this we rub our eyes: if the Negro population out numbers the white ten to one surely this is the place, if any, for the white man to move. But this man does not want to move. What does he want there? Does he want the Negroes to go? No, but he wants them kept down. He does not even want to allow them the advantages of his disadvantages. As one says: "In protecting their home and social life, it is necessary for our

rural white people to use some extraordinary measures to offset the Negroes' advantages in driving them out. In the first place, the Negro can live on less than the white man, and, therefore, if he is doing the same kind of work, he has this economic advantage over the white man."

Mr. Poe now appears in the offing again and serves this new argument. It is Negro cheap labor that has ruined the South. "Why is Southern agriculture so far behind the North?" he asked.

The answer is easy. "The man in the North was deiven to do his own work because he did not have scores of Negroes to do it, and this caused him to look around and seek other means with which to do it. And see how he has profited because he has always had to do his own labor, and see the great rut we now find ourselves in because we had plenty of Negroes to do our work, and therefore did not need to seek to improve our farm labor conditions as our Northern neighbor did."

The answer to this would seem obvious; make Negro labor dearer by turning it into an independent farm owning class. But no, Mr. Poe will have none of this, but reports this case:

"I was reared and am now living in a community that only a few years ago was famed for its social features-live, well filled churches and schools. But alas! it is hopelessly ruined. Churches and schools can hardly hold together. There are three non-resident land owners who are responsible for it all. This being a very fertile section, they have bought most of the land and want only Negro tenants. The land is unsurpassed for fertility by any section in several miles radius and therefore has induced the best type of Negroes to cultivate it; but nevertheless they are Negroes and have completely destroyed the social features of the community."

It would seem from this that there is no place on earth for the best Negroes either as tenants or landowners. Their very presence destroys all real life. "We might as well admit," says Mr. Poe, "the argument that the present wholesale sandwiching of whites and Negroes in our rural districts is perhaps the main thing in the way of developing rural co-operation in the South. If we can once get groups of wholly white communities, it will be far easier to get the farmers in them to pull together, whereas at present, the white people in the South are too scattered to win success with ten thousand co-operative enterprises that would succeed if white farmers were grouped together. And especially does the present sandwiching of whites and Negroes militate against education - against good schools for both races."

But if educational justice is not done to the Negro in the white community, will it be anywhere? One Negro correspondent is in despair. He writes: "If we own a good farm or hourse or cow, dog or yoke of exen, we are harassed until we are bound to sell, give away, or run away before we can have any peace of our lives."

Mr. Poe prints this but with apology and warning.

"We may say in this connection that it was our idea in printing the letters from Negroes simply to show what they are saying and thinking and to give all sides a fair hearing. And if Negroes are bragging that they send their children to school when white people keep theirs away for lack of fine clothes, or because they are shut up in factories, or if they brag that there are white people who can't read and write and they help them, or that white people won't work and the Negroes

will, it will be a mighty good thing if we get mad enough about such boasting to see to it that they shall have no excuse even for saying such things in the future.

Mr. Poe therefore repeatedly returns to his original proposal. He has no fear of constitutions.

"It may be that the Atlanta segregation and the similiar segregation plans we have suggested for our country districts might be declared in conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment. Some lawyers think so, some do not. But we repeat that if our people make up their minds that segregation is a good and necessary thing, they will find a way to put it into effect: - just as they did in the case of Negro disfranchisement despite an ironbound Amendment specifically designed to prevent it.

"If such a direct law as we proposed last week would be unconstitutional, might not the same result be effected indirectly by saying that no land should be sold to any man in any specified district if a petition against the sale were signed by a majority of the resident land-owners in such a district? If a predominantly white community them, it could be understood (or formally declared) that this new law would be invoked only to keep the community white, and so the matter would be settled without further trouble."

"It is objected to by some, that the plan does not go far enough. For example, the Knoxville, Tennessee, Sentinel says that, "It seems to have a practical weakness as so far advanced - that it does not take tenants into account.

"Well, there is no doubt but that the indiscriminate renting of land to Negroes by absentee land-owners is crying evil. The letters we have received from all over the South indicate that mistakably. And yet we do not now see any plan

of regulating this evil that would not be susceptible of much abuse. As yet the proportion of white people wanting to rent land is small, and it would not be fair to absolutely limit the renting to white people even in these white communities.

"But it is our confident conviction that if the Negroes should refuse to work where the white people decided upon such a measure of protection, it would only be a form of industrial suicide for them, and after a few months of trouble in working out a new adjustment, the white people would be as well off - or better off - from a labor standpoint than ever before. In the first place, young Southern white men would be willing to go into these all-white communities and work as laborers, and in the second place, it would not be long until good white labor would come in from other sections."

Here then, is the culmination of this extraordinary argument:

The South says here: we despise the Negro because he is down and yet we cannot allow him to rise; we cannot educate him lest he grow intelligent, we cannot allow him in industry lest he compete with us and save money; we cannot allow him to buy property because he will be independent and live beside us; we cannot let him live by himself because we want his labor and because we dare not give him political power enough to establish and protect his own segregated communities.

The South is not wholly to blame for this logic. The North shares that blame. The high and only tenable ground of the past was educate the Negro, give him work and wages, give him civil rights, give him a vote and let him make his way as a freeman.

This ground the North has joined the South in undermining:

I have received hundreds and hundreds of letters, representing fifteen States, endorsing the plan of race segregation I advocated on this page, August 30th.

The law I advocated August 30, it will be remembered was just this:

"Whenever the greater part of the land acreage in any given district that may be laid off is owned by one race, the majority of the voters in such a district may say, if they wish, that in future no land shall be sold to a person of a different race; provided such action is approved or allowed (as being justified by considerations of the peace, protection and social life of the community) by a reviewing judge or board of county commissioners."

"Such a board as I have said, could be used by any white community to keep itself white, but the Negro would almost never be able to use it to make a community wholly Negro. If you are in favor of such a plan and want to know more about it, send me a postal card or letter at once."

Clarence Poe.

THE WORLD PROBLEM OF THE COLOR LINE

The average American is apt to regard the Negro problem as parochial and temporary: parochial as being largely localized in the Southern United States and temporary as being a passing phase of the slavery problem. On this account his is rather impatient with it. He does not want to discuss or take action because he thinks it but to "leave it to the South" or because he likes to insist that the problem of slavery is a closed chapter.

38-13-281

If such men would look carefully around them however they would see that the Problem of the Color Line in America instead of being the closing chapter of past history is the opening page of a new era. All over the world the diversified races of the world are coming into close and closer contact as never before.

We are nearer China today than we were to San Francisco yesterday.

In this widespread contact of men the problem of humanity is taking new forms and democracy is getting new meanings. The provincial off hand way of settling these matters was to talk of "superior" and "inferior" races, of "lesser breeds without the law". It has been suggested more than once that ~~enth~~ Christianity was not to apply in these human relations and that the world must revert to the ethics of the club and claw in a great coming war of Ra ces.

In this way many men interpreted the race problem of Negroes and whites in the United States. and the West Indies, the contact of Spaniard, Indian, Negro and Saxon in South America, the looming race disturbances all over Africa, the wide-spread unrest in India and the so-called "Yellow Peril" of China and Japan, not to mention the islands of the sea.

If this is true, God help civilization for the struggle will be fierce and disheartening the world over. But it is not true. There is no earthly reason which the ethics of Jesus Christ should not apply to race problems and why we should not use reason in these race ppoblems.

If this is so we should begin right here at home. We should recognize the growing and artificially encouraged race prejudice and we should fight it by all civilized methods. We should insist on civilized treatment for civilized men the world over and human sympathy for all human beings.

38-13-282

37-7-10

DIUTURNI SILENTI

Those of us, who like myself, have struggled painfully through the orations of Cicero, coming only in after years to realize their stately beauty, have doubtless recognized the two words which form the subject of my talk. They are the beginning of the speech in defense of Marcellus. I remember vividly the halting and stiff translation of the words which we used to commit to memory: "Diuturni silenti, patres conscripti, quo eram his temporibus usus, non timore aliquo, sed partim delore, partim verecundia, finem hodiernus dies attulit, idemque initium qual vellem qualque sentirem meo pristiro more dicend." - To my long continued silence, conscript fathers, which I have made use of in these times, not on account of any fear, but partly from grief, partly from shame, this day brings an end and also a beginning of my speaking according to my former custom, what I think and what I know."

These words have come to my mind because of the duty which I conceive is mine on this occasion and which I have so long postponed. I was graduated from Fisk University thirty six years ago and during those years my relations to this, my alma mater, have been most peculiar. I went out of here with a love for the institution and an enthusiasm for its principles and its teachers which could hardly have been greater. I went to further preparation and then at last, about twenty five years ago, I found myself the storm center of a tremendous controversy. I was that center by no thought or wish of mine but because of the tremendous logic of the situation. The young men and women who are graduating today can hardly realize what young colored folk faced a little quarter of a century ago. It was at that time impossible for a Negro to stand up and declare that the colored people of the United States ought to have the right to vote, that they were the equals of other human beings and should

be treated as such in public places, on the railroads, in human opportunity, that they had contributed to the civilization of the world and America and deserved in turn to share civilization. These things are not conceded to today by any means, but today we have come to a time when no Negro, with very few exceptions, would dare to say that these are not the things for which we must stand. Twenty five years ago the man that said this was the subject of calumny and vituperation, was said to be a trouble maker and a rebel and then, by a curious twist of logic, accused of being ashamed of his race and station. It was, of course, the bond and duty of every man among us who felt his manhood to fight the propaganda which tried to make the colored people of America ignore and acquiesce in their inferiority, to fight it in every possible way, and we did.

It isn't a pleasant thing to fight even when the fight is simply spiritual. It leaves wounds and scars and in this case the fight curiously estranged me from Fisk University because in these years Fisk University changed and from being the center where Negro manhood was most strongly asserted and most diligently believed in, it became gradually a place where it was fashionable to say as little as possible on what were called controversal subjects. There was a determined effort to get back of Fisk University and list in its aid those great forces of wealth and influence which had built Tuskegee and which had endowned the great institutions of the North and which could make, if they would, Fisk University a permanent, well endowed institution. Personally this placed me in a most uncomfortable dilemma. I knew well that Fisk University needed money and support and that no influence or effort of mine could help her to a single cent. I knew that the stand which I had taken beginning with the publication of "The Souls of Black Folk" in 1903, the inauguration of the Niagra Movement in 1906 and the establishment of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and The Crisis in 1909 and 1910 made me peculiarly personna non grata to those folk from whom Fisk University was to get endowment and it seemed

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to me, therefore, that it was my duty although an unpleasant duty, to keep still concerning Fisk University and its ideals and to keep away from the institution. And this I have done practically for twenty five years. And I have done it, I may say, with the silent, but enthusiastic cooperation of the authorities of Fisk. It has brought from time to time criticism upon me. People have said that I thought more of my bachelor's degree from white Harvard than from colored Fisk, that I wanted to forget my connection with Fisk and other similar things.

Finally, however, the situation seemed to me to be changing. By tremendous and what must have been heart breaking effort an endowment of one million dollars has been raised for Fisk University, or practically raised. It has been secured from people who are not in sympathy with that which I and my friends have been standing for, who are not at all in sympathy with self assertion on the part of the Negro and with the determination of the darker races to rule in the modern world as absolutely co-equal workers with all other races. I raise my hat to those persons who have been able from such sources to get money for an institution of higher learning for Negroes in the United States. It is the only instance of the kind. Not a single other Negro institution has received such endowment or is there any prospect of their receiving it.

37-7-12

At the same time with this endowment in the hands of the institution there come tremendous and soul searching questions and they come to us as alumni of Fisk and the first and greatest question is, is the present Fisk University the institution that it used to be, the institution of our dreams and ideals and the institution that can and will do for the Negro race the things which a Negro university ought to do. And if it is not what are we going to do about it? We who are graduates of the institution, we who by all rules of universities like those present in the United States and in the world are the ligitimate owners and directors of Fisk, the people for whom and by whom it should be conducted and the last and

ultimate court of authority as to its policies and methods. I know there are those who would be disposed to dispute this assertion of vast power on the part of the alumni of Fisk University. But I am simply saying of Fisk what is true of Harvard. As a graduate of Harvard I am a part of its greatest ruling power. Harvard University is governed by a Board of overseers. No overseer of Harvard can be elected without my judgment being called for and expressed. No policy of the President of Harvard or any member of its faculty can be carried out without my right of protest, and if that is true of the greatest and oldest university of white America, how much more should it be true of this institution which was founded for my race and of which I am a graduate of over thirty five years standing.

37-7-13

The responsibility which falls upon the alumni of this institution today is tremendous and cannot be shirked. We have been shirking it, as a body of graduates we have shown no interest in this institution. We have simply withdrawn from it in silence. I know of no great Negro institution, and I have been brought in contact more or less intimately with every Negro college in the United States, I know of none of these institutions where the alumni have counted for less, or have counted themselves for less than in the case of Fisk University. They have stood back silently. They seldom visit the institution, they have almost no voice in its affairs and they ask for no voice, and yet this attitude manifestly must come to an end and the time for it to end is now. This is the day of turning. This is the day for us to ask ourselves what is Fisk University and what is it that we want Fisk University to be and what is it that we are going to try to make it up to the very last ounce of our power and determination.

The answer, of course, is clear. A great institution today needs money. The amount of money which it seems necessary to use in the great educational foundations is astonishing. Harvard University has just raised eleven million dollars cash from its friends and alumni and it is

now immediately starting to raise thirteen million dollars more. The endowment of institutions of learning in the United States sounds like the record of great industrial foundations. Even if we admit, as I think all thoughtful people must, that the craze for great physical foundations and elaborate expenditure has gone beyond reason among us, nevertheless any one who has been closely connected with an institution of learning cannot for a moment doubt the necessity of the large funds for salaries, for laboratories, for libraries, for grounds and buildings. And therefore I hasten with others to express my profound appreciation for the tremendous work that has been accomplished by president and trustees of this institution in securing a medium for Fisk. At the same time I want to say and reiterate that of all the things that go to make up a great university money is the least. I know how easy it is to say a glib thing like this and how impossible it is to run an institution without money and at the same time I repeat that of the six great things that go to make an institution of learning a real college, a real university for either black people or white, money is the least, the thing that can most easily be dispensed with and the thing with which, and in the absence of the others, makes the institution a dead husk.

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The first thing that always and in all centers of knowledge has been regarded as absolutely essential to a university is freedom. It has been recognised always that the pursuit of knowledge must be a matter of the free untrammeled spirit, that no system of fences and rules, of prohibitions and threats can make human beings lovers of the truth. Unless they are induced to follow of their own free will there can be no real following. A university is a place where there is such freedom andwhere every inducement is used to guide that freedom, thought and truth. And such inducements lie in two great groups which are the second and third essentials of the university. The first is self expression, the encouragement of students to use their freedom of thought and action in a way that will

lead to a realization of what their own selves mean, of what their own powers can do. This great quotation "Know thyself" of ancient Greece has always been the great and essential goal of education. The knowledge and the freedom to attain it, these are the three great beacon lights of a real university.

37-7-15

And thirdly comes the mounting power of ideals. Not simply do we seek in universities to give to our children the chance to do and the chance to know the doer, but certain tremendous aims, certain world old ideals, toward which they ought to strive. And finally as the end of the striving toward self knowledge and ideals through individual freedom we come to the revelation of that great body of knowledge which is the end of study, what the surrounding world really is and was and has a chance of being. As we think of these four characteristics and essentials of the university there can be no doubt that each one of them and all of them together are infinitely more than the money which supports them; that if we were compelled to give up any one of the five we would have first to give up a part or all of the university income. You cannot surrender freedom and remain an institution of learning. You cannot have an institution of learning where there is no real chance at self expression. You cannot have a college without real and high ideals and the college which does not seek knowledge for knowledge's sake is not for it has not been. With these things gone and with any number of millions of dollars a so-called institution of learning remains a farce and a lie.

If now we turn to apply this to ourselves and to Fisk University we must first note and note frankly peculiar difficulties, difficulties so great that we are continually tempted to spoil and deny the objects of university training as applied to us. We are afraid to give freedom to our own sons and daughters because of the unusual temptations by which they are surrounded. They are living in a world which on the one hand insults them systematically and continually and seeks to repress them and dis-

courage them and on the other hand in an inner world of their own group where freedom continually tempts to become license. We are living face to face with that old problem of the second generation of the children of people who themselves suffered and toiled and were deprived and who in rebound seek to give their children every indulgence and as a result encourage impudence and waste and wild excess. And yet, notwithstanding all this, unless we give our children freedom, unless we tear down the barriers and open the way there is absolutely no salvation for them or for us. It is impossible to think that by piling rule on rule and commandment on commandment and don't on don't that you are going to in time compel a young man and a young woman who have reached the age of reason to do the thing that they do not wish to do. The utmost that you can accomplish is to make them hypocrits and the least is to make them red handed rebels. Again we halt in a sort of nameless fear before self expression on the part of our children. What would the world say and particularly the southern white world if they knew what every normal Negro boy and girl were thinking of them and their actions, of the world and its possibilities, of right and wrong. Would not the encouragement of self expression on the part of the students like those at Fisk mean an outburst and whirl wind of hate and fury and unbridled curses against the world in which they live, against their parents for bringing them into it, against the white rulers for their crimes and inaptitude? And here again we are always actually or potentially saying hush to children and students, we are putting on the soft peddle, we are teaching them subterfuse and compromise, we are leading them around to back doors for fear that they shall express themselves. And yet whenever and wherever we do this we are wrong, absolutely and eternally wrong. Unless we are willing to train our children to be cowards, to run like dogs when they are kicked, to whin and lick the hand that slaps them,we have got to teach them self realization and self expression and we have got to do this not simply as a matter of revolt and revenge as of sheer

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justice to our white fellow citizens. If there is one thing that spoils a community it is a boy whom everybody knows can be kicked with impunity, a race that anybody can oppress and enslave. Then too if the Negro race is ever going to enrich the world further with its great and mighty gifts it is only going to do it as it has the chance and the impulse toward self expression. Ever since emancipation America has been trying to turn down the ideals which it set before colored children. White childred are told in thunder tones that their wagons must be hitched to stars but for colored children nice honest lamp posts seem to do and preferably those filled with gas and not with electricity.

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The business of most commencement orators who come down to institutions like this is to warn the students not to be too ambitious, curb their desires, to lower their ideals to something which we like to call practical. Of those great sweeps of the universe where men become poets and painters, leaders and writers, explorers and singers we try ourselves to say to our children that they must of course remember not to expect to be too great and our white friends back us by assuring those same childran that it isn't possible, at least for them, to be too small. And then when it comes to realms of knowledge and what the colored students could learn the boundaries of the universe become small. For a while there was a determined effort that the knowledge of Negro youth should be bounded by carpentry and shoemaking and into these fair halls of Fisk University have crept the idea that to teach the mechanism of an automobile was a ligitimate step toward the bachelor's degree. And yet today we know that the educated man speaks two or three modern languages and that no man is educated who doesn't do that. That he knows by actual work in the laboratory the composition of matter and the arrangement of the universe, that he has studied the phenomena of life from the amoeba to the human heart, that he can count,, that he can reason and that he knows the history of human kind not simply by second hand propaganda but by first

hand following and thought. This is the realm of knowledge which should be spread as a feast before students and to which they should be free to come and to use it with the knowledge of the great ideals necessary for its best use and the great powers of the world which make for its greatest use.

How far now does Fisk University fulfill the ideal of a great institution of learning as thus set down. It no only falls far short of this ideal but it falls so far short that the criticism of the university is heard in every part of this land. I have never met a group of Fisk graduates or former students in the last ten or fifteen years that I have not had voiced and poured into my ears a volume of complaint against this institution so bitter and so deeply felt that it was impossible to ignore it. And the first and most insistent complaint is the lack of freedom in this institution. The utter absence of anything like democratic government either among teachers or students, the way in which the law is laid down straight, absolute and unyielding and students and parents and others told frankly that if they do not like the way this institution is run they can go. The idea seems to be deep seated that Fisk University is a private corporation run for private purposes and that its students have no right to demand certain things. In this respect Fisk University curiously differentiates itself from great institutions of learning. At Harvard recently a great Englishman was invited to speak. The governing Board of the institution decided that he ought not to address the students and he was not allowed to. The students immediately protested, they protested in their student publications, they protested through the newspapers, they carried their protest to the faculty, they carried it beyond the faculty to the governing board and they are still fighting for the right to invite any one whom they please so long as the person is decent and sincere to talk to them. They have in that fight the sympathy of educated people everywhere, but I wonder what would happen if the students

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of Fisk University made a similar protest. Or rather I don't wonder. The ring leaders would be expelled. And yet in years to come a list of the expelled students of Fisk University bids fair to become a roll of honor, of those who would not be crushed and who would not give up, who would be free.

The students of Fisk have absolutely no permissable method of self expression. They are dumb and silent. The Fisk Herald, of which I once had the honor to be editor and which lived until it was the oldest student publication in the United States, has been abolished. There is today no legitimate way in which any protest on the part of the students of Fisk University can be made within or without the walls. The mere fact that they seem to want to protest is used against them and the ideal student here is the student that shuts his mouth and obeys. The ideals placed before students of Fisk University are in many cases most unfortunate. Apparently they are being taught that the one great object of this institution and of the people that go through it is to placate the bourbon south. Not only is this the spirit of much of the teaching here but it is the absolute and openly expressed spirit of that publication known as the Fisk News. Here we have an expensive publication, a publication whose annual deficit over any possible income must be at least ten times the deficit which was alleged against the Fisk Herald and which month after month crawls and kowtows and debases itself before the white south, pats them on the back, criticises its own and in lieu of news tells of the marching up and down through the south of a man whose business it is to say to white people nothing that they don't like to hear concerning himself, his people and his institution. There is not one Fisk alumnus out of one hundred who believes in one tenth of the things that he has to stand for because of the Fisk News and yet that is the kind of propaganda that is being put before our children as the ideal of living. In the fields of knowledge opened up to our students here the great and striking

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lack is the lack of great teachers. To attempt to translate knowledge into life without the medium of the great teacher is to attempt the impossible. Fisk has had great teachers in the past, Adams Spence, that little slovernly man with the queer voice who sat with the great master spirits of Greecian civilization and made them sit with us. Chase who made chemistry a revealing fairyland through which we rushed eagerly into life. Morgan who was embodied sacrifice. There have been there are some successors to these great teachers of the past but on the whole it seems as though Fisk University of these days was not trying to get great teachers, that it was afraid of strong independent souls, that it wanted a faculty like a student body to obey and not to direct. We have seen extraordinary things in this institution. Fisk University catering for the approval of Vanderbilt. Why in God's name? What has Vanderbilt University done for culture or civilization in the past that Fisk University should prostrate itself before it. We have seen attempts to make this institution not simply a matter of rules but of mechanical rules, of rules supposed to enforce themselves without the intervention of judgment and sympathy. In a day when every great institution is getting further and further from the mechanics of marks to measure efficiency we see Fisk University insisting upon the absolute devine matter of a mark of 73 or 86½. And above all we find a peculiar tendency to consider these students as charity students in spite of the fact that the students of Fisk University are paying as large a percent of their expenses as the students throughout the United States and the world over. Whose fault is this? I tell you frankly it is the fault of the alumni of Fisk University. It is they that have allowed this thing to go on and are allowing it to go on and it is they who have got to stop it. Fisk University must become a place of freedom, a place where our sons and daughters can be developed as aggressive men and women and not atomical. It must become a realm of knowledge of great teachers without disgusting and degrading propaganda.

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And the way to accomplish this is for the alumni to insist upon their rightful place in directing affairs of this university. The Board of Trustees of Fisk University must have at least two members who are selected under appropriate rules by the great body of alumni. It isn't enough for us to have an alumni member hand picked by the Board. Members elected by the alumni body must be appointed to the Board. It should begin with two members, it should end in the course of time with the alumni selecting all the members. It is intollerable that I, for instance, should have the right to vote for the governing Board of Harvard University and be disfranchised at Fisk University without voice. A body of alumni that submits to that sort of thing deserves no consideration. Beginning then with this small step the alumni should take their rightful place as advisors, referees, as eventual rulers of this institution. In the exceedingly difficult and delicate matter of race relations and race development in the south it is impossible that any one man or any group should rule and rule wisely without continued advice and reference to the people whose sons and daughters they are training. The body for such advice, for such consul are the graduates of this institution, those graduates who as time goes on are more and more becoming the fathers both spiritual and physical of the students who go in these halls.

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I would not have you for a moment doubt of my absolute belief in the future of this institution and at the same time I cannot say too strongly that that future is wrapt up in the alumni, that without them it never can be a great university, that with them there are no limits to the greatness and efficiency to which they may attain.

DIUTURNI SILENTI

Those of us, who, like myself, have struggled painfully through the orations of Cicero coming only in after years to realize their stately beauty have doubtless recognized the two words which form the subject of my talk. They are the beginning of the speech in defense of Marcellus. I remember vividly the halting and stiff translation of the words which we used to commit to memory. "Diuturni silenti, patres conscripti, quo eram his temporibus usus, non timore aliquo, sed partim dolore, partim verecundia, finem hodiernus dies attulit, idemque initium qual vellem quaeque sentirem meo pristino more decend:" To my long continued silence conscript fathers which I have made use of in these times, not on account of any fear but partly from grief, partly from shame, this day brings an end and also a beginning of my speaking according to my former custom what I think and what I know. "

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These words have come to my kind because of the duty which I conceive is mine on this occasion and which I have so long postponed. I was graduated from Fisk University 36 years ago and during those years my relations to this, my alma mater, have been most peculiar. I went out of here with a love for the institution and an enthusiams for its principals and its teachers which could hardly have been greater. I went to further preparation and then at last, about 25 years ago, I found myself the storm center of a tremendous controversy. I was that center by no thought or wish of mine but because of the tremendous logic of the situation. The young men and women who are graduating today can hardly realize what young colored folk faced a little quarter of a century ago. It was at that time impossible for a Negro to stand up and declare that the colored people of the United States ought to have the right to vote, that they were the equals of other human

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beings and should be treated as such in public places, on the railroads, in human opportunity. That they had contributed to the civilization of the world and America and deserved in turn to share civilization. These things are not conceded to today by any means but today we have come to a time when no Negro with very few exceptions would dare to say that these are not the things for which we must stand. 25 years ago the man that said this was the subject of calumny and vituperation, was said to be a trouble maker and a rebel and then, by a curious twist of logic, accused of being ashamed of his race and station. It was, of course, the bound and duty of every man among us who felt his manhood to fight the propaganda which tried to make the colored people of American ignore and acquiesce in their inferiority to fight it in every possible way and we did. It isn't a pleasant thing to fight even when the fight is simply spiritual. It leaves wounds and scars and in this case the fight curiously estranged me from Fisk University because in these years Fisk University changed and from being the center where Negro manhood was most strongly asserted and most diligently believed in, it became gradually a place where it was fashionable to say as little as possible on what were called controversal subjects. There was a determined effort to get back of Fisk University and list in its aid those great forces of wealth and influence which had built up Tuskegee and which had endowed the great institutions of the North and which could make, if they would, Fisk University a permanent, well endowed institution. Personally this placed me in a most uncomfortable dilemma. I knew well that Fisk University needed money and support and that no influence or effort of mine could help her to a single cent. I knew that the stand which I had taken beginning with the publication of the Souls of Black Folk in 1903, the inauguration of the Niagra Movement in 1905 and the establishment of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and The Crisis in 1909 and 1910 made me peculiarly persona non grata

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to those folks from whom Fisk University was to get endowment and it seemed to me, therefore, that it was my duty, although an unpleasant duty, to keep still concerning Fisk and its ideals and to keep away from the insitution. And this I have done practically for twenty five years. And I have done it I may say with the silent, but enthusiastic cooperation of the authorities of Fisk. It has brought from time to time criticism upon me. People have said that I thought more of my bachelor's degree from white Harvard than from colored Fisk, that I wanted to forget my connection with Fisk and other similiar things. Fanally, however, the situation seemed to me to be changing. By tremendous and what must have been heart breaking effort an endowment of one million dollars has been raised for Fisk University or practically raised. It has been secured from people who are not in sympathy with that which I and my friends have been standing for, who are not at all in sympathy with selfassertion on the part of the Negro and with the determination of the darker races to rule in the modern world as absolutely co-equal workers with all other races. I raise my hat to those persons who have been able from such sources to get money for an institution of higher learning for Negroes in the United States. It is the only ~~institution~~ instance of the kind. Not a single other Negro institution has received such endowment or is there any prospect of their receiving it. At the same time with this endowment in the hands of the institution there come tremendous and soul searching questions and they come to us as alumni of Fisk and the first and greatest question is, is the present Fisk University the institution that it used to be, the institution of our dreams and ideals and the institution that can and will do for the Negro race the things which a Negro university ought to do. And if it isnot what are we going to do about it? We who are graduates of the institution, we who by all rules of universities like those present in the United States and in the world are the lirtimate owners and directors of Fisk, the people for whom and

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by whom it should be conducted and the last and ultimate court of authority as to its policies and methods. I know there are those who would be disposed to dispute this assertion of vast power on the part of the alumni of Fisk. But I am simply saying by Fisk what is true of Harvard University as a graduate of Harvard I am a part of its greatest ruling power. Harvard University is governed by a Board of overseers. No overseer of Harvard can be elected without my judgement being called for and expressed. No policy of the President of Harvard or any member of its faculty can be carried out without my right of protest and if that is true of the greatest and oldest university of white America, how much more should it be ture of this institution which was founded for my race and of which I am a graduate of over 35 years standing. The responsibility which falls upon the alumni of this institution today is tremendous and cannot be shirked. We have been shirking it, as a body of graduates we have shown no interest in this institution. We have simply withdrawn from it in silence. I know of no great Negro institution and I have been brought in contact more or less intimately with every Negro college in the United States, I know of none of these institutions where the alumni have counted for less or have counted themselves for less than in the case of Fisk University. They have stood back silently. They seldom visit the institution, they have almost no voice in its affairs and they ask for no voice, and yet this attitude manifestly must come to an end and the time for it to end is now. This is the day of turning. This is the day for us to ask ourselves what is Fisk and what is it that we want Fisk to be and what is it that we are going to try to make it up to the very last ounce of our power and determination. The answer of course is clear. A great institution today needs money. The amount of money which it seems necessary to use in the great educational foundations is astonishing. Harvard University has just raised eleven million dollars cash from its

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to whin and lick the hand that slaps them. We have got to teach them self realization and self expression and we have got to do this not simply as a matter of revolt and revenge as of sheer justice to our white fellow citizens. If thereis one thing that splois a community it is a boy whom everyody knows can be kicked with impunity, a race that anybody can oppress and enslave. Then too if the Negro race is ever going to enrich the world further with its great and mighty gifts it is only going to do it as it has the chance and the impulse toward self expression. /I/have Ever since emancipation America has been trying to turn down the ideals which it set before colored children. White children are told in thunder tones that their wagons must be hitched to stars but for colored children nice honest lamp posts seem to do and preferably those filled with gas and hot with electricity.

The business of most commencement orators who come down to institutions like this is to warn the students not to be too ambitious, curb their desires to lower their ideals/ to something which we like to call practical. Of those great sweeps of the universe where men become poets and painters, leaders and writers, explorers and singers we try ourselves to say to our children that they must of course remember not to expect to be too great and our white friends back us by assuring those same children that it isn't possible at least for them to be too small. And then when it comes to realms of knowledge and what the colored students could learn the boundaries of the universe become small. For a while there was a determined effort that the knowledge of Negro youth should be bounded by carpentry and shoemaking and into these fair halls of Fisk University have crept the idea that to teach the mechanism of an automobile was a legitimate step toward the bachelor's degree. And yet today we know that the educated man speaks two or three modern languages and that no man is educated who doesn't do that. That he knows by /////have actual work in the laboratory the composition of matter and the arrangement of the universe.

that he has studied the phenomena of life from the amoeba to the human heart, that he can count that he can reason and that he knows the history of human kind not simply by second hand propabanda but by first hand following and thought. This is the realm of knowledge which should be spread as a feast before students and to which they should be free to come and to use it with the knowledge of the great ideals necessary for its best use and the great powers of the woul which make for ites greatest use. How far now does Fisk University fulfill the ideal of a great institution of learning as thus set down. It not only falls far short of this ideal but it falls so far short that the criticism of the University is heard in every part of this land. I have never met a group of Fisk graduates or former students in the last ten or fifteen years that ~~has/have~~ I have not had ~~heard~~ voiced and poured into my ears a volume of complaint against this institution so bitter and so deeply felt that it was impossible to ignore it. And the first and most insistent complaint is the lack of freedom in this institution. The utter absence of anything like democratic government either among teachers or students, the way in which the law is laid down straight, absolute and unyielding and students and parents and others told frankly that if they do not like the way this institution is run they can go. The idea seems to be deep seated that Fisk University is a private corporation run for private purposes and that its studentshave no right to demand certain things. In this respect Fisk curiously differentiates itself from great institutions of learning. At Harvard recently a great Englishmman was invited to speak. The governing board of the institution decided that he ought not to address the students and he was not allowed to. The students immediately protested, they protested in their student publications, they protested through the newspapers, they carried their protest to the faculty, they carried it beyond the faculty to the governing board and they are still fighting for the right to invite any one whom they please so long as the person is decent and sincere to talk to them.

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They have in that fight the sympathy of educated people everywhere, but I wonder what would happen if the students of Fisk University made a similar protest. Or rather I don't wonder. The ring leaders would be expelled. ~~////~~ ~~so far as~~ Yet in years to come a list of the expelled students of Fisk University bids fair to become a roll of honor, of those who would not be crushed and who would not give up, who would be free. The students of Fisk have absolutely no permissable method of self expression. They are dumb and silent. The Fisk Herald of which I once had the honor to be editor and which lived until it was the oldest studnet publication in the United States has been abolished. There is today no legitimate way in which any protest on the part of the students of Fisk University can be made within or without the walls. The mere fact that they seem to want to protest is used against them and the ideal student here is the student that shuts his mouth and obeys. The ideals placed before students of Fisk University are in many cases most unfortunate. Apparently they are being taught that the one great object of this institution and of the people that go through it is to placate the bourbon south. Not only is this the spirit of much of the teaching here but it is the absolute and openly expressed spirit of that publication known as the Fisk News. There is not another institution in the United States that has dared to make its student body and alumni stand for a piece of propaganda as repugnant to their ideals and beliefs as Fisk University in the case of the Fisk News. Here we have an expensive publication, a publication whose annual deficit over any possible income must be at least ten times the deficit which was alleged against the Fisk Herald and which month after month crawls and kowtows and debases itself before the white south, pats them on the back, criticises its own and in lieu of news tells of the marching up and down through the south of a man whose business it is to say to white people nothing that they don't like to hear concerning himself, his people and his institution. There is not one

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Fisk alumnus out of one hundred who believes in one thenth of the things that he has to stand for because of the Fisk News and yet that is the kind of propaganda that is being put before our children as the ideal of living. In the fields of knowledge opened up to our students here the great and striking lack is the lack of great teachers. To attempt to translate knowledge into life without the medium of the great teacher is to attempt the impossible. Fisk has had great teachers in the past, Adams Spence, that little slovernly man with the queer voice who sat with the great master spirits of Greecian civilization and made them sit with us. Chase who made chemistry a revealing fairyland through which we rushed eagerly into life. Morgan who was embodied sacrifice. There have been, there are some successors to these great teachers of the past but on the whole it seems as though Fisk of these days was not trying to get great teachers, that it was afraid of strong independent souls, that it wanted a faculty like a student body to obey and not to direct. We have seen extraordinary things in this institution. Fisk University catering for the approval of Vanderbilt. Why in God's name. What has Vanderbilt University done for culture of civilization in the past that Fisk Univ. should prostrate itself before it. We have seen attempts to make this institution not simply a matter of rules but of mechanical rules, of rules supposed to enforce themselves without the intervention of judgment and sympathy. In a day when every great institution is getting further and further from the mechanics of marks to measure efficienty we see Fisk University insisting upon the absolute devine matter of a mark of 73 or 83½. And above all we find a peculiar tendency to consider these studnets as charity students in spite of the fact that the students of Fisk Univ are paying as large a percent of their expenses as the students throughout the United States and the world over. Whose fault is this? I tell you frankly it is the fault of the alumni of Fisk University. It is they that have allowed this thing to go on and are allowing it to go on and it is

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they who have got to stop it. Fisk University must become a place of freedom, a place where our sons and daughters can be developed as aggressive men and women and not atomical. It must become a realm of knowledge of great teachers, without disgusting and degrading propaganda. And the way to accomplish this is for the alumni to insist upon their rightful pl ce in directing affairs of this university. The Board of Trustees of Fisk University must have at least two members who are selected under appropriate rules by the great body of alumni. It isn't enough for us to have an alumni member hand picked by the Board. Members elected b y the alumni body must be appointed to the Board. It should begin with two members, it should end in the course of time with the alumni selecting all the members. It is intollerable that I for instance, should have the right to vote for the governing Board of Harvard Univ and be disfranchised at Fisk University without voice. A body of alumni that submits to that sort of things deserves no consideration. Beginning then with this small step the alumni should take their rightful place as advisors, referees, as eventual rulers of this institution. In the exceedingly difficult and delicate matter of race relations and race development in the south it is impossible that any one man or any group should rule and rule wisely without continued advice and reference to the people whose sons and daughters they are training. The body for such advice, for such consul, are the graduates of this institution, those graduates who as time goes on are more and more becoming the fathers both spiritual and physical of the students who go in these halls. I would not have you for a moment doubt of my absolute belief in the future of this institution and at the same time I cannot say too strongly that that future is wrpat up in the alumni, that without them it never can be a great university. That with them there are no limits to the greatness and efficienty to which the may attain.

419-32-53

BUSINESS AS PUBLIC SERVICE

1927

An address at Indianapolis made in conferring the 13th Spingarn medal on Anthony Overton.

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.

The Spingarn Medal has been given to five artists, four servants of the public good and three scientists. In 1927 it is being given to a business man.

There may be those who will think that this is a turning away from the high ideal of public service which we have had in the past. We have rewarded those who seek Beauty; those who try to know Truth; and those who seek to make the Truth beautiful. When now we give this medal to one who is a business man are we not giving it to a person who has already had his reward? The reward of business is profit. Beyond that, is anything else due?

On the other hand, there may be persons who will say: "At last this 'highbrow' organization is getting down to 'brass tacks'. It is realizing that a college education is not the end-all and be-all of existence. That practical business men are furnishing the funds with which organizations like this must live, and that they deserve recognition."

Without pausing to argue truth or falsity of these positions, we may immediately say that neither of these attitudes are quite true, but they both indicate singularly enough a widely prevalent point of view. If six young persons start out upon their career, what is the object which they seek? Here is a singer. He seeks, of course, to sing songs well; or a minister: he seeks to advance religious ideals; a teacher imparts truth and searches for it. A physician trys to heal and preserve health. A lawyer contends for law and justice. All this is clear for five of our boys; but when it comes, for instance, to the grocer, we all say frankly the grocer seeks profit. We do not visualize, indeed many of us do not clearly know of any service or ideal aim which the grocer

follows, except that of personal profit. Of none of the other five employments mentioned do we for a moment make so narrow an object. The singer may receive high fees, but he protests that Music is his life work. There may be physicians who will not spoil their night's rest for a call that involves no cash return; but they do not advertise this fact and continually we see physicians giving time and talent because they are "interested". If a minister is called to a church that offers a higher salary he hastens to deny that the salary in itself was the main reason of his decision. No lawyer openly advertises for the highest paying client or openly neglects the cause of a poor unfortunate litigant.

Only the grocer of this group says frankly that he is trying to make money and that the more money he makes out of the grocery business the more successful he is. If he leaves the grocery store for the dry goods business he has is regarded as having given full explanation when he says that he can "make more" in drygoods.

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Now it is precisely in this difference of attitude and opinion as to the aims of business and the aims of art and science that indicates the trouble-spot of the modern economic world lies. For it is not true that the business man, that industrial organization renders no public service. It is only true that public opinion ignores the high value of the real service of business men and judges them by a purely artificial and dangerous standard--that is, the private income which their public service enables them to secure. This false standard is all the more dangerous because of the extraordinary opportunities of modern business. Invention, technical efficiency and discovery makes industry and business an enthralling field. A very large portion of the keenest minds, best ability, and strongest characters go into business and industry, and yet from these men and from their careers we strip or we seek to strip most of those ideals and restraints which lie around all other human services. There is no doubt of the service which the business man, the industrial

leader, give to the world. They have transformed modern civilization and the only thing that makes the culture of today in any way greater than the culture of other days; the only respect in which we surpass Rome, Egypt, Babylon, is the extraordinary service of modern business in transforming raw materials, transporting goods to consumers, applying power, adopting the forces of nature and supplying regularly the multitudinous physical wants of modern men. We are right to compare this service with the service of the artist, the scientists and the worker for social uplift.

In the case of these other workers, however, the world deems their work well-rewarded if it is well done and if they have enough to sustain life in such a way that the work shall be well done. On the other hand, with the Business man, we have persuaded ourselves that the personal income which he is able to make from business transactions is his reward and we make no real attempt to proportion that reward according to the service which he renders his town, his country or mankind. Indeed if he can legally secure the income, we protect him in its enjoyment, even if he got it by gambling, robbery and murder or other actual disservice to civilization.

36-1-70

This more or less unconscious belief of the majority of thining men has put tremendous power into the hands of business men. For income is power—power over goods, over the services of men, over the size of the wages, the homes of their work and the direction and results of their work. Great income is great power. The ruling monarchs if any are are the men who control great income. Once birth and politics gave this control. Today business is the controlling power. The results are obvious. Business men rule everywhere. We find them ruling in religion: it is the business man who says today what shall be taught and believed in churches. He rules in Arts and says what may and may not be designed and painted and put in monuments. It is the leaders of industry who determine what shall be regarded as truth in the history and economics and social

studies which are taught in our schools and colleges. We tried to establish democratic government in England, France, the United States and elsewhere, and we have over-limited fields of endeavor but we all know that the scope of democratic control is very small and that in the wider sphere of work and wages, income, rent, taxes, housing, streets, city and country life, health, amusements and recreation--organized industry and not democracy which rules.

So tremendous is this power of organized industry today that it transforms our ideals of right and wrong, of crime and morality. There is practically nothing that cannot be done and be called good if it returns large enough profit to the industrially doers. The result of this is a singular sense of contradiction, futility, often despair and certain unhappiness in all modern culture. Our world is wider, richer, more powerful, more spectacular than the worlds of the past, but it is illogical and unhappy, despite 5,000 years of modern conscious developments.

The reason for much of this muddle is plainly because the energy of the leading men of the world is diverted from seeking directly to serve mankind toward an endeavor to increase their incomes and consequent tremendous social power to a degree which far surpasses their knowledge or ability to use it. It is the old story of monarchs mad and mastered with power.

Many men of many nations have tried to lay bare this sore spot of modern culture in an endeavor to heal it; but of all the nations today only Russia has made a determined and frontal attack upon the profit idea. This attack has been obscured and hindered by a thousand obstacles. The Bolshevik experiment may not succeed, but even if it does not succeed it is at least a facing of a plain persistent and threatening evil which all honest minds see. Russia says to the world that the object of business and industry, just like the object of art and science, is the service of

the mass of mankind; and that there is no more room for private profit in the work of an engineer or a merchant than there is in the work of a teacher or a singer. In all cases and for all human effort the chief reward and the only real reward is the service rendered. In order that this service may be of the highest value to all men, the servant surely must be able to live in health, security and reasonable comfort and for this he needs a steady and assured income. He does not need great wealth; he certainly does not need an income which will tempt him to foolishly luxurious waste at the cost of poverty, ignorance and crime for others; and above all he does not need an income which will give him irresponsable power beyond his vision or grasp. He does need food and clothes and shelter and some experience of the real beauty of living. These things need never be dear or unattainable for the average man with ordinary exertion.

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Any attempt to realize such an ideal whether in Russia, France or America is naturally going to be fought. It is going to be fought by those people who wish to monopolize goods and the services of men for themselves regardless of the cost to others or of the public good. It is going to be fought by those otherwise unselfish persons who firmly believe that our present system of high income reward for ability is the only one suited to present human nature and that its surrender means wider distress and unhappiness than we see.

For this reason we are not only unwilling to contemplate radical economic change in our own land, but we are unwilling for Russia even to try to experiment in hers. We reel forward to increasing monopoly and concentrated wealth which continues to pile up for us new and staggering problems.

Conceive for a moment this our own land. We are rich in oil and iron, coal and water power, land and raw material. Yet the rights to and

ownership of these gifts of God have so distributed as private property among the Captains of American industry that the cost of gasoline, steel, heat, electricity, cotton, wool, lumber and food are cost from twice to ten times as much to the average consumer as they would cost under a more logical and far-sighted system.

On the other hand, the income of those who have monopolized land, oil, coal and iron and of those who are monopolizing waterpower for the production of electricity reaches dimensions almost inconceivable. The power of these modern industrial Emperors surpasses anything that the ancient world dreamed of.

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How to extricate ourselves from this situation and yet preserve to men the best and indispensable services of business and industry is the great problem of forward-looking modern men. It is not reasonable to insist that immoderate private income is the inevitable accompaniment of an incentive to successful industry. It is not logical to admit that human beings who work for the work's sake when the object is Beauty and Truth can not be induced to work for the work's sake when the object is food and clothes.

Turning now to the American Negro we find that in his business and industrial organization the colored man, while subject to all the disadvantage of a group with small incomes in a land which worships wealth and gives it all power, nevertheless, this very absence of large incomes in his business group emphasizes social service as the object of his business and industrial life. First of all, he his looked upon by his public conceived in your own mind as a benefactor. He goes into business to help his race. He appeals to his people for support on the ground that his grocery store is a public enterprise for their good. Not having a chance to enter the inner portals of income monopoly his view of business profits is less distorted and wrong; his job is still largely a place of personal service rather than

of impersonal profit-making. He has no chain-stores whose success if a matter of stern figures; he is not a part of that mass production which is compelled by its very size to make people buy its goods either by propagand on an unanswerable scale or by actual physical compulsion. The Negro business man has but small place in the credit market, but, consequantly, his fifty little banks, while insignificant in Wall Street, are really places where the artisans borrow to pay for their tools or householders to buy their homes. In other words, the colored business man is nearer the service ideal, and even when his business grows to considerable size that ideal still stays in the forefront, because of public opinion and previous emphasis .

It is for this reason that we have honored Anthony Overton. We do not know and do not care what his personal income is. He appears well-clothed and well-fed, and this we are glad to see for there is not essential virtue in rags or starvation. We acclaim Anthony Overton as a public servant, who has served 12 million people well. He is a manufacturer. That is, he has used his technical knowledge in transforming certain raw materials into marketable goods, for organizing among colored men and women a knowledge, a factory where for thirty years this kind of work, which is rather rare among colored people, has been successfully carried on. His service here has been not simply the toilet articles manufactured but the employment of colored in jobs above menial service and under healthy and moral conditions. Colored boys and girls, men and women are panting for decent respectable work and this chance is worth to them almost more than bread and butter. It is this aspect of Mr. Overton's work, rather than the personal profit which he has made from it, which has caught not only the attention of the colored world but has seemed to be the main thing in his own ideals.

36-1-74

Mr. Overton, as founder of the first colored National Bank in the United States, has become a dealer in credit for colored folk and guardian of their savings. He could probably have made more profit if he had organized his bank as a state bank or as a private bank. He took considerable risk in organizing his bank under the severe laws of the National Government. He will have to wait sometime for a clientele of Negro merchants whose discount business will support a commercial bank. Nevertheless, his bank in this guise if successful is safer for colored folk in the long run and will perform a greater public service. But he went further than this. Insurance is a species of gambling. It is betting on the length of human life, and carefully distributing the losses. Science comes in to limit the element of chance as far as possible but insurance organizations do not always follow science. Large numbers of industrial insurance societies, as conducted today in the United States, are little better than legal gambling organization, pitting the vigilance of the agent against the fraud and malingering of the insured.

36-1-75

The laws of many states are very lax on the subject. But there are certain states, and notably the state of New York, where the laws surrounding insurance organizations, while not perfect, are yet so carefully drawn that the business of insurance is compelled to become under a fairly scientific and honest method of distributing losses caused by death and sickness. Because of these strict laws very few insurance organizations have been able or willing to qualify under the Insurance Department of New York and not a single Negro insurance organization had thus qualified until the Victory Life Insurance Company, under Anthony Overton, was admitted last year. Other colored organizations are preparing to follow shortly but this initial step is worthy of attention and reward. I have no doubt that there are other colored insurance organizations that are making

more money than the Victory Life and able to distribute larger profit, but the service which the Victory Life has done to colored America by submitting to this raising of the standard of its operations is a great and true one. And it is for this service that the Spingarn Medal for the year 1926 goes to the President of the Victory Life Insurance Company.

36-1-76

For this service; and for more than this: for the keeping and raising of an ideal of industrial organi zation and business among American Negroes; for making them realize that what they look upon as a certain business handicap today; their exclusion for reasons of racial prejudice from "Big" business; from mass production and from Wall Street, may be after all to their great and singular advantage. It may preserve in them the ideal of business as a public service; of the grocer, the merchant, the manufacturer, the Captain of Industry, as a public servant whose success is measured, not by his private profit but by the prosperity and happiness of his race. If this can be made true today among twelve million Americans today, without revolution, without war and bloodshed, without hate and discrimination, it may be made true tomorrow among a hundred million of their white fellow citizens and among two million beings living on earth today.

(Spingarn Medal Address) [1927]

[1926]

The Spingarn Medal has been given to five artists, four servants of the public good and three scientists. Tonight it is being given to a businessman and there may be those who are thinking if this is not a turning away from the high ideal of public service which we have had in the past. We have rewarded those who seek beauty; those who try to know truth; and those who seek to make the truth beautiful. When now we give this medal to one who is a business-man are we not giving it to a businessman who has had his reward. The reward of business is profit. Beyond that, is anything else due?

On the other hand, there may be persons who will say at least this highbrow organization is getting down to brass tacks. It is realizing that a college education is not the end-all and be-all of existence. That practical businessmen are furnishing the funds with which organizations like this must live, and that they deserve recognition. Neither of these attitudes are quite true, but they do indicate singularly enough a widely prealent point of view. If six young persons start out upon their career, what is the object which they seek? Here is a singer. He seeks, of course, to sing songs well, Or a minister; hE seeks spiritual uplift. A teacher searches for truth. A physician trys to heal. A lawyer contends for justice. But when it comes, for instance, to the grocer, we say frankly the grocer seeks profit. We do not visualize , indeed many of us do not know of any service or ideal aim which the grocer follows except that of personal profit. Of none of the other five employment mentioned did we for a moment make so narrow an object. The singer may receive hugh fees, but he protests that music is his life work. There may be physicians who will not spoil their night's rest for a call that involves no cash return, but they do not advertise this fact. If a minister is called to a

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church that offers a higher salary he denies that the salary in itself has anything to do with his decision. No lawyer openly advertises for the highest paying client, although in truth he does not ignore large fees. Only the grocer says frankly that he is trying to make money and that the more money he makes out of the grocery business the more successful he is. If he leaves the grocery for the drygoods business he has given full explanation when he says that he can make more in drygoods.

Now it's precisely in this difference of attitude and opinion that the trouble-spot of the modern economic world lies. This is a world ruled today by the profit-makers. A very large portion of the keenest minds, best ability, and strongest characters go into business and industry, and yet from these men and from their careers we strip or we seek to strip most of those ideals and restraints which lie around all other human services. There is no doubt of the service which the businessmen, the industrial leader, give to the world. They have transformed modern civilization and the only thing that makes the culture of today in any way greater than the culture of other days; of Rome, of Egypt, of Babylon, is the extraordinary service of modern business in transforming raw materials and transporting it to consumers, in applying power, adopting the forces of nature and supplying the multitudinous wants of modern men. This service compares with, although it does not excell, the service of the artist, the scientist, and the worker for social uplift. But in the case of these other workers the world deems their work well rewarded if it is well done and if they have enough to sustain life in a simple and reasonable way. On the other hand, with the business men, we have persuaded ourselves that the personal profit which they are able to make from business transactions is their reward and that they have a right to this reward whether their

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actual service to mankind is great or small, and whether the reward is portioned to the importance and value of their service. This more or less unconscious belief of the majority of thinking men has put tremendous power into the hands of the profiteers, so that today we find them ruling in religion. It is the business men who say what shall be taught and believed in churches. They rule in arts. It is the leaders of industry who determine what shall be regarded as truth in the history and economics of social studies which are taught in our schools and colleges. We pretend to have established democratic government in England, France, United States and elsewhere, and yet we all know that the scope of democratic control is very small and that in the wider sphere of work and wages, income, rent, taxes, housing, streets, city and country life and the -- -- in these matters it is business and not democracy which rules. So tremendous is this power of organized industry today that it transforms our ideals of right and wrong, of crime and morality. There is practically nothing that cannot be done and be called good if it returns large enough profit to the organized doer. England promises the natives of South Africa that their land shall be taken from them. But when it becomes profitable for the Union of South African to take native lands the land is taken. Europe promises to regard the independence of Egypt, but when it is profitable to make Egypt a subject country Egypt's independence goes. Murder on every scale from p---- organizations in South Africa to world wars are carried on to promote or protect the profits of great industrial organizations.

34-2-22

The result of all this is a singular amount of unhappiness in a world which logically has been trying for at least five thousand years if not much longer to be happy. Our realization of

beauty; of increased health; and our wide code of the truth and our

organizations for serving the physical wants of men. All these things leave the mass of unhappiness and distress. And the reason of this is plainly because the energy of the leading men of the world are so far diverted from seeking to save mankind to an endeavor to increase their personal and consequent tremendous social power which arises from them. Many men in many nations have tried to attack this sore spot in an endeavor to heal it, but of all the nations today only Russia has made a determined and fatal attack upon the profit idea. This attack may not succeed, but even if it does not succeed it is is at least a f---- facing of the trouble. Russia says to the world that the object of business and industry, just like the object of art and science, is the service of the mass of mankind and that there is no more room for private profit in the work of an engineer or a merchant than there is in the work of a teacher or a singer. In all cases and for all human effort the chief reward and the only real reward is the service rendered. In order that this service may be of the highest value to all men the servant must be able to live in health, security and reasonable comfort and for this he needs a steady and assured income. He does not need great wealth; he does not need an income which will tempt him to waste; he does not need an income which will give him irresponsive power. He does need food and clothes and shelter and some experience of the beauty of living. Any attempt to realize such an ideal is naturally going to be faught. It is going to be faught by those people who wish to monopolize the services of man for themselves or for their friends, or for those whom the designate, rather than to have those services distributed according to the public will. Monopoly therefore, is the central idea of modern profiteering. We see its results all about us. Here is a country rich with oil and iron, coal and waterpower, yet these

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things have been and are being more dealt with and manipulated than the price of gasoline and steel, or heat and electricity, and is cast at high and sometimes almost prohibited prices to the mass of men, while on the other hand, the fortunes of those who have monopolized oil, coal and iron and of those who are monopolizing waterpower for the production of electricity reaches dimensions almost inconceivable. Back of these modern industrial Emperors surpasses anything that the ancient world dreamed of. How to extradicate ourselves from this situation is the great problem of forward-looking modern men. It is not reasonable to say that swollen private profit is the inevitable accompaniment of successful industry. It is not logical to admit that human beings who work for work sake when the object is beauty and truth can not be induced to work for work sake when the object is food and clothes.

Turning now to the American Negro we find that the colored business man has escaped, or rather not yet inherited the worse results of modern business. First of all, he is looked upon by the public ---- conceived in your own mind as a benefactor. He goes into business to help his race. He appeals to his people for support on the ground that his grocery store is a public enterprize for their good. Not having a chance to enter the inner portals of monopoly his view of business profits is less distorted and wrong; his job is still largely a place of personal service rather than the impersonal profit-making of the chain store. He is not a part of that mass production which is compelled to make people buy, either by propaganda on an unanswerable scale or actual physical compulsion. The Negro businessman has but small place in the credit market and consequently his fifty little banks, while insignificant in Wall Street, are really places where the artisians borrows to pay for his tools or the householder borrows to buy his home. In other words, the colored businessman is nearer the service ideal, and even when his business grows to considerable size that ideal still stays in the forefront.

Now it is for this reason that we are honoring Anthony Overton tonight. He is a manufacturer. That is, he has used his knowledge of technique in transforming ----- raw materials into marketable goods, to teach among colored men and women a knowledge of this kind of work which is rather rare among colored people. He has thus become an employer of colored labor and has given persons who otherwise would have been compelled to work in distasteful menial service or in unhealthy and unmoral jobs, a chance to decent and cleanly and self-respecting work. And it is this aspect of his ----- work, rather than the percentage which he has made from it, which has caught not only the attention of the colored world but has been the main thing in his own ideals. Mr. Anthony, as founder of the first colored National Bank in the United States has become a dealer in credit for colored folk. He could probably have made more profit if he had organized his bank as a state bank or as a private bank. He took considerable risk in organizing his bank under the severe laws of the National Government. He will have to wait sometime for a clientele of Negro merchants whose discount probably will support a commercial bank. Nevertheless, his bank in this guise is safer for colored folk and performs a greater public service. But he went further than this. Insurance is a species of gambling. It is betting on the length of human life, and carefully distributing the losses. Science comes in to take the element of chance away as far as possible but insurance organizations do not always follow science. Large numbers of industrial insurance societies as conducted today in the United States are little better than gambling organizations. The laws of many states are very lax on the subject. But there are certain states and notably the state of New York where the laws surrounding insurance organizations, while not perfect, are yet so carefully drawn that the business of insurance becomes under

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them much less a gambling operation and much more a scientific method of distributing losses. Because of these strick laws very few insurance organizations have been able to qualify under the Insurance Department of New York and not a single Negro insurance organization has thusq qualified until the Victory Life Insurance Company, under Anthony Overton, was admitted last year. I have no doubt that there are other colored insurance organizations that are making more money than the Victory Life and able to distribute larger profit, but the service which the Victory Life has dome to colored America by submitting to this raising of the standard of its operations is a great one. And it is for this service that the Spingarn Medal for 1926 goes to the President of the Victory Life Insurance Company.

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For this service, and for more than this, for the raising of an ideal of industrial organization and business among Negroes, for making them realize that what they look upon as a handicape today; their exclusion from bank business; from mass production and from Wall Street, may be after all to their great and singular advantage. It may preserve in them the ideal of business as a public service; of the grocer, the merchant, the manufacturer, the Captain of Industry, as a public servant whose success is measured, not by his private power record, but by the prosperity and happiness of his race. If this can be made throughmong twelve million Americans today, without resolution, without war and bloodshed, without history and recrimination, it may be made true among a hundred million of their fellow citizens and among a thousand million human beings living on earth today.

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~~losing over that campaign? After all, what do you really care about it? We have talked about it. We have said various things about who might be the candidates and who might not.~~ But who, coming from another planet and looking upon this world and seeing this greatest experiment in democracy, would for a moment think that the people of the United States were performing the greatest task of their political career? Now, if you say, "We are not interested in political questions, in the kind of thing which is going to be settled in these next few days," surely that would not be so. But you discount the whole thing. You know that after all it is a piece of political claptrap.

Do you know that throughout the Middle West and the South there has come a crisis in the ownership of the land, and in the way agriculture is being conducted; that we are on the way toward changing the whole thing which we thought of as the ideal of America, where each family had its piece of land? We are coming to the place where we are establishing a landless peasantry, and unless something is done to change the trend of things, we are going to have a new economic crisis in the very country where free land was once the greatest thing that distinguished it from other lands.

Not only that - but we have questions like that of liquor. But it is not the real question we are debating. We are laughing at the thing. We are not thinking of the problem of regulating one of those great appetites which the world has known almost from the beginning.

Or if we talk of the regulation of wealth: There was a time when, if it had been said this country was ruled by organized wealth

you would have had on the one hand the proselytes of those who would so believe and on the other hand a denial from all sources that any such thing could happen. Today we hear it and know it and do nothing about it, and we do not suppose that the political campaign is going to do anything.

We are on the verge of the greatest industrial crisis the world has ever seen. What are we doing? Nothing.

We have seen the labor movement, a labor movement to which you are heirs; which has shortened the hours of labor; which has brought capital and labor together in a great fist-fight. What is the condition? There never has been a time in the history of the United States when the labor movement was in a more precarious condition, when the organized forces of the labor movement counted for less; and yet do we expect this political campaign is going to have anything to do with it? We do not.

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We have the great question as to how far this country is going to interfere with other countries which are trying to (?)

Here are all these questions in front of us, and yet we know perfectly well that the presidential campaign before us is not the campaign which is to settle these questions. In the first place, not one of you know what the attitude of the leading candidates who are now going to be put before you is toward any one of these questions. You do not know and do not care. You have not asked them. They have kept silence and you have let them keep silence because in your heart of hearts you know perfectly well there is

something wrong with all democracy in the United States; and if you do not know that that is true, you are exceptions, because the people of the United States who think that is true have proven it. They have proven it by this very easy test:

If you take the election of 1920 - and I take this because it is the only one in twenty years when we knew the exact number of people who voted. If you count the number of people twenty-one years of age and over and compare that with the number of people who voted, there are two states in the United States where over ninety per cent of the people who could vote did not vote. In Australia ninety per cent of the voters voted and they are talking about asking the other ten per cent what is the matter. In the United States there are two states where over ninety per cent did not go to the polls. There are four other states where eighty to ninety per cent did not go to the polls. There are twelve states - and they include California - where a majority of the voters did not go to the polls. Why?

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If we look at the number of people who voted in the United States in 1920 and in 1924 - and the same thing will happen in 1928 - not more than one in three of those who had the right to vote did vote. Why? They say, "What is the use of voting? Why should you throw away your time to go to the polls?" And yet, on the other hand, here is the greatest experiment in democratic control that the world has ever essayed.

And yet the United States is governed. You have your police, your organization of government. Any stranger coming from Mars would

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say,"This is a country mostly of law and order. If it is governed and not democratically, how is it governed?" It is singular the amount of muddle that exists on that one single question. You say that the United States is a democracy. You know it is not. When the United States makes a failure in democracy, immediately you put it down to democracy. You should on the contrary put it down to the credit of those who are ruling the United States. You should, of all things, think clearly in this matter of governmrnt.

It may be that in the world we have come to the time when we are going to give up the democratic experiment, when we are going to say and say frankly that we are not going to let the masses of the people have a voice in their own government; that we are going to put the control of the country into the hands of those people who extend credit to other people; and those people are men of ability, men of large experience in governing because they are governing most of the world. The only point is that if we are going to do that, let us, after clearly thinking it out, put it at the door of the bankers who are governing the world and not call it a government of democracy.

But here in the United States we know that the reason some of these people did not go to the polls was because they were kept from going to the polls. And yet, if we want to discuss that question, immediately people say you had better not discuss that. I wrote to five of the greatest editors of the United States three months ago and laid before them some of the facts I am laying before you. I said, "On the eve of the campaign is it not time to discuss certain fundamental

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questions of disfranchisement and democracy?" One editor wrote back, "It is a tremendous question, a question which some time must be taken up; but we cannot take it up now." There were too many questions which were not tremendous which prevented him. There is the question of disfranchisement in the South and there is the Gentlemen's Agreement that that question is not to be taken up, or if it is taken up it is waived away in that masterly manner used by Senator Swanson of Virginia.

Now, when any great mass of people are faced by millions of ignorant and shiftless voters they have got to protect themselves. The question as to how they are going to protect themselves is a matter for debate. Charles Sumner suggested a way, but the United States would not accept that way. The South suffered. Whether it suffered more from war or from ignorant voters I have not the time to say; but sufferings from war are a great deal greater than any which come from ignorance.

It is fifty years since we enfranchised the Negro; a generation since the South disfranchised him. The question is, how far has the South disfranchised the ignorant and the shiftless. I am not going to take all the Southern States but refer to one or two. There is the State of Louisiana. Louisiana has among its citizens, those who can read and write and are twenty-one years of age, 400,000 white people and 130,000 colored people - those who can read and write and are ~~xxxx~~ twenty-one years of age. Moreover, if we take the colored population of Louisiana, we find that they are not shiftless. Of those ten years of age and over, eighty

per cent are in gainful occupations. This does not include the women. It does not include the children who are in school. That means, of course, that practically all the Negroes of Louisiana are at work. There are in that population 164,000 farmers, 53,000 people in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 22,000 in transportation, nearly 7,000 merchants, 2,000 in the public service, 33,000 in the professions. They own 1,000 farms and in addition to that 30,000 homes. I do not know, and no one knows, the exact extent of their ownership of property but it must be nearly twenty-five millions. Out of those people there are 130,000 who can read and write, and how many voted? 980. That is the way in the State of Louisiana they have disfranchised the shiftless and the ignorant.

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I will take one part of Alabama in which you ought to be interested -Macon County, where Tuskegee is. They said, if you will treat us fairly, we will give up politics. In Macon County, Alabama, they took that proposition at its face value. There are in Macon County today 4,927 Negroes who can read and write, who are twenty-one years of age and over, and out of that 4,927, twenty-two can vote.

There are in Mississippi 290,000 Negroes who can read and write and who are twenty-one years of age and over, and of these, 850 are allowed the vote. Most of the white people of the United States say when you speak of these things, "That is too bad. We sympathize with you." We hasten to accept that sympathy, but we also hasten to say that this speech tonight is not about the way in which colored people suffer from disfranchisement but the way in which white people suffer. For instance, suppose we take the

South, the whole of it excepting Missouri. In the former slave states there has been, between 1870 and 1920, an increase of population amounting to two hundred per cent. There has been an increase in the voting amounting to 131 per cent. Now, when you remember the Nineteenth Amendment you will realize that the number of voters ought to have increased 400 per cent. They increased 131 per cent. Why did the number of voters lag behind. The cause is Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina. I might include some other states but take simply those five. In those states you have, between 1870 and 1920, a population increase from 4,500,000 to 10,500,000 and in those states the number of voters have decreased from 660,000 to 640,000, in spite of the Nineteenth Amendment. In other words, if you take away from the votes cast in those states those cast by Negroes you have this situation:

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There were 5,150,000 persons twenty-one years of age and over. Out of those, 640,000 voted. There was disfranchisement, and it could not be all Negroes because they were not all Negroes. In other words, you have disfranchised in those states 2,200,000 black men and also 2,300,000 white men. It has been said that if you put a man into the gutter and there is any manhood in him, it is going to take at least one man to keep him down there, and that is what has happened in the South, only a hundred thousand more.

If I say white people are disfranchised in the South, you will be skeptical about it. Therefore, I am not going to take my own testimony or the testimony of any colored man. Read what Mr. Anderson said at the University of Virginia:

(Insert)

We see, then, that the disfranchisement of Negroes has something to do with the white population of the South being disfranchised, too. But there are people who are not altogether cast down to the depths of sorrow if something happens to the white South. They say, "After all, they got about what they deserved." But there again the thing that has happened has not confined itself to the white South. It is coming up to visit the West and the North and the East, and it is visiting these parts of the country with a vengeance.

The Thirteenth Amendment is sometimes forgotten. Of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments I have been speaking. Of the Eighteenth Amendment it is scarcely necessary for me to speak. But have you forgotten there is a Nineteenth Amendment, and do you remember that the women of the South are practically just as much disfranchised as before the Amendment was passed and don't dare open their mouths lest the colored women become enfranchised. It is a question of the nullification of the Nineteenth Amendment, too; and it does not stop there. Because you can imagine in a democracy democratic principles being overthrown and the power being put into the hands of a few men; but that has not happened in the United States. What you have in the United States is that the power still, supposedly, rests with the masses of the people, but the right to exercise it has been taken by a few men. There was a time when the Negroes of the South counted as only three-fifths. Today they count as full men, but the power of these disfranchised Negroes is being exercised by the white politicians; also the power of those

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2,300,000 white people. The power of all those 5,000,000 people is being voted into the hands of a few men. What is the result? It is simply astonishing; and it is no credit to the intelligence, or so-called intelligence of all the people of America that they apparently think nothing about it.

In Mississippi, it takes 10,000 voters to elect a Congressman; in California, it takes 86,000 voters to elect a Congressman. Is that because the people of Mississippi have eight times the brains and ability and sense of the people of California? I will leave that for Los Angeles to answer. In Virginia it takes 23,000 people to elect a Congressman, but in Maine it takes 50,000. In Oklahoma it takes 60,000. In Washington it takes 70,000. In Illinois it takes 77,000. In West Virginia it takes 83,000. In Indiana it takes 97,000.

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That is the reason people lose faith in democracy. They say what is the use of going to the polls and trying to settle anything when one man throws ten votes in your face and you are waddling along with one.

Suppose a million voters started out to the polls, for instance, in the Pacific States. If one million voters cast their votes, they elect twelve Congressmen. If a million voters in the Middle West cast their votes they elect thirteen Congressmen. If a million voters in New England cast their votes they elect sixteen Congressmen. But if a million voters put on their long coats and high hats and walk to the polls in the South they elect forty-five Congressmen. Here you have the way in which democracy has been

turned all out of shape by disfranchisement in the South.

But it goes farther. You in California and the people in the Middle West have the childish feeling that if you do not like the old party you can vote for a third party. Well, you can if you want to throw your vote away. There is no chance for a third party to succeed. You saw it all when the Republican Party was born. That was before the Negro was enfranchised and when he counted as only three-fifths of a man.

There are 331 electoral votes. Of those there are 124 which are sewed up and cast solid. You have no appeal to those votes. You have no political campaign to change those votes. They cannot be changed because the disfranchised people who are back of those votes have no voice even with regard to those votes. They are cast by the politicians of the South. Now, without those 124 votes what can you do? Suppose we assume that in the United States twelve electoral votes are cast. Then, what the solid South means is that of those twelve electoral votes there are three whose casting is predestined. No appeal can be made to them. You may think that after all that makes very little difference. You appeal to the other nine votes and by a political revolution you get the people in the North and West to vote for you. What is the result? It takes the four votes plus the three votes to make seven, and you are beaten seven to five. And if the third party people have not counted up that very insimple piece of arithmetic they are just in for losing sleep and money, because so long as disfranchisement exists in the South you can do nothing.

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You may say, "Why not appeal to the South?" No man can be nominated by the Democratic Party without those three votes. No

forward-looking program can come. What is the use of appealing to the solid South with regard to disfranchisement? That is the very thing that holds the Negro in his place. You must keep the Negro in his place.

What is the use of talking about peace in the world when as a matter of fact the world has got to guard itself in order to keep all the darker nations where they belong? What is the use of trying for the overthrow of imperialism while you are doing in Haiti and Nicarauga the same thing you are doing in Mississippi and Georgia? When it comes to national peace and interracial understanding, you cannot have it, for if you do you will oveethrow the solid South.

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This leaves you and me as representing the colored people and those white people who are willing to work with us, as the only group in the United States that proposes to stand up for real democracy, for a return to the thing that people had thoughts of in the days gone by. Nay, more than that. Throughout the world we have got to face the fact that it is the colored peoples in the world that are fighting for democracy today, and it is the white people that are standing for reaction and oligarchy and against those colored peoples, who are saying every single word that they used to say to the fathers and grandfathers of the colored people in the United States, England and France - that they want things they cannot handle.

Nevertheless, the greatest fact in the world is that the colored world is fighting for democracy.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE NEGRO.

W. E. B. Du Bois

The first impulse of a Socialist is to express surprise that the Socialist Party in America has so little support from American Negroes. They attribute this to the stupidity and backwardness of an undeveloped people who are not acquainted with the modern labor movement. This, however, is snap judgment. It would be well for those who wish for the widest success of the labor movement in the United States and for the advance of the movement toward the socialization of wealth and income to consider very carefully the historical relations of the labor movement in the United States and the American Negro.

The labor movement was imported into the United States by immigrant laborers, and these laborers from the earliest times found the Negro slave and freedmen as a competitor and tool in the hands of the capitalist. Instead, however, of taking the part of the Negro and helping him toward physical and economic freedom, the American labor movement from the beginning has tried to achieve freedom at the expense of the Negro. The Civil War was the attempt of white laborers in the United States to get Western land and higher wages by confining Negroes to slavery and the South. This meant that the Negro before and after emancipation in self-defense was propelled toward the employing class and the employing class was quick to take advantage of this. The white employers, North and South, literally gave the Negroes work when white men refused to work with him; when he "scabbed" for bread and butter the employers defended him against mob violence of white laborers; they gave him educational institutions, when white labor would have

left him in ignorance; and even when the full-fledged Socialist movement came, the Socialists were afraid to make a direct appeal to the Negro vote because such an appeal would have militated against their chances of attracting white labor, North and South.

So long, therefore, as the logic of the Socialist appeal was simply justice to black workers, it played a comparatively small part. Everybody is in favor of justice so long as it costs them no effort. But today matters are changing. Today the denial of economic justice to Negroes by white laborers is beginning to make justice to white labor impossible. Not only is the Negro vote growing, but any successful appeal to the labor vote, North or South, must be based upon the breaking down of the artificial power which the white employing South has gained by disfranchising of white and black laborers. The effect of this disfranchisement in the United States upon the labor vote is exactly the same as the similar system in the German Reichstag before the war, and in England before the Reform Bills. So long as states like South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi can be absolutely manipulated by the political power of reactionary capitalists and big landholders, just so long the chance of any Third Party, labor or Socialist, is practically nill. This has been manifested in the last three elections; and the appeal for justice which the black laborer is making today is not simply an appeal for charity; it is an appeal to white workingmen to stop cutting off their own noses to spite their faces.

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The sooner the Socialist Party braves the artificially encouraged race prejudice of white laborers in the South and comes out in speech and platform for Democracy despite color, and for economic justice despite race prejudice, the sooner will the Socialist Party begin to grow on solid foundations. This can only be done against the suggestion

of a great many prominent Socialists. One has only to search the utterances of the platforms of the Socialist Party concerning the Negro laborer to find how little has been said concerning the disfranchisement of half the laboring class in the South which carries with it the practical disfranchisement of the other half. The Socialist platform of 1928 had a clear statement against disfranchisement but it was not developed and made as logical and prominent as it deserved.

The Negro today is growing in intelligence. His political power is growing. He is going to use it in no sentimental way. If American socialism cannot stand for the American Negro, the American Negro will not stand for American socialism. On the other hand, if frankly and wholeheartedly the Socialist Party stands for the rights of men in America despite race and color, and if the Negroes in larger and larger number recognize that their salvation not only in the United States, but the West Indies and Africa is through public ownership of capital and the socialization of income, they will gradually see in the Socialist Party of America their next political step.

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(1929)

HAITI

Discussion at the Foreign Policy Association, December 21, 1929.

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Editor of THE CRISIS.

When Columbus discovered the island of San Domingo, there were over a million Indians there. It is said by some authorities that only 153 of them were left in 1545. This began the orgy of robbery, slavery and oppression which has followed the history of this beautiful but unhappy island. Buccaneers, slave raiders, and organized industry based on slavery, followed. It is probable that at least two million black slaves were tossed into this island during the 17th and 18th Centuries. Yet, only a million were left in 1791.

The island is nearly the size of Ireland, or a little smaller than the state of Maine. It became a harbor of freebooters, and then England, Spain and France fought for it. Finally, by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, the western part of the island became French. This is the part known as Haiti. At its present extent, it has about ten thousand square miles, being a little larger than New Hampshire and a little smaller than the Netherlands.

Here, an astonishing drama of human history has been played. At the end of the 18th Century, there were three classes of people in Haiti: Forty thousand whites, with much unacknowledged Negro blood, five hundred thousand blacks, and twenty-eight thousand mixed bloods. About 17,000 of these people of mixed blood were nominally free and because of the inter-marriage of whites and blacks, had, in some cases, inherited property and received a liberal education in France. They owned in 1791, one-third of the land and one-fourth of the slaves. Among the five hundred thousand slaves was one element which must not be forgotten: They were the slaves, who had revolted and maintained

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themselves in the mountains. They were known, here, as in Jamaica as Maroons. These Maroons maintained their freedom and their African customs and they spoke a language which was African and French and known as Creole.

When the French Revolution came in 1789, both the white masters and the colored freedmen, sought to be represented. The white masters sought home rule; the colored freedmen sought enfranchisement and the right to share home rule with the whites. The result was a Civil War between the whites and the mulatto freedmen, precipitated by the public crucifixion of two of the mulatto leaders under circumstances of revolting cruelty.

In the midst of this, on the night of October 22, 1791, five hundred thousand black slaves took the oath of blood in the forests and rose. They drove the white folk into the sea and murdered them by every method of cruelty. Uniting with the mulattoes and helped by the fever, they overcame Spanish, French and British armies, and finally, January 1, 1804, proclaimed the second republic upon the American continent.

It was a desperate venture. The civilized world almost to a man was united against them. The United States of American refused to recognize them for sixty years. France waited thirty years and then recognized them only on condition that they pay her an indemity of $30,000,000, which was probably three times Haiti's total annual exports at the time.

There ensued a struggle of survival for 115 years. Ten of these years were under African chieftains; fifty years under monarchs; ten years under Presidents for life; and forty-five years under Presidents for a term of years.

Underlying the whole economic development was this often forgotten fact: from the beginning, the Haitians had free access to the soil. There were no landless peasants. There were no peons. From the time of Toussaint down to today, the Haitian laborer was independent because of his practical ownership of the soil.

During the first ten years, Haiti was ruled by chieftains whose power rested on African religion and clan communism. Their duty was to defend Haiti from white aggressors and this Toussaint and Dessalines and Christophe did.

The next effort of Haiti was to turn this chieftainship into a monarchy, which would gain the recognition of the states of the world. They did not dare give up concentration of power, and the old Maroon spirit did not allow them to accept permanently a hereditary monarchy. For fifty years, they strove under kings and emperors to achieve independence and union. And this, by 1869, they accomplished.

In the next ten years, in 1859 to 1869, presidents for life were elected, but the steady pressure of the country was to change the monarchy so as to have presidents elected for a term of years. This was accomplished by 1870. Up to that time, 70 years, only two rulers of Haiti had been killed in office: one chieftain and one life president.

The next forty-five years were the critical years for Haitian development and the years by which she can best be judged. We may divide this time into thirty-eight years of good government, and seven years of bitter factional strife. From 1870 to 1908, Haiti had a succession of eleven presidents in thirty-eight years. None of them were killed in office. Two of them were driven out; three resigned, and one died a natural death.

They accomplished many things for Haiti: the first one,

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from 1870 to 1874, established order and brought about financial reforms. He was followed for two years by a reactionary, who was driven out. And then came a succession of excellent rulers: from 1876 to 1879, there was a good government in which the claims of foreign nations were adjusted. From 1879 to 1888 under Salomon, there was banking reform; the indemnity to Franch was finally paid, and Haiti entered the Postal Union. From 1889 to 1895, Hyppolite built market halls and Custom Houses and other public buildings, and established water works. From 1895 to 1902, a retroprocity treaty with France and a natralization treaty with the United States were made; and the centenary of Haitian independence was celebrated. This brings us down to 1908.

But during the latter part of the administration of these six forward-looking, and on the whole, progressive presidents, disaster loomed in the horizon and that disaster arose from the industrial and financial imperialism of modern civilized nations. The history of the agression of foreign nations upon Haiti would make a lecture in itself. It began with France; itwas carried on by Spain, and was almost continuous with England; it reached curious culmination with Germany in 1902; and of all the claimants and aggressors, the United States was foremost.

One can only contrast the thirty-eight years, on the whole, of progressive government between 1870-1908, with the terrible years from 1908 to 1915, to see the results of this outward pressure and aggression. Former aggression had tried the physical possession of Haiti, but the aggression of 1908 to 1915 took a sudden and more familiar form. It was a matter of debts and claims; of banking and finance; of concessions and commerce. Six times in these years, the United States made open and pressing demand to take charge of

Haitian Custom Houses. This had been preceded by pin-pricks and insults. In one case, an American gunboat, unloaded a gun in a Haitian port and limbered it up, and the excuse was that the Captain wanted to see how long it would take. Haitian generosity and humanitarism was held against it. Eight hundred Haitians saved the American army at Savannah during the American Revolution. The fact was never mentioned. In 1815, the Haitians gave asylum to Bolivar, during his abortive efforts to emancipate South America. He dared not acknowledge it. The abolition of slavery in Haiti by the blacks was for a half century looked upon as a menace and threat to the slave-holding United States, and yet the victory of Toussaint L'Ouverture over Napoleon gave to the United States for a song all of Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Wyoming, Montana and the Dakotas, most of Colorado and Minnesota, and all of Washington and Oregon. In the seven years, from 1908 to 1915, when the pressure of foreign governments and bribery of commercial interests stirred every sort of discord in Haiti, it was impossible for the Haitian nation to proceed in its development of internal order. In these years, there were seven men who tried to seize the presidency, and of these, three were killed in the attempt; nor in other words, more presidents were killed in these seven years than in the whole preceeding 108 years of Haitian independence. Indeed, before 1908, Haiti had a perfect right to say, that as compared with the United States and France, her presidential office had been as safe as theirs.

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Even in those years of turmoil, Haiti was careful to accomplish the almost impossible feat of maintaining inviolate her relations with foreigners and foreign governments. She was paying her debts; no foreigner was molested or insulted in her country; it was possible to walk unarmed and unattended from one end of the island to the other and be treated with the utmost courtesy. She maintained the beginnings of

a system of education, and she could point to accomplishment in literature, art and science, recognized and well-thought of by European critics for a century and more.

Notwithstanding this, there were things happening in the world that meant, not simply damnation to Haiti, but almost the overthrow of all civilization. In these early years of the 20th Century, the Devil's broth of the World War was brewing. White imperialism was preparing for the final liquidation of the colored world. Asia, Africa and the islands of the sea, were going to be ruled by the great white nations for those nations' private profit. China was to be divided; agitation in India was to be put down by strong hand, and final division of Africa was planned.

Here, of course, there were difficulties, and difficulties that led straight to war. There was the trouble of France in Morocco; there were Italy and England waiting for the death of Menelik of Abyssinia; there was the question of the future of the Portuguese colonies, and the scandals in the Congo, and other matters. Nevertheless, agreements then seemed possible in all these cases. In the matter of Liberia, the thing was practically settled, and although Germany and France and England were in dispute, England in 1908 had all her plans laid to seize the country.

The United States had definitely entered on her career of imperialism; her foreign possessions increased in these early years of the century from 595,000 square miles to 716,000 square miles. We were building and preparing to defend the Panama Canal, and especially were we suspicious of England. We were waiting for Revolution to hand us over a part of Mexico, if not of Central America, and in this whole turmoil the fall of Haiti eventually was a foregone conclusion.

Then things began to go awry. The leading nations with their four million soldiers and their great navies could not agree. To the surprise of the world, Japan overthrew Russian imperialism. The Chinese Revolution developed, agitation increased in India; the United States interfered in Liberia; the Mexicans refused to commit suicide, and the only way, as War bur st upon the world, for the United States to further her plans and protect herself against England, which she expected then to fight, was to seize Haiti.

The result was a series of demands; a series of claims, wholesale bribery by Germans, English and Americans, the seizure of Haitian funds by a United States battleship, and the overthrow of free institutions in Haiti at the point of the bayonet.

Having seized Haiti, what have we done there? With ourselves as chief creditor, we have distributed to ourselves and other creditors Haitian revenues for the payment of her debts, admitting any claim that had the slightest color of validity. Thus, she has been saddled with a funded debt which will keep her in economic slavery to the United States for many generations.

47-4-8

2. We have built roads. They are chiefly military roads, designed for the rapid transfer of Marines and troops and built with scarcely any idea of the development of the Haitian peasantry.

3. In education, we have only attempted to educate an agricultural peasantry. This, with our policy of opening a way for the gradual seizure of the land from the peasants, will make the establishment of peonage in Haiti an easier thing. Meantime, we have done nothing to overcome the widespread illiteracy in a country where the problem of teaching is complicated by the fact that the mass of the people do not speak a modern language.

4. We have introduced measures of sanitation, partly for the

benefit of the people of Haiti, but more for the protection of the conquerors, who are living there.

In all these measures, we have ignored and insulted and refused to use the educated leaders of the Haitian people. On the contrary, we have tried to drive a widge between the peasantry and these leaders, and the result is, that we have been unable to accomplish a single real forward step, either toward self-government or essential social uplift. Instead of remembering that the independence of the Haitian peasantry and its fight for democracy is the greatest asset of this country, we have, at the same time, tried to displace its natural leaders by foreigners, who disfranchise them, and whose attitude they quickly realize. A large proportion of these foreigners come from Louisiana. If Louisiana has any civilization to spare, she should use it at home. The state is one of the most illiterate in the United States; it has lynched nine hundred persons in the last twenty years; it has been repeatedly swept by mobs and lawlessness. With the best intentions in the world, no white man, born and trained in Louisiana, is fit to attempt the social uplift of Negroes.

Under such circumstances, there is only one decent thing for the United States to do, and that is to withdraw from Haiti as quickly and as decently as the withdrawal can be planned. If the United States does not do this, it will be because of the fact that the nation is willing to do to Negroes what it would never consent to do to white people. And this attitude toward Negroes and decent people surviving the World War is going to be an incentive to further wars; not simply of friction between white and colored people, but on account of jealousy between the white people who are seeking to exploit colored labor. Moreover, this exploitation of colored labor yields such profit that the funds accumulated can be used and are used to defeat the ends of democracy in white countries, like the United States and

and England and France. We are facing here a question much larger than the freedom of two million black folk in Haiti.

01-4-44

[HAITI]

There are three questions I should like to ask Mr. Cumberland:

1. Does he know of any case where an American employee of the Haitian Finance Department was reprimanded by the American Department of State for gambling in Haitian bonds?

2. Since the consolidation of the office of the Receiver General and the Finance Department is there any check upon Haitian expenditures, except that kept by the National City Bank?

3. Does he know, and if so, can he explain any discrepancy between the gross income, as reported by the Haitian Finance Department, and that reported to the United States by the Receiver General?

4. Has he heard that because of what Colonel Napoleon Marshall revealed in the meetings of the Foreign Policy Association at New York that his pension as a former employee of the State Department in Haiti has been withdrawn?

11-4-47

PRESIDENTS OF HAITI. 1870-1908.

Nissage Saget. 1870-1874.

Order and financial reforms. Retires at end of term.

Dominque. 1874-1876.

Reaction and flight.

Boisrond Canal. 1876-1879.

Excellent government. Claims. Public improvements. Resigns.

Salomon. 1879-1889.

Settles difficulties with the Catholic Church. Pays indemnity. National Bank of Haiti. World Postal Union. Leaves Haiti.

Légitime. 1888-1889.

In SouthWest.

Hyppolite. 1889-1895.

Public improvements. Dies in office.

Simon-Sam. 1895-1902.

Resigns. Trouble with Germany. Treaties with France and the United States. Nord Alexis. Centenary of Independence.

NORD ALEXIS 1902-8

CENTENARY

HAITI

Discussion at the Foreign Policy Association, December 21, 1929.

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Editor of THE CRISIS.

When Columbus discovered the island of San Domingo, there were over a million Indians there. It is said by some authorities that only 153 of them were left in 1545. This began the orgy of robbery, slavery and oppression which has followed the history of this beautiful but unhappy island. Buccaneers, slave raiders, and organized industry based on slavery, followed. It is probable that at least two million black slaves were tossed into this island during the 17th and 18th Centuries. Yet, only a million were left in 1791. The island, is nearly the size of Ireland, or a little smaller than the state of Maine. It became a harbor of freebooters, and then England, Spain and France fought for it. Finally, by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, the western part of the island became French. This is the part known as Haiti. At its present ~~estimate~~ extent, it has about ten thousand square miles, being a little larger than New Hampshire and a little smaller than the Netherlands. Here, an astonishing drama of human history has been played. At the end of the 18th Century, there were three classes of people in Haiti: Forty thousand whites, with much unacknowledged Negro blood, five hundred thousand blacks, and twenty-eight thousand mixed bloods. These people of mixed blood were nominally free and because of the inter-marriage of whites and blacks, had, in some cases, inherited property and received a liberal education in France. They owned in 1791, one-third of the land and one-fourth of the slaves. ~~Of this upper class of mulattoes, there were about seventeen thousand~~ Among the five hundred thousand slaves, ~~and were~~ was one element which must not be forgotten. They were the slaves, who had revolted and ~~killed~~ and maintained themselves in the mountains. They were known, here, ~~there~~ as in Jamaica as the Maroons. These

Maroons maintained their freedom and their African customs and they spoke a language which was African and French and known as Creole. When the French Revolution came in 1789, both the white masters and the colored freedmen, sought to be represented. The white masters sought home rule; the colored freedmen sought enfranchisement and the right to share home rule with the whites. The result was a Civil War between the whites and the mulatto freedmen, precipitated by the public crucifixion of two of the mulatto leaders under circumstances of revolting cruelty. In the midst of this, on the night of October 22, 1791, five hundred thousand black slaves took the oath of blood in the forests and rose. They drove the white folk into the sea and murdered them by every method of cruelty. Uniting with the mulattoes and helped by the ~~chiefs~~ Leader, they overcame Spanish, French and British armies, and finally, January 1, 1804, proclaimed the second republic upon the American continent. It was a desperate venture. The civilized world almost to a man was united against them. The United States of America refused to recognize them for sixty years. France waited thirty years and then recognized them only on condition that they pay her an indemity of $30,000,000, which was probably three times Haiti's total annual exports at the time. There ensued a struggle of survival for 115 years. Ten of these years were under African chieftains; fifty years under monarchs, ten years under Presidents for life; and forty-five years under Presidents for a term of years. Underlying the whole economic development was this often forgotten fact: from the beginning, the Haitians had free access to the soil. There were no landless peasants. There were no peons. From the time of Toussaint down to today, the Haitian laborer was independent because of his practical ownership of the soil. During the first ten years,

32-4-40

Haiti was ruled by chieftains whose power rested on African religion and clan communism. Their duty was to defend Haiti from white aggressors and this Toussaint and Dessalines and Christophe did. The next effort of Haiti was to turn this chieftainship into a monarchy, which would gain the recognition of the states of the world. They did not dare give up concentration of power, and the old Maroon spirit did not allow them to accept permanently a hereditary monarchy. For fifty years, they strove under kings and emperors to achieve independence and union. And this, by 1869, they accomplished. In the next ten years, in 1859 to 1869, presidents for life were elected, but the steady pressure of the country was to change the monarchy so as to have presidents elected for a term of years. This was accomplished by 1870. Up to that time, 70 years, only two rulers of Haiti had been killed in office: one chieftain and one life president. The next forty-five years were the critical years for Haitian development and the years by which she can best be judged. We may divide this time into thirty-eight years of good government, and seven years of bitter factional strife. From 1870 to 1908, Haiti had a succession of eleven presidents in thirty-eight years. None of them were killed in office. Two of them were driven out; three resigned [redacted], and one died a natural death. They accomplished many things for Haiti. The first one, from 1870 to 1874, established under and brought about financial reforms. He was followed for two years by a reactionary, who was driven out. And then came a succession of excellent rulers. From 1876 to 1879, there was a good government in which the claims of foreign nations were adjusted. From 1879 to 1888, under Salomon, there was banking reform; the indemnity to France was finally paid, and Haiti entered the Postal Union. From 1889 to 1895, Hyppolite built market halls and Custom Houses and other public buildings, and established water works. From 1895 to 1902, a

retroprocity treaty with France and a Naturalization Treaty with the United States were made; and the centenary of Haitian independence was celebrated. This brings us down to 1908. But during the latter part of the administration of these six forward-looking, and on the whole, progressive presidents, disaster loomed in the horizon and that disaster arose from the industrial and financial imperialism of modern civilized nations. The history of the agressions of foreign nations upon Haiti would make a lecture in itself. It began with France; it was carried on by Spain, and was almost continuous with England; it reached curious culmination with Germany in 1902; and of all the claimants and aggressors, the United States was foremost. One can only contrast the thirty-eight years, on the whole, of progressive government between 1870-1908, with the terrible years from 1908 to 1915, to see the results of this outward pressure and aggression. Former aggression had tried the physical possession of Haiti, but the aggression of 1908 to 1915 took a sudden and more familiar form. It was a matter of debts and claims; of banking and finance; of concessions and commerce. Six times in these years, the United States made open and pressing demand to take charge of Haitian Custom Houses. This had been preceded by pan-knocks and insults. In one case, an American gunboat, unloaded a gun in a Haitian port and limbered it up, and the excuse was that the Captain wanted to see how long it would take. Haitian generosity and humanitarism was held against it. Eight Hundred Haitians saved the American army at Savannah during the American Revolution. The fact was never mentioned. In 1815, the Haitians gave asylum to Bolivar, during his abortive efforts to emancipate South America. He dared not acknowledge it. The abolition of slavery in Haiti by the blacks was for a half century looked upon as a meance and threat to the slave holding United States, and yet the victory of Toussaint L'Ouverture

27-4-42

over Napoleon gave to the United States for a song all of Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Wyoming, Montana and the Dakotas, most of Colorado and Minnesota, and all of Washington and Oregon. In the seven years, from 1908 to 1915, when the pressure of foreign governments and the bribery of commercial interests stirred every sort of discord in Haiti, it was impossible for the Haitien nation to proceed in its development of internal order. In these years, there were seven men who tried to seize the presidency, and of these, three were killed in the attempt; or in other words, more presidents were killed in these seven years than in the whole preceeding 108 years of Haitian independence. Indeed, before 1908, Haiti had a perfect right to say, that as compared with the United States and France, her presidential office had been as safe as theirs.

27-1-43

Even in those years of turmoil, Haiti was careful to accomplish the almost impossible feat of maintaining inviolate her relations with foreigners and foreign governments. She was paying her debts; no foreigner was molested or insulted in her country; it was possible to walk unarmed and unattended from one end of the island to the other and be treated with the utmost courtesy. She maintained the beginnings of a system of education, and she could point to accomplishment in literature, art and science, recognized and well-thought of by European critics for a century and more. Notwithstanding this, there were things happening in the world that meant, not simply damnation to Haiti, but almost ~~to~~ the overthrow of all civilization. In these early years of the 20th Century, the Devil's broth of the World War was ~~breaking~~ brewing. White imperialism was preparing for the final liquidation of the colored world. Asia, Africa and the islands of the sea, were going to be ruled by the great white nations for those nations' private profit. China was to be divided; agitation in India was to be put down by strong hand, and final division of Africa

was ~~foreboctomed~~ planned. ¶ Here, of course, there were difficulties, and difficulties that led straight to war. There was the trouble of France in Morocco; there were Italy and England waiting for the death of Menelik of Abyssinia; there was the question of the future of the Portuguese colonies, and the scandals in the Congo, and other matters. Nevertheless, agreement then seemed possible in all these cases. In the matter of Liberia, the thing was practically settled, and although Germany and France and England were in dispute, England in 1908 had all her plans laid to seize the country. ¶ The United States had definitely entered on her career of imperialism; her foreign possessions increased in these early years of the century from 595,000 square miles to 716,000 square miles. We were building and preparing to defend the Panama Canal, and especially were we suspicious of England. We were waiting for Revolution to hand us over a part of Mexico, if not of Central America, and in this whole turmoil the fall of Haiti eventually was a foregone conclusion.

¶ Then things began to go awry. The leading nations with their four million soldiers and their great navies could not agree. To the surprise of the world, Japan overthrew Russian imperialism. The Chinese Revolution developed, agitation increased in India; the United States interfered in Liberia; the Mexicans refused to commit suicide, and the only way, as War burst upon the world, for the United States to further her plans and protect herself against England, which she expected them to fight, was to seize Haiti. ¶ The result was a series of demands; a series of claims, wholesale bribery by Germans, English and Americans, the seizure of Haitian funds by a United States battleships, and the overthrow of free institutions in Haiti at the point of the bayonet. ¶ Having seized Haiti, what have we done there? With ourselves as chief creditor, we have distributed & ourselves and other creditors Haitian revenues for the payment of her debts, admitting any claim that

33-4-44

had the slightest color of validity. Thus, she has been saddled with a funded debt which ~~shall~~ will keep her in economic slavery to the United States for many generations.

2. We have built roads. They are chiefly military roads, designed for the rapid transfer of Marines and troops and built with scarcely any idea of the development of the Haitian peasantry.

3. In education, we have only attempted to educate an agricultural peasantry. This, with our policy of opening a way for the gradual seizure of the land from the peasants, ~~and~~ will make the ~~attempt~~ establishment of peonage in Haiti an easier thing. Meantime, we have done nothing to overcome the widespread illiteracy in a country where the problem of teaching ~~his~~ is complicated by the fact that the mass of the people do not speak a modern language.

4. We have introduced measures of sanitation, partly for the benefit of the people of Haiti, ~~partly~~ but more for the protection of the conquerors, who are living there.

In all these measures, we have ignored and insulted and refused to use the educated leaders of the Haitian people. On the contrary, we have tried to drive a wedge between the peasantry and these leaders, and the result is, that we have been unable to accomplish a single real forward step, either toward self-government or essential social uplift. Instead of remembering that the independence of the Haitian peasantry and its fight for democracy is the greatest asset of this country, we have, at the same time, tried to displace its natural leaders by foreigners, who disfranchise them, and whose attitude they quickly realize. A large proportion of these foreigners come from Louisiana. If Louisiana has any civilization to spare, she should use it at home. The state is one of the most illiterate in the United States; it has lynched nine hundred persons in the last twenty years; it has been repeatedly swept by mobs and lawlessness.

With the best intentions in the world, no white man, born and trained in Louisiana, is fit to attempt the social uplift of Negroes. Under such circumstances, there is only one decent thing for the United States to do, and that is to withdraw from Haiti as quickly and as decently as the withdrawal can be planned. If the United States does not do this, it will be because of the fact that the nation is willing to do to Negroes what it would never consent to do to white people. And this attitude toward Negroes and decent people surviving the World War is going to be an incentive to further wars; not simply ~~to~~ of friction between white and colored people, but ~~to~~ on account of jealousy between the white people who are seeking to exploit colored labor. Moreover, this exploitation of colored labor yields such profit that the funds ~~thus~~ accumulated can be used and are used to defeat the ends of democracy in white countries, like the United States and England and France. We are facing here a question much larger than the freedom of two million black folk in Haiti.

37-4-46

TRANSCRIPT OF

RADIO BROADCAST

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of his people, a man who is at the same time a scholar and distinguished contributor to literature. If I were to undertake to give you the list of Dr. Du Bois' books, it would take much more time than any chairman ought to take. Therefore, I simply introduce to you now Dr. W. E. B., one of the great leaders of a great race. (Applause)

37-5-53

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS: When Columbus discovered the Island of San Domingo, it is said there were over 1,000,000 Indians there. Fifty years afterward, one estimate is that there were 153 of those Indians left. During two centuries black slaves were poured into this island, sometimes at the rate of 30,000 a year. It is not possible that less than 2,000,000 slaves were thus brought to Haiti. At the end of the 18th Century there were 1,000,000 there.

We are especially interested in one end, the western end of the island, where toward the end of the 18th Century there were 40,000 white people, something like 28,000 mulattoes, and 500,000 slaves. In each case these people were divided; the white divided into large landholders, small landholders and mechanics; the mulattoes into the slave and the free, the free ones being men who had inherited from their fathers some property and are said to have owned one-third of the land and a fourth of the slaves; and then the 500,000 slaves were also divided, a division we are sometimes apt to forget; a part of them were the maroons who were in the mountains, who had run away; who, in other islands as Jamaica, had fought against the English Government, who still maintained themselves against the French Government in the western part of the Island of San Domingo.

When the French Revolution took place the white people of the island wanted home rule in something the same way that the Southern people of the United States want home rule; that is, the right to

deal with Negroes as they choose, without interference from the outside. The mulattoes wanted to share in the right to vote and between the mulattoes and the whites there arose a civil war precipitated by the atrocious murder of two leaders.

Suddenly on that never to be forgotten night of October 22, 1791, the 500,000 slaves began to rise. With the help of the fever and mountains these black men, united with the mulattoes, drove out the white people from Haiti. They overcame the armies of Spain, France and England and established an independent Negro government.

I want to try to epitomize what happened in the 125 years between 1791 and the present time. We can divide that into three periods. First there was a period of eighty years when the rulership of the blacks was in the hands of African chieftains. It was based upon African tradition. Gradually these were transmuted into socalled kings and finally into presidents for life. During that time there were seven of these rulers of Haiti and they ruled on an average, eleven years each. Two of them were killed, one to end the hereditary African chieftainship, and the other in attempt to end the presidency for life.

During that time they accomplished a tremendous task. The first thing they did, and to my mind the most important thing, was to see that the peasantry had access to the land. There are today no peons in Haiti. There is no landless peasantry. Always the free peasants of Haiti have had access to the land, the right to cultivate it, and to that extent have been economically independent.

In the second place, these people were put to work regularly. Then union was kept between the different parts of Haiti which tended to fly apart. The country was defended from external foes and received the recognition of practically all of the countries of the world.

Then there began a second period of thirty-eight years, a period

in which there were eight presidents, and a period according to which the Haitians have a right to ask that their country should be judged. It was a time when the presidents were elected for a term of years. Of these presidents not a single one was killed. Some were dismissed, sometimes driven out of office, but not very many.

37-5-54

These eight presidents also had an exceedingly difficult job. It had chiefly to do with the internal development of Haiti. They paid the indemnity to France, a tremendous indemnity as it was first laid down and still large when afterward somewhat reduced; a very large payment for their own freedom. They established order in Haiti. It was possible to go from one end of the Island without being armed. There was very little of theft or fighting. No foreigner was molested during his sojourn in that country.

Then they attempted public works, not on a large scale because they could not, but they built, for instance, water works in Port-au-Prince, some harbors and public markets. They established a school system, a very poor school system, to be sure, but the first school system these people had had after 200 years of compulsory ignorance, a school system which enabled their graduates to go to France in some cases and out of this training there arose a literature and an art which the people of Europe have recognized as worthy of attention.

This period was succeeded by seven years of curious turmoil, when there were seven attempts of men to secure the presidency of Haiti, three of whom were killed; when there was exceeding difficulty in keeping private order in the country. Even at this time, the interest on the debt of Haiti was paid, foreigners were not molested, and the international relations of Haiti were kept in correct order.

What was the difficulty during these seven years from 1908 to 1915? We can look at them from two points of view, first from that of the

internal situation in Haiti. If Haiti had been a land of peons, if it had been a land where a handful of people had absolute control over the great mass of labor, you could have had outward peace and quiet. But there was in Haiti as you have seen, a growing sense of democracy which threw off the absolute rulership of the chieftains, which stopped the life presidency, which brought the presidency down to a term of years with the beginning of popular elections.

This growth of democracy meant the same thing in Haiti that it has meant everywhere; the opposing of the interests of the elite and of the mass of laborers. There was only one way in which that could be worked out. It called for time. It meant negotiations. It meant understanding.

We speak of the mass of the people of Haiti as illiterate. That does not mean they are ignorant people in the sense that we so often use that term. They are illiterate because their language of the mass is not a written one. Nevertheless, they have their African Mores, they have interesting methods of education. They were beginning to sense what nationhood meant. The process by which that would have been carried through, by which they would have pounded out by turmoil and uprising a free, popular and modern government—all that called for time and every bit of the strength that they had for this internal adjustment.

Secondly, let us view external conditions. It happened that this development came in the opening years of the 20th Century, and in those years you and I know what was taking place in the world. The white peoples of the world had made up their mind that the liquidation of self government so far as colored people was concerned, was to be finally accomplished. China was going to be divided among European powers. Asia was to come under the final and thorough domination of Europe, if not of America. Little black countries like Liberia and

Ethiopia were to disappear. The final adjustment of European ownership in Africa was to take place.

The method of accomplishment was one with which we are quite familiar; the obtaining of raw material from these colored countries at the lowest possible prices, the manufacture of it and selling at high prices, thus making a huge profit out of the exploitation of colored labor. With that idea dominating the century, there was in everybody's mind the conclusion that Haiti must disappear as an independent government. This was on the program, a minor matter to be sure, but a matter made, in the minds of many people, inevitable by the building of the Panama Canal, and the supposed necessity of defending all the approaches to that Canal.

37-5-56

Consequently, there began the pressure of all foreign nations upon Haiti. It would have called forall of the strength and devotion of men of unusual ability to have taken care of the foreign affairs of Haiti in this period. In the first place, Haiti was in the same position that Liberia was and other small countries have been; they could be self-supporting had it not been for the necessity of raising a surplus for export in order that they should pay their foreign debts. That surplus for export was priced at the lowest price for raw material. It meant always a tremendous strain upon the country to keep up installments on that debt, and to keep the interest paid; and the people of Haiti knew perfectly well that any default in that payment was going to be made the excuse for interference.

During the time this program was becoming fixed in the thought of Europe, there were some things that went awry. There was the difficulty between Japan and Russia which put the final division of Asia off at least for a term of years. There was special difficulty in the division of Africa, as for instance, when France seized Morocco, in the whole question of Egypt, in the determination of Germany

to share in the dissolution of the colonial system of Portugal, in the proposed taking over of Liberia which was a question between Germany and France and England. All these difficulties postponed the settlement of the ownership of the world by the white nations of the world. Of course, as we know now, it did much more than that. It brought on the World War.

37-5-57

When the World War burst, immediately the United States turned its attention toward Haiti. The United States and Haiti had had curious relations for a long time. When the American Army in 1779 was attacking Savannah and was beaten back, it was 800 Haitian soldiers with Christophe among them, that saved the American Army from defeat. Yet when we celebrated that event a few days ago, there wasn't a single word said throughout the length and breadth of the United States about the held of those soldiers.

Afterwards, when the Haitian Revolution took place, the United States was chief beneficiary. The successful fighting of Toussaint against all enemies, and particularly against the French, meant there was added to the United States the present states of Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana, the Dakotas, Washington and Oregon, and a part of Minnesota. All of this fell almost as a gift into the lap of the United States because of the successful Revolution in Haiti which kept France from realizing her imperial program in the valley of the Mississippi.

Notwithstanding that, it was perhaps natural that the United States should have regarded the revolt of the slaves in Haiti and particularly their triumph, as a direct blow to the United States. Consequently, it was sixty years before this country, the first republic in the Western Hemisphere, recognized the second republic in the Western Hemisphere, which was the Republic of Haiti. In South America

when Bolivar was at the nadir of his fortunes in 1815, it was to Haiti that he turned for asylum and relief. Afterward, he was afraid to mention the fact that he had received this aid.

The United States continually from 1847 on has been suggesting to Haiti that she either give up part of her territory for a naval base or allow the United States to superintend some part of her governmental functions, and finally, from 1908 to 1915, during Haiti's greatest internal turmoil and indeed one of the chief causes of that turmoil, six separate times the United States proposed to interfere with Haiti and take charge of a part of its governmental functions. The Haitians objected and made counter proposals, offered reasonable compromise, expressed willingness to receive advice and aid. But no. We wanted more and so it came to force, to removing a half million dollars of Haitian funds to the United States and to taking over the Government at the point of the bayonet. The assassination of a Haitian president was excused and not cause of this high-handed act of aggression.

37-5-58

The question today is—what has been the result of this seizure by the United States of the Government of Haiti? There are a great many things that can be said in detail about what the United States has done there and what it has not done, and yet it seems to me in general the situation is perfectly clear. In the first place, take the matter of order and democracy, that is, of internal government. One, of course, might be facetious and say it is a little curious for the United States to attempt to teach law and order to any land. But suppose we acknowledge that there are citizens in the United States who could do a good deal for the establishment of order and democracy in Haiti—certainly this is true; but the people who are chosen to do this certainly ought not to be taken mainly from the most illiterate state in the Union, the state where a white man,

no matter what his good-will is, inevitably could not meet colored people as equals or treat Negroes as men. The citizens of Louisiana may be extremely good citizens. Nevertheless, since 1882, they have lynched 411 human beings without trial. They have perpetrated some atrocities there that parallel anything Haiti ever did; as I have said, to draw a large proportion of the people who are going to "civilize" Haiti, as we say, from Louisiana, was at least a poor piece of diplomacy. (Applause)

37-5-59

If you are going to establish order, as you say, what do you mean by establishing order in Haiti? Apparently people think that there was no order in Haiti in 1915 and yet they acknowledge that a foreigner could go anywhere at any time of day and night without molestation; that the Haitian people were a quiet peaceable people; that they were a people who were courteous to strangers and each other; and that even while they were fighting out their own battle between democracy and aristocracy, they were maintaining a courteous attitude toward the stranger within their gates.

They had not established complete democracy but there are other governments on this continent whose democracy is far from complete. Nevertheless, Haiti was working toward democracy, working slowly. If it had had, as I have said before, a set of peons with those above them who could hold them in absolute silence, it would have seemed a good deal better than it really was. It would not have distressed your ears to hear of fighting, to hear of the massacre of political opponents; but it would not have been nearly as encouraging in the long run. Here was an attempt of black people to fight out this whole battle of democracy and while it took place later than in England or France or other parts of the world, it was no more atrocious or discouraging than the things that have happened in those countries. And, indeed, if we must make comparisons, nothing ever happened in Haiti

that was as stupid and cruel and atrocious as the World War. (Applause)

Then there comes the question as to what we have done to increase this democracy. We went in there ostensibly because there was not enough democracy, and thereupon we took away what little democracy there was there. We dispersed their legislature, kept them from electing officials and put them in a position where they are less able today to govern themselves than they have been in the last hundred years.

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The United States has done something for Haiti in the matter of roads and communications, but we have to remember even there that the roads are chiefly military roads so the marines can get from one end of Haiti quickly to kill peasants who ask questions.

There has been something done for health and to my mind that has been the best job done by the Americans; and it has been done in large part by the use of Haitians as physicians and the establishment of health stations among the peasantry, manned by these Haitian doctors.

On the other hand, when you come to education and the land (I put them together because the United States puts them together) you have extraordinary failure. Here you had complaint that these people are illiterate and yet practically the education system that we have introduced is doing nothing about illiteracy at all. We have a tremendous interest in agriculture. Why? Because if you can establish in Haiti the same kind of peonage you have in Cuba, you can have the same tremendous profits which you have out of Cuban sugar. This attempt, then, to establish peonage must be accompanied by the acquisition of the land, and one of the first things we did was to see to it that foreigners and foreign corporations could get hold of Haitian land.

We have arranged the debt for Haiti. That is the first thing always done when a great, modern nation goes into a small nation. You can look at the figures and apparently Haiti has been greatly benefited by the partial payment of its debt. As a matter of fact, the Haitian debt is just as large today as it was before the Americans got in there, except that they have paid off part of its face value in the depreciated franc of France, and have substituted Wall Street as the creditor instead of the people of France.

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In addition to all this, they have brought into Haiti the color line. They have exploited it. They have brought the Haitian people for the first time face to face with that domestic institution of the United States. What does that mean? It means, of course, that it is impossible for the Haitians to appeal to the generosity and good sense of the world. The color line lies between. What can you expect of Haitians? They are black. Consequently, they cannot appeal usually to the good sense, the sense of fairness of the people of the United States or the people of the civilized world.

If this was simply a matter of the people of Haiti perhaps you could rest content after a good luncheon, but it means a good deal more than that. It means that the method of exploiting people by making the result of their labor give them bare support while it adds tremendous profits to the exploiting country; by making it possible to use those profits as a fund by which democracy is nullified in so many of the so-called republican governments throughout the world, that kind of program rests upon the basis of what is today going on in Haiti and similar exploited peoples.

If you want peace in the world you are not going to get it that way. It wasn't a mere happening that at the same time we were telling

Russia how she should keep peace that it was necessary to send marines to Haiti. It was one of those juxtapositions in time and space which belong together in logic. If you are going to keep the colored world in the position of exploitation in which it is today, then you are going to have war; and not necessarily war between colored and white people, but war between those white people who are fighting for the spoils that come from the exploitation of the colored folk.

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It is therefore of great and present interest to you if you want to keep war out of the world, if you want democracy to expand not simply in Haiti but here in the United States, that you should see that this country has back the freedom which it so dearly won. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN MCDONALD: I should like first to make an announcement to the radio audience, not only in the usual course, but because at this moment a number of additional stations come on the air, joining the eighteen or nineteen stations which are already on the air.

This is a meeting of the Foreign Policy

of questions indicates your favorite or the reverse. Has some one a question for Dr. Du Bois?

IDA McCARTHY: I have heard this question of race very much discussed. I am just back from Haiti. I didn't see anything of it. Personally I saw all the white members of the occupation very friendly. They were visiting back and forth in their homes. I was in their homes. I didn't see any color line drawn. I should like to ask Dr. Du Bois if there isn't some color line even among the Haitians

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CHAIRMAN McDONALD: Miss McCarthy does us the favor of asking a question addressed to Dr. Du Bois. She is just back from Haiti, and on this matter of the color line drawn in Haiti she saw many of the whites intermingling socially with the colored people in Haiti in their homes. She would like to ask Dr. Du Bois whether there isn't a color line drawn among the Haitians themselves.

DR. DU BOIS: I have no information for Miss McCarthy. I do not doubt but that there is a color line drawn in Haiti, but after this picture of the idyllic conditions there, I wonder what is this all about? You seem to be getting on beautifully there. This lady has had contact with people down there. She has seen no difficulty at all betw en the Haitians and the Americans. The money is all carefully accounted for. All the best Haitians are in favor of the American occupation. I am glad to get this new information about Haiti b cause I also have some letters from Haiti. (Applause)

to Dr. Du Bois. It is this: What is Dr. Du Bois' practical program which he would like to see carried out? By what steps would he suggest American occupation be withdrawn? (Applause)

DR. DU BOIS: It is very difficult, of course, after a wrong, a great social wrong like this, has been perpetrated, to say exactly what you are going to do to right things. First of all, it seems to me, the American Government publicly and in good faith ought to say that it is going to withdraw from Haiti. It never has said this openly. On the contrary, when the time for withdrawal came before, it forced a revision of the treaty.

We ought to say that we are going to withdraw and then in real consultation with the people who own Haiti, the exact steps of that withdrawal ought to be worked out. There are plenty of ways in which we can see how modern civilization can help backward countries. There isn't any question but that the help can be given, but it need not be given with a club, or with humiliation. Men can sit down and work it out in peace and amity. It isn't a question so much as to just how the thing is to be done as it is that we are going to promise to do it, and we are going to keep our promise. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN MCDONALD: I should like to make one announcement before I ask another question just handed to me to ask of Dr. Du Bois. This announcement is addressed primarily to the radio audience. We are very much interested to know how these particular programs are received, whether the radio audience has as many advantages as I think it has, over the audience which sits here in the Hotel Astor. We have prepared a brief statement of the background of the Haitian problem, together with a list of books, which we should be glad to send to any of the radio audience who will write for it, either to their own local station or to the National Broadcasting Company, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The question addressed to Dr. Du Bois which I can read in a half minute and which he will have to answer in just twice that time because then the time is up, is this:
May I ask Dr. Du Bois what he meant exactly when he said that the United States acquired land from which the long list of states that he read was made possible as a result of the Haitian Revolution?

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DR. DU BOIS: Napoleon Bonaparte had a number of plans of colonial expansion. One of those plans was to develop the ownership of land which France had discovered and partially occupied in the Mississippi Valley and in the West Indies Islands. When the Revolution broke out in Haiti, he determined to put down the revolutionists and then to extend his dominion beyond and up the Mississippi Valley. He sent his brother-in-law with a large French army there. I have said that the black slaves together with the mountains and fever overcame those men and practically killed them all and Napoleon couldn't carry out his plan. It was, therefore, possible for the United States to buy all this territory for a song, a territory they could not have gotten under any circumstances if the slaves of Haiti hadn't achieved their freedom.

CHAIRMAN MCDONALD: The next meeting of the Foreign Policy Association will be on January 4, on the subject "In and Out of the League of Nations". This meeting is adjourned.

... The meeting adjourned at three-thirty o'clock ...

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Education and Work

Commencement Address delivered at
Howard University, Washington, D. C.
June 6, 1930 by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

1. Apology

Between the time that I was graduated from college and the day of my first experience at earning a living, there was arising in this land, and more especially within the Negro group, a controversy concerning the type of education which American Negroes needed. You, who are graduating today, have heard but echoes of this controversy and more or less vague theories of its meaning and its outcome. Perhaps it has been explained away to you and interpreted as mere misunderstanding and personal bias. If so, the day of calm review and inquiry is at hand. And I suppose that, of persons living, few can realize better than I, just what that controversy meant and what the outcome is. I want then today in the short time allotted me to state, as plainly as I may, the problem of college and industrial education for American Negroes, as it arose in the past; and then to restate it as it appears to me in its present aspect.

2. Dilemma

First of all, let me insist that the former controversy was no mere misunderstanding; there was real difference of opinion, rooted in deep sincerity on every side and fought out with a tenacity and depth of feeling due to its great importance and fateful meaning.

It was, in its larger aspects, a problem such as in all ages, human beings of all races and nations have faced; but it was new in 1895 as all Time is new; it was concentered and made vivid and present

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because of the immediate and pressing question of the education of a vast group of the children of former slaves. It was the ever new and age-young problem of Youth, for there had arisen in the South a Joseph which knew not Pharoah,—a black man who was not born in slavery. What was he to become? Whither was his face set? How should he be trained and educated? His fathers were slaves, for the most part, ignorant and poverty-stricken; emancipated in the main without land, tools, nor capital,—the sport of war, the despair of economists, the grave perplexity of Science. Their children had been born in the midst of controversy, of internecine hatred, and in all the economic dislocation that follows war and civil war. In a peculiar way and under circumstances seldom duplicated, the whole program of popular education became epitomized in the case of these young black folk.

3. First Efforts

Before men thought or greatly cared, in the midst of the very blood and dust of battle, an educational system for the freedmen had been begun; and with a logic that seemed, at first, quite natural. The night school for adults had become the day school for children. The Negro day school had called for normal teaching and the small New England college had been transplanted and perched on hill and river in Raleigh and Atlanta, Nashville and New Orleans, and a half dozen other towns. This new Negro college was conceived of as the very foundation stone of Negro training. But, meantime, any formal education for slaves or the children of slaves not only awakened widespread and deep-seated doubt, fear and hostility in the South, but it posed, for statesmen and thinkers, the whole question as to what the education of Negroes was really aiming at, and indeed, what was the aim of educating any working class, if it was doubtful as to how far the social and economic classes of any modern state could be essentially transformed and changed by popular

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education, how much more tremendous was the problem of educating a race, whose ability to assimilate modern training was in grave question and whose place in the nation and the world, even granted they could be educated, was a matter of baffling social philosophy? Was the nation making an effort to parallel white civilization in the South with a black civilization? Or was it trying to displace the dominant white master class with new black masters or was it seeking the difficult but sure more reasonable and practical effort, to furnish a trained set of free black laborers who might carry on in place of the violently disrupted slave system? Surely, most men said, this economic and industrial problem of the New South was the first—the central, the insistent problem of the day.

4. Two Schools of Thought

There can be no doubt of the real dilemma that thus faced the nation, the Northern philanthropist and the black man. The argument for the New England college, which at first seemed to need no apology, grew and developed. The matter of man's earning a living, said the college, is and must be important, but surely it can never be so important as the man himself. Thus the economic adaptation of the Negro to the South must in education be subordinated to the great necessity of teaching life and culture. The South, and more especially the Negro, needed and must have trained and educated leadership if civilization was to survive. More than most, here was land and people who needed to learn the meaning of life. They needed the preparation of gifted persons for the profession of teaching, and for other professions which would in time grow. The object of education was not to make men carpenters but to make carpenters men.

On the other hand, those practical men who looked at the South after the war said: this is an industrial and business age. We are

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on the threshold of an economic expansion such as the world never saw before. What ever human civilization has been or may become, today it is industry. The South because of slavery has lagged behind the world. It must catch up. Its prime necessity after the hate and holocaust of war is a trained reliable laboring class. Assume if you will that Negroes are men with every human capacity, nevertheless, as a flat fact, no rising group of peasants can begin at the top. If poverty and starvation are to be warded off, the children of the freedmen must not be taught to despise the humble work, which the mass of Negro race must for untold years pursue. The transition period between slavery and freedom is a dangerous and critical one. Fill the heads of these children with Latin and Greek and highfalutin' notions of rights and political power, and hell will be to pay.

On the other hand, in the South, here is land and fertile land, in vast quantities, to be had at nominal prices. Here are employers who must have skilled and faithful labor, and have it now. There is in the near future an industrial development coming which will bring the South abreast with the new economic development of the nation and the world. Freedom must accelerate this development which slavery so long retarded. Here then is no time for a philosophy of economic or class revolution and race hatred. There must be friendship and good will between employer and employee, between black and white. They have common interests, and the matter of their future relations in politics and society, can well be left for future generations and different times to solve. "Cast down your buckets where you are." cried Booker T. Washington; "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

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What was needed, then, was that the Negro first should be made the intelligent laborer, the trained farmer, the skilled artisan of the South. Once he had accomplished this step in the economic world and the ladder was set for his climbing; his future would be assured, and assured on an economic foundation which would be immoveable. All else in his development, if he proved himself capable of development, even to the highest, would inevitably follow. Let us have, therefore, not colleges but schools to teach the technique of industry and to make men learn by doing.

These were the opposing arguments. They were real arguments. They were set forth by earnest men, white and black, philanthropist and teacher, statesman and seer. The controversy waxed bitter. The disputants came to rival organizations, to severe social pressure, to anger and even to blows. Newspapers were aligned for and against; employment and promotion depended often on a Negro's attitude toward industrial education. The Negro race and their friends were split in twain by the intensity of their feeling and men were labelled and earmarked by their allegiance to one school of thought or to the other.

5. Present Conditions

Today, all this is past; by the majority of the older of my hearers, it is practically forgotten. By the younger, it appears merely as a vague legend. Thirty-five years, a full generation and more, have elapsed. The increase in Negro education by all measurements, has been a little less than marvelous. In 1895, there were not more than 1,000 Negro students of full college grade in the United States. Today, there are over 9,000 in college and nearly 150,000 in high schools. In 1895, 60% of American Negroes, ten years of age or over, were illiterate. Today, perhaps three-fourths can read and write. The increase of Negro students in industrial and land grant colleges has

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been equally large. The latter have over 16,000 students and the increasing support of the government of the states; while the great industrial schools, especially Hampton and Tuskegee, are the best endowed institutions for the education of black folk in the world.

6. Was the Controversy Settled?

What then has become of this controversy as to college and industrial education for Negroes? Has it been duly settled, and if it has, how has it been settled? Has it been transmuted into a new program, and if so, what is that program? In other words, what is the present norm of Negro education, represented at once by Howard University, Fisk and Atlanta on one hand, and by Hampton Institute, Tuskegee and the land grant colleges on the other?

I answer once for all, the problem has not been settled. The questions raised in those days of controversy still stand in all their validity and all their pressing insistence on an answer. They have not been answered. They must be answered, and the men and women of this audience and like audiences throughout the land are the ones from whom the world demands final reply. Answers have been offered; and the present status of the problem has enormously changed, for human problems never stand still. But I must insist that the fundamental problem is still here.

7. What the College Has Done.

Let us see. The Negro college has done a great work. It has given us leadership and intelligent leadership. Doubtless, without these colleges the American Negro would scarcely have attained his present position. The chief thing that distinguishes the American Negro group from the Negro groups in the West Indies, and in South America and the mother group in Africa, is the number of men that we have trained in modern education, able to cope with the white world on its

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own ground and in its own thought, method and language.

On the other hand, there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the Negro college, its teachers, students and graduates, have not yet comprehended the age in which they live: the tremendous organization of industry, commerce, capital and credit which today forms a super-organization dominating and ruling the universe, subordinating to its ends government, democracy, religion, education and social philosophy; and for the purpose of forcing into the places of power in this organization American black men either to guide or help reform it, either to increase its efficiency or make it a machine to improve our well-being, rather than the merciless mechanism which enslaves us;—for this the Negro college has today neither program nor intelligent comprehension.

On the contrary there is no doubt but that college and university training among us has had largely the exact effect that was predicted; it has turned an increasing number of our people not simply away from manual labor and industry, not simply away from business and economic reform, into a few well-paid professions, but it has turned our attention from any disposition to study or solve our economic problem. A disproportionate number of our college-trained students are crowding into teaching and medicine and beginning to swarm into other professions and to form at the threshold of these better-paid jobs, a white-collar proletariat, depending for their support on an economic foundation which does not yet exist.

Moreover, and perhaps for this very reason, the ideals of colored college-bred men have not in the last thirty years been raised an iota. Rather in the main, they have been lowered. The average Negro undergraduate has swallowed hook, line and sinker, the dead bait of the white undergraduate, who, born in an industrial machine, does not have to think, and does not think. Our college man today, is, on the

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average, a man untouched by real culture. He deliberately surrenders to selfish and even silly ideals, swarming into semi-professional athletics and Greek Letter societies, and affecting to despise scholarship and the hard grind of study and research. The greatest meetings of the Negro college year like those of the white college year have become vulgar exhibitions of liquor, extravagance and fur coats. We have in our colleges a growing mass of stupidity and indifference.

I am not counselling perfection: as desperately human groups, we must expect our share of mediocrity. But as hitherto a thick and thin defender of the college, it seems to me that we are getting into our Negro colleges considerably more than our share of plain fools.

Acquiring as we do in college no [redacted] guidance to a broad economic comprehension and a sure industrial foundation, and simultaneously a tendency to live beyond our means, and spend for show, we are graduating young men and women with an intense and overwhelming appetite for wealth and no reasonable way of gratifying it, no philosophy for counteracting it.

Trained more and more to enjoy sexual freedom as undergraduates, we refuse as graduates to found and support even moderate families, because we cannot afford them; and we are beginning to sneer at group organization and race leadership as mere futile gestures.

Why is this? What is wrong with our colleges? The method of the modern college has been proven by a hundred centuries of human experience: the imparting of knowledge of the old to the young; the instilling of the conclusions of experience, "line upon line, and precept upon precept." But, of course, with this general and theoretical method must go a definite and detailed object suited to the present age, the present group, the present set of problems. It is not then in its method but in its practical objects that the Negro college has failed.

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It is handing on knowledge and experience but what knowledge and for what end? Are we to stick to the old habit of wasting time on Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Eschatology, or are we to remember that, after all, the object of the Negro college is to place in American life a trained black man who can do what the world today wants done; who can help the world know what it ought to want done and thus by doing the world's work well may invent better work for a better world. This brings us right back to the object of the industrial school.

8. What the Industrial School Has Done.

Negro industrial training in the United States has accomplishments of which it has a right to be proud; but it too has not solved its problem. Its main accomplishment has been an indirect matter of psychology. It has helped bridge the transition period between Negro slavery and freedom. It has taught thousands of white people in the South to accept Negro education, not simply as a necessary evil, but as a possible social good. It has brought state support to a dozen higher institutions of learning, and to some extent, to a system of public schools. On the other hand, it has tempered and rationalized the inner emancipation of American Negroes. It made the Negro patient when impatience would have killed him. If it has not made working with the hands popular, it has at least removed from it much of the stigma of social degradation. It has made many Negroes seek the friendship of their white fellow citizens, even at the cost of insult and caste. And thus through a wide strip of our country it has brought peace and not a sword.

But this has all been its indirect by-product, rather than its direct teaching. In its direct teaching, the kind of success which it has achieved differs from the success of the college. In the case of the industrial school, the practical object was absolutely right and still is right: that is, the desire of placing in American life a

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trained black man who could earn a decent living and make that living the foundation stone of his own culture and of the civilization of his group. This was the avowed object of the industrial school. How much has it done toward this? It has established some skilled farmers and among the mass some better farming methods. It has trained and placed some skilled artisans; it has given great impetus to the domestic arts and household economy; it has encouraged Negro business enterprise. And yet we have but to remember these matters to make it patent to all that the results have been pitifully small compared with the need. Our Negro farm population is decreasing; our Negro artisans are not gaining proportionately in industry and Negro business faces today a baffling crisis. Our success in household arts is due not to our effective teaching so much as to the mediaeval minds of our women who have not yet entered the machine age. Most of them seem still to think that washing clothes, scrubbing steps and paring potatoes were among the Ten Commandments.

Why now has the Industrial School with all its partial success, failed absolutely in its main object when that object of training Negroes for remunerative occupation is more imperative today than thirty-five years ago?

The reason is clear: if the college has failed because with the right general method it has lacked definite objects appropriate to the age and race, the Industrial School has failed because with a definite object, it lacked appropriate method to gain it. In other words, the lack of success of the Industrial education of Negroes has come not because of the absence of desperate and devoted effort, but because of changes in the world which the Industrial School did not foresee, and, which even if it had forseen, it could not have prevented, and to which it had not the ability to adapt itself.

It is easy to illustrate this. The Industrial School assumed that

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the technique of industry in 1895, even if not absolutely fixed and permanent, was at least permanent enough for training children into its pursuit and for use as a basis of broader education. Therefore, school work for farming, carpentry, bricklaying, plastering and painting metal work and blacksmithing, shoemaking, sewing and cooking was introduced and taught. But, meantime, what has happened to these vocations and trades? Machines and new industrial organization have remade the economic world and ousted these trades either from their old technique or their economic significance. The planing mill does today much of the work of the carpenter and the carpenter is being reduced rapidly to the plane of a mere laborer. The building trades are undergoing all kinds of reconstruction, from the machine-made steel skyscraper, to the cement house cast in molds, and the mass-made mail-order bungalow. Painting and masonry still survive, but the machine is after them; while printing and sewing are done increasingly by elaborate machines. Metal is being shaped by stamping mills. Nothing of shoemaking is left for the hands save mending, and in most cases, it is cheaper to buy a new shoe than to have an old one cobbled. When it comes to the farm, a world-wide combination of circumstances is driving the farmer to the wall. Expensive machinery demands increasingly larger capital; excessive taxation of growing land values is eliminating the small owner; monopolized and manipulated markets and carriers make profits of the individual farmer small or nil; and the foreign competition of farms worked by serfs at starvation wages and backed by world wide aggregations of capital—all this is driving farmers, black and white, from the soil and making the problem of their future existence one of the great problems of the modern world. The Industrial School, therefore, found itself in the peculiar position of teaching a technique of industry in certain lines just at the time when that technique was changing into something different, and when the new technique was a matter which the Negro

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school could not teach. In fact, with the costly machine, with mass production and organized distribution, the teaching of technique becomes increasing difficult. Any person of average intelligence can take part in the making of a modern automobile, and he is paid, not for his technical training, but for his endurance and steady application.

There were many lines of factory work, like the spinning and weaving of cotton and wool, which the Negro could have successfully been set to learning, but they involved vast expenditures of capital which no school could control and organized business at that time decreed that only white folk could work in factories. And that decree still stands. New Branches of industry, new technique are continually opening—like automobile repairing, electrical installments and engineering—but these call for changing curricula and adjustments puzzling for a school and a set course of study.

In the attempt to put the Negro into business so that from the inner seats of power by means of capital and credit he could control industry, we have fallen between two stools, this work being apparently neither the program of the college nor of the industrial school. The college treated it with the most approved academic detachment, while the Industrial school fatuously assumed as permanent ~~that~~ a business organization which began to change with the 19th Century, and bids fair to disappear with the 20th. In 1895, we were preaching individual thrift and saving; the small retail store and the partnership for business and the conduct of industry. Today, we are faced by great aggregations of capital and world-wide credit, which monopolize raw material, carriage and manufacture, distribute their products through cartels, mergers and chain stores, and are in process of eliminating the individual trader, the small manufacturer, and the little job. In this new organization of business the colored man meets two difficul-

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ties: First, he is not trained to take part in it: And secondly, if he gets training, he finds it almost impossible to gain a foothold. Schools cannot teach as an art and trade that which is a philosophy, a government of men, an organization of civilization. They can impart a mass of knowledge about it, but this is the duty of the College of Liberal Arts and not the shop work of the trade school.

Thus the Industrial School increasingly faces a blank wall and its astonishing answer today to the puzzle is slowly but surely to transform the industrial school into a college. The most revolutionary development in Negro education for a quarter-century is illustrated by the fact that Hampton today is one of the largest of Negro colleges and that her trade teaching seems bound to disappear within a few years. Tuskegee is a high school and college, with an unsolved program of the future of its trade schools. And the land grant colleges, built to foster agriculture and industry, are becoming just like other colleges. And all this, as I said, is not the fault of the industrial school, it comes from this tremendous transformation of business, capital and industry in the 20th Century, which few men clearly foresaw and which only a minority of men or of teachers of men today fully comprehend.

9. The Labor Movement

In one respect, however, the Negro Industrial School was seriously at fault. It set its face toward the employer and the capitalist and the man of wealth. It looked upon the worker as one to be adapted to the demands of those who conducted industry. Both in its general program and in its class-room, it neglected almost entirely the modern labor movement. It had little or nothing to teach concerning the rise of trade unions; their present condition, and their future development. It had no conception of any future democracy in industry. That is, the very vehicle which was to train Negroes for modern industry,

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neglected in its teaching the most important part of modern industrial development, namely, the relation of the worker to modern industry and to the modern state.

The reason for this neglect is clear. The Negro Industrial School was the gift of capital and wealth. Organized labor was the enemy of the black man in skilled industry. Organized labor in the United States was and is the chief obstacle to keep black folk from earning a living by its determined policy of excluding them from unions just as long as possible and compelling them to become "scabs" in order to live. The political power of white labor disfranchised Negroes, and helped build a caste system. How was the Negro Industrial School easily to recognize in this Devil of its present degradation, the Angel of its future enlightenment? How natural it was to look to white Capital and not to Labor for the emancipation of the black world—how natural and yet how insanely futile!

10. The Unsolved Problem

Here then are the successes and the failures of both Negro college and industrial school and we can clearly see that the problem still stands unsolved: How are we going to place the black American on a sure foundation in the modern State? The modern state is primarily business and industry. Its industrial problems must be settled before its cultural problems can really and successfully be attacked. The world must eat before it can think. The Negro has not found a solid foundation in that state as yet. He is mainly the unskilled laborer; the casual employee; the man hired last and fired first; the man who must subsist upon the lowest wage and consequently share an undue burden of poverty, crime, insanity and ignorance. The only alleviation of his economic position has come from what little the industrial school could teach during the revolution of technique and from what the college took up as part of its mission in vocational training for professions.

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For the college had to become a trainer of men for vocations. This is as true of the white college as of the colored college. They both tended to change their college curricula into pre-vocational preparation for a professional career. But the effort of the Negro college here was half-hearted. There persisted the feeling that the college had finished its work when it placed a man of culture in the world, despite the fact that our graduates who are men of culture are exceptional, and if placed in the world without ability to earn a living, what little culture they have, does not long survive.

Thus, at the end of the first third of the 20th Century, while both college and industrial school can point to something accomplished, neither has reached its main objective, and they are in process of uniting to become one stream of Negro education with their great problem of object and method unsolved. The industrial school has done but little to impart the higher technique of the industrial process or of the business organization and it has done almost nothing toward putting the Negro working man in touch with the great labor movement of the white world.

On the other hand, the Negro college has not succeeded in establishing that great and guiding ideal of group development and leadership, within a dominating and expanding culture, or in establishing the cultural life as the leading motif of the educated Negro. Its vocational work has been confined to the so-called learned professions, with only a scant beginning of the imparting of the higher technique of industry and science.

11. The New Industrial Revolution.

The result which I have outlined, is not wholly unexpected. Perhaps we can now say that it was impossible fully to avoid this situation. We have a right to congratulate ourselves that we have come to a place of such stability and such intelligence as now to be ready to grapple

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with our economic problem. The fact of the matter is we have up to this time been swept on and into the great maelstrom of the white civilization surrounding us. We have been inevitably made part of that vast modern organization of life where social and political control rests in the hands of those few white folk who control wealth, determine credit and divide income. We are in a system of culture where disparity of income is such that respect for labor as labor cannot endure; where the emphasis and outlook is not what a man does but what he is able to get for doing it. Where wealth despises work and the object of wealth is to escape work, and where the ideal is power without toil.

So long as a lawyer can look forward to an income of $100,000 a year while a maid servant is well-paid with $1,000, just so long the lawyer is going to be one hundred times more respectable than the servant and the servant is going to be called by her first name. So long as the determination of a person's income is not only beyond democratic control and public knowledge, but is a matter of autocratic power and secret manipulation, just so long the application of logic and ethics to wealth, industry and income is going to be a difficult if not insoluable problem.

In the modern world only one country is making a frontal attack upon this problem and that is Russia. Other countries are visualizing it and considering it, making some tentative and half-hearted effort but they have not yet attacked the system as a whole, and for the most part they declare the present system inevitable and eternal and incapable of more than minor and unstinted improvement.

In the midst of such a world organization we come looking for economic stability and independence. Of course, our situation is baffling and contradictory. And it is made all the more difficult for us because we are by blood and descent and popular opinion an integral part of that vast majority of mankind which is the Victim and not the

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beneficiary of present conditions; which is today working at starvation wages and on a level of brute toil and without voice in its own government or education in its ignorance, for the benefit, the enormous profit, and the dazzling luxury of the white rulers of the world.

Here, lies the problem and it is the problem of the combined Negro college and vocational school. Without the intellectual leadership of college-bred men, we could not hith rto have held our own in modern American civilization, but must have sunk to the place of the helpless proletariat of the West Indies and of South Africa. But, on the other hand, for what has the college saved us? It has saved us for that very economic defeat which the industrial school was established to ward off, and which still stands demanding solution. The industrial school acted as bridge and buffer to lead us out of the bitterness of Reconstruction to the toleration of today. But it did not place our feet upon the sound economic foundation which makes our survival in America or in the modern world certain or probable; and the reason that it did not do this was as much the fault of the college as of the trade school. The industrial school without the college was as helpless yesterday as the college is today helpless without systematic training for modern industry.

Both college and Industrial School have made extraordinary and complementary mistakes in teaching force: The Industrial School secured usually as teacher a man of affairs and technical knowledge, without culture or general knowledge. The college took too often as teacher a man of books and brains with no contact with or first hand knowledge of real every day life and ordinary human beings and this was true whether he taught sociology, literature or science. Both types of teacher failed.

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12. The New Educational Program

What then is the unescapable task of the united college and vocational school? It is without shadow of doubt a new broad and widely efficient vocational guidance and education for men and women of ability, selected by the most careful tests and supported by a broad system of free scholarships. Our educational institutions must graduate to the world men fitted to take their place in real life by their knowledge, spirit, and ability to do what the world wants done. This vocational guidance must have for its object the training of men who can think clearly and function normally as physical beings; who have a knowledge of what human life on earth has been, and what it is now; and a knowledge of the constitution of the known universe. All that, and in addition to that, a training which will enable them to take some definite and intelligent part in the production of goods and in the furnishing of human services and in the democratic distribution of income so as to build civilization, encourage initiative, reward effort and support life. Just as the Negro college course with vision, knowledge and ideal must move toward vocational training, so the industrial courses must ascend from mere hand technique to engineering and industrial planning and the application of scientific and technical knowledge to problems of work and wage.

This higher training and vocational guidance must turn out young men and women who are willing not only to do the work of the world today but to provide for the future world. Here then is the job before us. It is in a sense the same kind of duty that lies before the educated white man but it has an essential and important difference. If we make a place for ourselves in the industrial and business world today, this will be done because of our ability to establish a self-supporting organization sufficiently independent of the white organiza-

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tion to insure its stability and our economic survival and eventual incorporation into world industry. Ours is double and dynamonic function of tuning in with a machine in action so as neither to wreck the machine or be crushed or maimed by it. Many think this is impossible. But if it is impossible, our future economic survival is impossible.

Let there be no misunderstanding about this, no easy going optimism. We are not going to share modern civilization just by deserving recognition. We are going to force ourselves in by organized far-seeing effort--by out-thinking and out-flanking the owners of the world today who are too drunk with their own arrogance and power successfully to oppose us if we think and learn and do.

It is not the province of this paper to tell in detail just how this problem will be settled. Indeed I could not tell you if I would. I merely stress the problem and emphasize the possibility of the solution. A generation ago those who doubted our survival said that no alien and separate nation could hope to survive within another nation; that we must be absorbed or perish. Times have changed. Today it is rapidly becoming true that only within some great and all inclusive empire or league can separate nations and groups find freedom and protection and economic scope for development. The small separate nation is becoming increasingly impossible and the League of Nations as well as Briand's proposed League of Europe shouts this from the housetops. And just as loudly, the inevitable disintegration of the British Empire shows the impossibility of world embracing centralized autocracy. This means that the possibility of our development and survival is clear but clear only as brains and devotion and skilled knowledge points the way.

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13. Teachers

We need, then, first, training as human beings in general knowledge and experience; then technical training to guide and do a specific part of the world's work. The broader training should be the heritage and due of all but todyy it is curtailed by poverty. The technical training of men must be directed by vocational guidance which finds fitness and ability. Then actual and detailed technical training will he done by a combination of school, laboratory and apprenticeship according to the nature of the work and the changing technique.

The teachers of such a stream of students must be of a high order. College teachers cannot follow the mediaeval tradition of detached withdrawal from the world. The professor of mathematics in a college has to be more than a counting machine, or proctor of examinations; he must be a living man, acquainted with real human beings, and alive to the relation of his branch of knowledge to the technical problem of living and earning a living. The teacher in a Negro college has got to be something far more than a master of a branch of human knowledge. He has got to be able to impart his knowledge to human beings whose place in the world is today precarious and critical and the possibilities and advancement of that human being in the world where he is to live and earn a living is of just as much importance in the teaching process as the content of the knowledge taught.

The man who teaches black-smithing, must be more than a black-smith. He must be a man of education and culture, acquainted with the whole present technique and business organization of the modern world, and acquainted too with human beings and their possibilities. Such a man is difficult to procure. Because Industrial Schools did not have in the past such teachers for their classes and could not get them,

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their whole program suffered unmerited criticism. The teachers then cannot be pedants or dilettantes, they cannot be mere technicians and higher artisans, they have got to be social statesmen and statesmen of high order. The student body of such schools has got to be selected for something more than numbers. We must eliminate those who are here because their parents wish to be rid of them, or for the social prestige or for passing the time or for getting as quickly as possible into a position to make money to throw away; and we must concentrate upon young men and women of ability and vision and will.

14. Ideal

Today there is but one rivalry between culture and vocation, college training and trade and professional training, and that is the rivalry of Time. Someday every human being will have college training. Today some must stop with the grades, and some with high school and only a few reach college. It is of the utmost importance then and the essential condition of our survival and advance that those chosen for college be our best and not simply our richest or most idle.

But even this growth must be led; it must be guided by Ideals. We have lost something, brothers, wandering in strange lands. We have lost our ideals. We have come to a generation which seeks advance without ideals--discovery without stars. It cannot be done. Certain great landmarks and guiding facts must stand eternally before us; and at the risk of moralizing, I must end by emphasizing this matter of the ideals of Negro students and graduates.

The ideal of <u>Poverty</u>. This is the direct antithisis of the present American ideal of Wealth. We cannot all be wealthy. We should not all be wealthy. In an ideal industrial organization no person should have an income which he does not personally need; nor wield a power solely for his own whim. If civilization is to turn out millionaires it will also turn out beggars and prostitutes either at home or among the

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lesser breeds without the law. A simple healthy life on limited income is the only reasonable ideal of civilized folk.

The ideal of Work: not idleness, not dawdling, but hard continuous effort at something worth doing, by a man supremely interested in doing it, who knows how it ought to be done and is willing to take infinite pains doing it.

The Ideal of Knowledge--not guess work, not mere careless theory--not inherited religious dogma clung to because of fear and inertia and in spite of logic, but critically tested and laborously gathered fact martialed under scientific law and feeding rather than choking the glorious world of fancy and imagination, of poetry and art of beauty and deep culture.

Finally, and especially the ideal of Sacrifice. I almost hesitate to mention this--so much sentimental twaddle has been written of it. When I say sacrifice, I mean sacrifice. I mean a real and definite surrender of personal ease and satisfaction. I embellish it with no theological fairy tales of a rewarding God or a milk and honey Heaven. I am not trying to scare you into the duty of sacrifice by the fires of a mythical Hell. I am repeating the stark fact of survival of life and culture on this earth:

"Entbehren sollst du—sollst enthehren"

Thou shalt forego, shalt do without.

The insistent problem of human happiness is still with us. We American Negroes are not a happy people. We feel perhaps as never before the sting and bitterness of our struggle. Our little victories won here and there serve but to reveal the shame of our continuing semi-slavery and social caste. We are torn asunder within our own group because of the rasping pressure of the struggle without. We are as a race not simply dissatisfied, we are embodied Dissatisfaction.

To increase abiding satisfaction for the mass of our people, and for

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all people, someone must sacrifice something of his own happiness. This is a duty only to those who recognize it as a duty. The larger the number ready to sacrifice, the smaller the total sacrifice necessary. No man of education and culture and training, who proposes to face his problem and solve it can hope for entire happiness. It is silly to tell intelligent human beings: be good and you will be happy. The truth is today, be good, be decent, be honorable and self-sacrificing and you will not always be happy. You will often be desperately unhappy. You may even be crucified, dead and buried and the third day you will be just as dead as the first. But with the death of your happiness may easily come increased happiness and satisfaction and fulfillment for other people--strangers, unborn babes, uncreated worlds. If this is not sufficient incentive, never try it--remain hogs.

The present census will show that the American Negro of the educated class and even of the middle industrial class is reproducing himself at an even slower rate than the corresponding classes of whites. To raise a small family today is a sacrifice. It is not romance and adventure. It is giving up something of life and pleasure for a future generation.

If, however, real sacrifice for others in your life work appeals to you, here it is. Here is the chance to build an industrial organization on a basis of logic and ethics, such as is almost wholly lacking in the modern world. It is a tremendous task, and it is the task equally and at once of Howard and Tuskegee, of Hampton and Fisk, of the college and of the industrial school. Our real schools must become centers of this vast Crusade. With the faculty and the student body girding themselves for this new and greater education, the major part of the responsibility will fall upon those who have already done their school work; and that means upon the Alumni who, like you, have become

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graduates of an institution of learning. Unless the vision comes to you and comes quickly, of the educational and economic problem before the American Negro, that problem will not be solved. You not only enter, therefore, today the worshipful company of that vast body of men upon whom a great center of learning, with ancient ceremony and colorful trappings has put the accolade of intellectual knighthood, but men who have become the unselfish thinkers and planners of a group of people in whose hands lies the economic and social destiny of the darker peoples of the world, and by that token of the world itself.

14. The Shadow of Beauty

Finally no one may fail to stress before any audience, or on any occasion and on any errand bent, the overshadowing and all-inclusive ideal of Beauty--"fair face of Beauty, all too fair to see"--fitness, rhythym, perfection of adaptation of ends to means. It is hard to mention this intelligently without maudlin sentiment and clouded words. May I speak then in parable?

Last night I saw the Zeppelin sailing in silver across the new moon. Brilliant, enormous, lovely, it symbolized the civilization over which it hung. It rode serene above miles of Death; like a needle it threaded together clouds and seas, stars and continents. Within its womb were caged eternal and palpitating forces of the universe, and yet without quiver it faced the utter ends of space. Across the city, mute, dominant, magnificent, imponderable—it flew.

And what it did, men and women of Howard you may do--you must do or die. The Zeppelin is neither miracle nor stroke of genius. It is unremittent toil and experiment and thought and infinite adaptation in the face of every discouragement and failure in the face of death itself.

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I thought as I saw it flying there, of an angel flying low—an angel of steel and silk and of grim and awful human aim. I remembered the word of our own poet, great but little known—

I thought I saw an angel flying low.
I thought I saw the flicker of a wing
Above the mulberry trees; but not again.
Bethesda sleeps.....

The golden days are gone. Why do we wait
So long upon the marble steps, blood
Falling from our open wounds? and why
Do our black faces search the empty sky?
Is there something we have forgotten? Some precious
thing
We have lost, wandering in strange lands?.....

There was a day, I remember now,
I beat my breast and cried, "Wash me God,
Wash me with a wave of wind upon
The barley: O quiet One, draw near, draw near!
Walk upon the hills with lovely feet
And in the waterfall stand and speak.

W.E.B. DuBois (n.d.)

Delivered at
Howard University
Hon. W.E.B. Dubois

Education and Work

Between the time that I was graduated from college and the days of my first experience in earning a living, there was arising in the United States, and particularly within the Negro group, a controversy concerning the type of education which Negroes needed. You, who are graduating today, have heard much of this controversy and many theories of its meaning and outcome. But I suppose that few persons living can realize better than I just what the controversy meant and just what the outcome has been. I want today in the short time allotted to me, to state the problem of college and industrial education for American Negroes as it was in the past; and then to restate it in its present aspect.

First of all, let me insist that the former controversy was no mere misunderstanding; there was a real difference of opinion, rooted in sincerity and fought out with a tenacity and depth of feeling which arose because of its real importance and fateful meaning.

It was in its larger aspects a problem which in all ages has faced human beings of all races and nations; but it was concentrated and made vivid and real in 1895 because of the immediate and pressing question of the education of a vast group of the children of former slaves. Here were people, ignorant and poverty-stricken, beginning their career in the midst of controversy and hatred and the economic dislocation of civil war. Thus, in a peculiar way the whole problem of popular education became epitomized in their case.

On the one hand, not so much as a matter of thought and planning, as of a procedure that seemed perfectly natural at the time, the small New England college was transplanted to the South and became at Raleigh, Atlanta, Nashville, New Orleans and a dozen other different places, the

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foundation stone of Negro training. On the other hand, this beginning of college training for former slaves, not only awakened fear and hostility, but it brought up the whole question as to what the education of Negroes was really aiming at and what indeed was the aim of educating any working class. Was it an effort to parallel if not displace a dominant social class? Or was it seeking to furnish a trained set of free laborers to carry on in place of the disrupted slave system? Thus a real dilemma faced the nation, the northern philanthropist and the black man. The argument for the New England college was that the South, and particularly the Negro, needed trained and educated leadership; it needed more than most to learn the meaning of life; it needed the preparation of gifted persons for the professions, and especially for the profession of teaching, without which there could be no system of education of any kind. The proponents of college training said frankly that it was not the business of a college to make men carpenters but to make carpenters men.

To this the industrial school retorted with an argument of undoubted strength. The inevitable tendency of college training for Negroes would be to turn them from manual toil and toward the professions; to make them dispise the humble work which the vast mass of them for untold years must pursue if they were to ward off poverty and starvation; that in a transition period between slavery and freedom it was dangerous even to try starting "at the top"; that in the South there was land and fertile land in vast quantities to be had at nominal prices: here was a section of the country whose industrial development had lagged behind the nation and the world, and must, therefore, be accellerated. Modern industry was finding in America its most efficient and fateful development. If now the Negro could be made the intelligent toiler, the trained farmer, the skilled worker of the South, his future would be

assured and assured on an economic foundation which would be immoveable. All else in his development would inevitably follow. What was needed, therefore, were schools to teach the technique of industry and learning by actual doing.

These were the arguments. They were set forth by white and black, by philanthropist and teacher, by statesmen and by thinkers. The controversy was bitter. The disputants came to anger and even to blows. The Negro race and their friends were split in two by the intensity of their feeling on this problem.

Today, all this is past; perhaps by the majority of those here it is practically forgotten. Thirty-five years, a full generation and more, have elapsed. The increase in Negro education by all the measurements which we have has been a little less than marvelous. In 1900, there were not more than 1,500 Negro students of full college grade in the United States. Today, there are over 20,000 in college and nearly 150,000 in high schools. In 1890, at least 57% of American Negroes, ten years of age or over, were illiterate. Today, it is probable that three-fourths can read and write. The increase of Negro students in industrial and land grand colleges has been equally large. They have over 15,000 students and the solid support of the government of the states; while the great industrial schools, especially Hampton and Tuskegee, are the best endowed institutions for the education of black folk in the world.

What then has become of this controversy as to college and industrial education for Negroes? Has it been settled, and if it has, how has it been settled? Has it been transmuted into a new program, and if so, what is that program? In other words, what is the present norm of Negro education represented at once by Howard University, Fisk and Atlanta on one hand and by Hampton Institute, Tuskegee and the land grant colleges on the other?

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If we turn to the colleges, we must acknowledge that they have not solved their problem. They have given us leadership and intelligent leadership. Doubtless, without them the American Negro would scarcely have attained his present position; and the chief thing that distinguishes the American Negro group from the groups in the West Indies, and in South America and the mother group in Africa, is the number of men that we have trained in modern education able to cope with white people on their own ground and in their own thought, method and language. But, on the other hand, there is no doubt but that college and university training among us has had largely the exact effect that was predicted: it has turned an increasing number of our people from manual labor and industry, from business and from the philanthropy of social uplift into a few well-paid professions. A disproportionate number of our college-trained students are crowding into teaching and medicine and gradually into the other professions and forming at the threshold of the arts a white-collar proletariat. Moreover, the ideals of colleges for college men have not in the last 30 years been raised. The average Negro undergraduate has swallowed hook, line and sinker the program of the white undergraduate. He is a man untouched by modern culture, with selfish often silly ideals, caring more for semi-professional football and Greek Letter societies than for scholarship, knowledge or group leadership. He has an intense and overwhelming desire for achieving large incomes quickly, widespread spending for show, with an acquired tendency to live beyond his means, to enjoy sexual freedom, marry late, and to have few or no children to educate and support. But finally, there is the same tendency among colored colleges, as among white colleges, to change the college into a prevocational preparation school for the professional school.

On the other hand, the industrial school has also had its achievement to failure. It forced the white South to accept the principle of state

supported higher training. It kept the Negro from losing all respect for common labor and personal service and from not being too impatient with slow social development. It has placed some skilled black farmers on the soil and some skilled workers in shops. But, nevertheless, in its main object that of securing a strong and stable economic foothold for the Negro on the farm and in industry, it has failed of success. The number of Negro farmers is decreasing and while the Negro is established in industry, he is not established in hardly any of the lines in which the industrial schools specialized, while his hold elsewhere is precarious and uncertain. Moreover, the industrial school made the tremendous mistake of staking its success in the friendship and dole of the capitalist and employer, while it made no approach to organized labor and inculcated no understanding of the modern labor movement. In business the Industrial School has helped the Negro business man along old lines but the whole business structure of America has changed faster than any school can teach and the result is that Negro business faces a future more critical today than in 1895. Added to this, is the fact that the industrial school is today turning from its main object to becoming a college. Instead of training farmers and artisans, it has become, in the case of Hampton, almost entirely a college, and in the case of Tuskegee, a high school and college. The trade teaching in both has decreased and seems to be on the way to almost complete elimination. The Negro college often regards this as a triumph and vindication but it simply means that the industrial object of the Industrial School is now the combined aim of the Negro college and vocational school and await impatiently and insidently a solution.

Thus, at the end of the first third of the 20th Century, while both college and industrial school can point to much accomplished, neither has reached their main objective, and they are in process of uniting to become one stream of Negro education with their great problem of object and

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method unsolved. The Industrial School has done but little to impart the higher technique of the industrial process or of the business organization and it has done almost nothing toward putting the Negro working man in touch with the great labor movement of the white world. On the other hand, the Negro college has not succeeded in establishing that great and guiding ideal of group development and leadership, within a dominating and expanding culture, or establishing the cultural life as the leading motif of the educated Negro. Its vocational work has been confined to the so-called learned professions, with only a scant beginning of the imparting of the higher technique of industry and science.

Nor is this result wholly unexpected. The fact of the matter is we have up to this time been more or less swept in the great maelstrom of white civilization surrounding us. We have been swept forward, back and around. We have become part of that vast modern organization of life in which social and political control rests in the hands of those who control wealth, and where disparity of income is such that respect for labor as labor is so long as wealth despises work and seeks power without toil impossible. So long as a lawyer can look forward to an income of $100,000 a year, while a maid servant is well-paid with a $1,000 a year, just so long the lawyer is going to be 100 times more respectable than the servant and the servant is going to be called by her first name. The whole process of manufacture has been revolutionized since the time that Hampton and Tuskegee established their trade schools. Mass production, unemployment due to the displacement of labor by machines and the imperial organization of industry which has set two-thirds of the world working at starvation wages for the enormous profit and power of the other third,—all this has made the technique of the industrial school which tried to teach carpentry, cobbling, horse-shoeing and tin-smithing, as far behind the times today as Latin, Greek and Hebrew in a college course. The college has

in a sense saved us. That is true. Without the intellectural leadership of college-bred men, we could not have held are own in modern American civilization, but must have sunk to the place of the helpless proleteriat of the West Indies and of South Africa. But, on the other hand, for what has the college saved us? It has saved us from that very economic defeat which the industrial school was established to ward off. The industrial school acted as bridge and buffer to lead us out of the bitterness of reconstruction to the toleration of today. But it did not place our feet upon the sound economic foundation which makes our survival in America or in the modern world certain or probable, and the reason that it did not do this was not its own fault but the fault of the college. The industrial school without the college was as helpless yesterday as the college is today without systematic training for modern industry. Here are two institutions of learning which for a generation have tried to walk in different ways and failed. The industrid school failed because the teacher of blacksmithing has got to be far more than a blacksmith. He must be an educated and cultured man knowing not every present technique but its current changes and its future possibilities and its place in organized industry. But just as truly the professor of mathematics in a college has to be more than a counting machine or proctor of examinations; he must be a living man, acquainted with life as it is and may be and alive to the relation of his branch of knowledge to the problem of living and earning a living. In the modern world, we see as never before, for white people as well as black, the need which spiritual leaders have for manual labor and the technique of physical forces. And we see, too, the need which manual toil has for trained and guiding and correlating thought. The world wants as never before inspiration, leisure and culture, and yet we are creating a world where real culture in science, art and literature and particularly

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in human happiness is curiously and persistently lacking.

That insistent problem of human happiness is still with us. We American Negroes are no longer a happy people. We feel perhaps as never before the strain and bitterness of our struggle. Our little victories won here and there serve but to reveal the shame of our continuing semi-slavery and social caste. We are torn insunder within our own group because of the rasping pressure of the struggle without. We are as a race not simply dissatisfied, we are embodied dissatisfaction.

What then is the irrescapable task of the United college and vocational school? It is without a shadow of doubt a new broad and widely efficient vocational guidance for men and women of ability, selected by the most careful tastes and supported by a broad system of free scholarships. Our educational institutions must graduate to the world men filled to take their place in real life by their knowledge, spirit and ability to do what the world wants done. This vocational guidance must have for its object the training of men who can think clearly and function normally as physical beings; who have a knowledge of what human life on earth has been, and what it is now and a knowledge of the constitution of the known universe. All that, and in addition to that, a training which will enable them to take a definite and intelligent part in the production of goods and furnishing of human services and in such guidance, of the distribution of income as to build civilization, encourage initiative, reward effort and support life.

This higher training and vocational guidance must turn out young men and women who are willing not only to do the work of the world today but to provide for the future world of tomorrow by begetting children and properly training them. It is probable that the census

will show that the American Negro of the educated class and even of the middle industrial class is reproducing himself at an even slower rate than the corresponding classes of whites.

Here then is the job before us. It is in a sense the same kind of duty that lies before the educated white man but it has an essential and important difference. If we make a place for ourselves in the industrial world today, this will be done because of our ability to establish a self-supporting organization sufficiently independent of the white organization to insure its stability, our economic survival and eventual incorporation into world industry. Many think this is impossible. But if it is impossible, our future economic survival is impossible. In addition to that, the industrial organization which we thus being has got to be built on a basis of logic and ethics, almost wholly lacking in the modern world, except so far as the Russian experiment points a new way. This is a tremendous task before us, and it is the task equally and at once of Howard and Tuskegee, of Hampton and Fisk, of the college and of the industrial school. It is particularly and immediately the ask of the newer and younger members of the faculties of these schools. They cannot be pedants or dilettantes, they cannot be mere technicians and higher artisans, they have got to be social statesmen and statesmen of high order. The student body has got to be selected for something else than numbers. We must eliminate from Negro colleges the boys and girls who are there because their parents wish to be rid of them, simply for the social prestige or for passing the time or for getting into a position as quickly as possible to make money; and we must concentrate upon young men and women of ability and vision and will. But even with the faculty and the student body girding themselves for this new and greater education, the major part of the responsibility will fall still upon the Alumni, and that means upon the Alumni who, like you, have just become graduates of an institution of learning. Unless the

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the major part of the responsibility will fall upon those who have done their school work, and that means upon the Alumni who, like you, have become graduates of an institution of learning. Unless the vision comes to you and comes quickly, of the educational and economic problem before the American Negro, that problem will not be solved. You not only enter, therefore, today the worshipful company of that vast body of men upon whom a great center of learning, with ancient ceremony and colorful trappings has put the accolade of intellectual knighthood, but men who have become the unselfish thinkers and planners of a group of people in whose hands lies the economic and social destiny of the darker peoples of the world, and by that token of the world itself.

Last night I saw the Zeppilin sailing in silver across the new moon. Brilliant, enormous, lovely it symbolized the civilization over which it hung. It rode serene above miles of Death; like a needle it threaddd together clouds and seas, stars and continents. Within its womb were caged the eternal and palpitating forces of the universe, and yet without quiver it faced the utter ends of space. Across the city, mute, dominant, magnificent, imponderable--it flew.

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So long upon the marble steps, blood
Falling from our open wounds? and why
Do our black faces search the empty sky?
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We have lost, wandering in strange lands?

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I beat my breast and cried, "Wash me God,
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The barley; O quiet One, draw near, draw hear!
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And in the waterfall stand and speak.

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Without the intellectual leadership of college-bred men, we could not have held our own in modern American civilization, but must have sunk to the place of the helpless proletariat of the West Indies and of South Africa. But, on the other hand, for what has the college saved us? It has saved us for that very economic defeat which the industrial school was established to ward off, and which still stands demanding solution. The industrial school acted as bridge and buffer to lead us out of the bitterness of reconstruction to the toleration of today. But it did not place our feet upon the sound economic foundation which makes our survival in America or in the modern world certain or probable, and the reason that it did not do this was certainly as much the fault of the college as of the trade school. The industrial school without the college was as helpless yesterday as the college is today without systematic training for modern industry.

Here are two institutions of learning which for a generation have tried to walk in different ways and failed. The industrial school failed because the teacher of blacksmithing has got to be far more than a blacksmith. He must be an educated and cultured man knowing not only present technique but its current changes and its future possibilities and its place in organized industry and civilized life. But just as truly the professor of mathematics in a college has to be more than a counting machine, or proctor of examinations; he must be a living man, acquainted with real human beings, and alive to the relation of his branch of knowledge to the technical problem of living and earning a living.

In the modern world, we see as never before, for white people as well as black, the need which spiritual leaders have for manual labor and the technique of physical forces; and we see, too, the need which manual toil has for trained and guiding and correlating thought. The world wants as never before inspiration, leisure and culture, and yet we are creating a world where real culture in science, art and literature and particularly

[INCOMPLETE DRAFT]

in human happiness is curiously and persistently lacking.

That insistent problem of human happiness is still with us. We American Negroes are no longer a happy people. We feel perhaps as never before the strain and bitterness of our struggle. Our little victories won here and there serve but to reveal the shame of our continuing semi-slavery and social caste. We are torn asunder within our own group because of the rasping pressure of the struggle without. We are as a race not simply dissatisfied, we are embodied Dissatisfaction.

What then is the unescapable task of the united college and vocational school? It is without a shadow of doubt a new broad and widely efficient vocational guidance and education for men and women of abilityn selected by the most careful tests and supported by a broad system of free scholarships. Out educational institutions must graduate to the world men fitted to take their place in real life by their knowledge, spirit, and ability to do what the world wants done. This vocational guidance must have for its object the training for men who can think clearly and function normally as physical beings; who have a knowledge of what human life on earth has been, and what it is now; and a knowledge of the constitution of the known universe. All that, and in addition to that, a training which will enable them to take a definite and intelligent part in the production of goods and in the furnishing of human services and in the democratic distribution of income so as to build civilization, encourage initiative, reward effort and support life.

This higher training and vocational guidance must turn out young men and women who are willing not only to do the work of the world today but to provide for the future world. Here then is the job before us. It is in a sense the same kind of duty that lies before the educated white man but it has an essential and important difference. If we make a place for ourselves in the industrial and business world today, this will

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be done because of our ability to establish a self-supporting organization sufficiently independent of the white organization to insure its stability, our economic survival and eventual incorporation into world industry. Many think this is impossible. But if it is impossible, our future economic survival is impossible.

It is not the province of this paper to tell how this problem will be settled. Indeed I could not tell you if I would. I merely stress the problem and emphasize the possibility of the solution. A generation ago those who doubted our survival said that no alien and separate nation could hope to survive within another nation; that we must be absorbed or perish. Times have changed. Today it is rapidly becoming true that only within some great and all inclusive empire or league can separate groups find freedom and protection and economic scope for development. The small separate nation is becoming increasinngly impossible and Briand's League of Europe shouts this from the housetops. This means that the possibility of our development and survival is clear and clear only as brains and devotion and skilled knowledge points the way

It demands sacrifice, and when I say sacrifice I mean sacrifice. I mean a real and definitive surrender of personal ease and satisfaction. I embellish it with no theological fairy tales of a rewarding God or a milk and honey Heaven. I am not trying to scare you into your duty by the fires of a mythical Hell. I am repeating the stark fact of survival of life and culture on this earth.

"Entbehren sollst du-sollst entbehren"

Thou shalt forego, shalt do without.

You must make the sacrifice of raising a family. I do not mean a flock or brood but enough children to ensure our physical survival. The present census will show that the American Negro of the educated class

vision comes to you and comes quickly, of the education and problem before the American Negro, that problem will not be solved. You not only enter, therefore, today the worshipful company of that ancient body of men upon who a great center of learning, with ancient ceremony and trappings have laid the accolade of intellectual knighthood, but men who have become the thinkers and planners of a group of people in whose hands lies the economic and social destiny of the darker peoples of the world, and by that token of the world itself.

49-32-36

37-5-127

THE HOUSATONIC RIVER

Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Searles High School, Great Barrington, Massachusetts, July 21, 1930.

On hearing my speech, some of you may have thought of it as a joke and others may have expected an historical disquisition on the history of this valley--but my speech is neither of these. On the contrary it is a bit of philosophy, a little inquiry into the meaning of life in this valley, brought to my mind because of the condition of the Housatonic river. I am not going to try to answer all the questions which I have raised, but I do want to bring them to your mind.

In the earlier days, even before this Anniversary we are celebrating in Massachusetts now, this valley must have been a magnificent sight. The beautiful mountains on either side thickly covered with massive trees, then in the midst of it all, the Housatonic river flowing in great flood, winding here and there switching now and then into lakes which are our present meadows and so on, hurrying always toward the sea. And I think everyone would realize then and now that the river was the center of the picture. In a sense the mountains exist for the river--and no matter how much one might climb their sides, they look back upon the river as the central beauty of the panorama. What has happened? The thing that has happened in this valley has happened in hundreds of others. The town, the whole valley has turned its back upon the river. They have sought to get away from it. They have neglected it. They have used it as a sewer, a drain, a place for throwing their waste and their offal. Mills, homes, and farms have poured their dirt and refuse into it. Almost as if by miracle some beauty still remains--places where the river has gotten for a moment, free from its enemies and tormentors, and dark and exhausted under its tall trees has sunk as some vestiges of its former beauty and charm.

37-5-28

But for the most part the Housatonic has been transformed into an ugly thing. We have crossed it with the most unbeautiful of bridges and we have shifted the flow of its waters.

That choking has been done in many ways, not only by filling up the river with refuse, but by denuding the hillsides of their trees, and shutting off the brooks. I remember one brook in particular, for indeed, the whole Housatonic was close to my boyhood days. With every real Great Barrington boy I was inititiated into the mystery of water by swimming across the Big Ben. Always when I come back here I go down to look at the river in spite of the ofthe indignation and almost physical nausea which most of it causes me todayy-and then I remember that brook. It came down from a slow sloping of the Western hills; it wandered through grove and meadow, and finally miradile dictu it went right through my front yard. That brook had everything to delight a boy's soul--rushing falls, gurgling murmurs, placid lakes upon gravelly beds. It was abbeautiful and magnificent brook, and it brought its waters down across town and emptied them into the Housatonic. And then the world began to thwart and check it. I remember the angry despair of its murmur when in that same hill they put up ugly side walls to confine it; they sent it under Main Street in dark iron culverts; they worried it and suppressed it and filled it up until at last it died. Like a living thing, it disappeared and is not.

Now what is the meaning of this? Of course as I said before, the thing has happened in a hundred places. I remember being once in Jefferson City, Missouri years ago. The magnificent wall of watter, longest in the world, which is the Missouri-Mississippi came down past the city, and the city rejected it; turned its back upon it. It faced the dull dust of the prairie and it used the Missouri for sewage and freight trains, but there came at last a man with a vision, and when the new state house was built he set

its plaza right out on the bluff facing the magnificence of the river, facing the whole golden West. and since that, diffidently but plainly, the city has been trying to turn round.

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I have just been to Harvard celebrating my Class Anniversary, and while in Boston, I got lost. This is, of course, a common occupation in Boston--but I was particularly out of patience that I should become lost in Cambridge, because Cambridge I know much better. But Cambridge deceived me on account of the Charles river. In my boyhood the Charles river was nothing--it was a little lazy, neglected ditch, fit only for the muckers of Cambridgeport. No real gentleman from Harvard ever paid any attention to it. And thus, very easily I was deceived and mislead because the Charles river had become a park, flanked by beautiful driveways, crossed by arching of stone bridges, in other words, it had taken its place as a park forming a natural center of the beauty of Cambridge and Boston. Of course in those college days there were a few people on the Boston bank of the Charles who received the sunset on the waters in their back yards with a certain hospitality, but they were quite exceptional and queer, while now the river has come into its own. One might multiply these instances. Washington has only quite recently discovered the Potomac, while abroad the rivers have so long been worshiped that we forget the day when the Seine was anything but the great central highway of Paris, and the Rhine unthought of as a story of German civilization and progress. Even where rivers have been made to slave for men and carry their burdens, cities have learned that these hives of industry can be made also things of beauty. St. Louis, Memphis, and New Orleans are discovering this with the Mississippi, and I have stood on the park-like Nijni-Novgorod and seen the panorama of the Volga--that city was storn and maimed by war and famine and steel strife, and the park and the river was still beautiful.

What now is the meaning of all this for Great Barrington, and the veil of the Housatonic?

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I take it that it is a greater suggestion than we are willing to accord it. I left New York this morning and rode into this valley with the same feeling that I always bring--that here is a more ordered and satisfying solution to the problem of live than in the hot and crowded and dirty city. Cities are artificial--they are nerve racking with noise, they manufacture by their very organization more social problems than their ingenuity is able to settle. Here is a great country--over nine-tenths of its area is empty and then there are these notoriously congested centers called cities and in these cities civilization is conceived and carried on.

But is this necessary? Why can we not in valleys like this have as efficient a life and surely one more gracious and satisfying. Evidently we can not because no sooner than one stops here any time than they begin to feel the bonds, the frustration of effort, the impossibility of effective carrying out of ideas and wishes and dreams. Why is this? It is impossible for us to answer this offhand. Many of the businesses are bound up with our imperfect technique of industry and communication; with matter of education; with matters of human contact; and so we go on leaving the country and rushing to the city, raising our sons and even our daughters with no idea of keeping them home it seems so perfectly rational to send them away to the hives of human culture. But I wonder if one phase of our difficulty does not come from our treatment of the Housatonic. We turn our backs upon the natural center of the river and try to make it Main St. Mr. Sinclair Lewis has proven to us that Main St. can not be the center of civilization. The river must be the center of this valley. Certainly it is the physical center, perhaps it is the spiritual center, perhaps the very freeing of spirit which will come from our attempt to do the [illegible] not including our greatest source of beauty and completeness, and degrading it with filth and refuse. Perhaps from that very freeing of spirit will come other

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freedoms and inspirations and aspirations which may be to the whole vast problem of country life and thediffusion and diversification and enrichening of culture throughout this land.

enough I have noticed one or two little things which may indicate change. I am not quite sure why the Sarles High School was built upon the banks of the Housatonic. Perhaps of course it was simply another way of carrying out the idea that school houses are tobe hidden. In the West one often sees an imposing building in the main thoroughfare of the city, but not so here--we hide our school houses in apologetic places and perhaps that is why this school was built on the banks of the Housatonic instead of on Main Street. On the other hand, it may be that some thoughtful person saw far beyond the present and grasped the idea that they were putting this institution on what was the natural great highway of the valley. They may have looked forward to the time when parks and boulevards would line the redeemed river; then the best people would not climb the hills to get away from the valley, but turn about and descend to its gracious invitation--when buildings and and smiling children would make the whole valley glad and the river would come into its own again.

And there is a second bit that is helpful. Up on the steep slope of the river in the upper part of the town there is a house where I lived for a while with blood dripping from its windows--blood or/red paint and down back of that old house was a magnificent vista of river, vast dark trees and hills and rocks. A few years ago coming into town I found that somebody just opened that place as to a little playground--the merest shadow of a thing, so tiny that I feel children are a bit in awe of it. At any rate it is usually empty, andyet that tiny bit overshadows the whole park system. With this beginning we may

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clear the river, we may even induce the mills if we can find out who owns them, to stop pouring their refuse into the river. It is merely a habit and not a necessity. And so I have ventured to call to the attention of the graduates of the Searles High School this bit of philosophy of living in this valley, that we should rescue the Housatonic and clean it as we have never thought to clean it before and restore its ancient beauty and make it the center of the town, of the valley, and perhaps who knows, of a new way of civilized life.

Manuscript

48-12-17 W. E. B. DuBois (1)

BESIDE THE STILL WATERS

This is peculiarly the occasion to say a word of the relationship between the theatre and the American Negro. The stage still retains among us something of freedom and the forward gaze. Behind the footlights one is permitted to examine and discuss Truth under circumstances where literature is stifled, painting inarticulate, sculpture choked of convention, architecture drowned in waves of monstrosity and music fettered by death.

But this continuing freedom of dramatic art is due to no courage of managers or merit of dramatists and is threatened not only by the well recognized fatty degeneration of musical comedy but by that secret, internal and devastating malady which attacks an art which is free to treat the truth and yet afraid to look it fair in the face. This is the present attitude of the American theatre as it faces the Negro.

(2)

The stranger from the stars bursting in upon earth today would, 48-12-18 without shadow of a doubt or moment of hesitancy, fasten upon the plight of the black man in America as the most dramatic stuff of the modern world. Conceive this harsh and heavy thrust of dark and primitive peoples out of the soft green and gold and clan tradition of the tropics into the spiritual anarchy of the French Revolution and the frozen puritanism of Victoria. // For centuries fish fed on flesh across the whole Atlantic. The isles of the Caribbean shrieked to Boston and New Orleans; black slavery swept the valley of the Mississippi and fought white labor ~~and~~ on Rockies and Appalachians. // Nothing escaped it—neither religion nor philosophy, literature nor art, ~~family, town~~ science nor government. // Across a continent, across a world, the horror and tragedy and farce of this stupendous drama flew, and beside it men and women danced, and above it rolled a never-to-be forgotten song. The souls of stricken millions descended into ~~this~~ Hell ~~of every possible~~

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~~degradation and in~~ and the third century arose again from the dead—with what blood and prickling pain—with such exquisite horror of hurt as humanity has seldom known. // Every known element of human drama, every device of theatrical effect was here—the crucifixtion of motherhood, the murder of ~~babes~~ children, the rape of homes; piteous debasement and nameless exhaltation of the spirit of man. There was lacking no impudence of wealth nor depths of uttermost pits of poverty. There was the sting of whips, the fangs of dogs, the laughter of power, the refinement of cruelty and the sobbing abasement of the lowest of the low—dragged slowly and bitterly and relentlessly out over endless years. // This is the thing that today America makes merry over. It is our major amusement. It is material for clowns and braying asses. It is our national and perennial joke.

Yet for four hundred years of the mad warp and woof of this land's history, the black and crimson thread of Africa has dominated every pattern, and not the double ~~mouths~~ tongues of all the Dunnings and Charles Beards shall

alter the red record of one jot of it. 48-12-20

Before this mightiest of human dramas, save here and there a lucid interval, the American theatre has sat distraught, dumb and stupid, with a vacant grin on its face: afraid of the truth, cowed by the tragedy, aghast at the very intricacy and endless implications of the plots. American playwrights have strained their inwards to submerge this drama into farce; to turn the piteous tragedy of the Negro into cheap pornographic bathos; to paint this all too human life into a degenerate reflection of their own sadistic desires. Until today on stage and in literature, in painting, in all art, save alone in music, the souls of black folk have been submerged in fetid filth and white pimps who finance and exploit black prostitutes in "Nigger Heaven" have quite concealed the blazing Hell beneath and persuaded a complacent world that Harlem has no light of common day; that underneath ~~this tear-stained bit of earth seethe no blazing depths of hell.~~ our sale of laughter lie no fools of bitter tears.

Not only has the American theatre refused to face the drama of the

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Negro problem, but it has opposed every effort of the Negro himself to find dramatic expression on the stage. It is not enough, in this great and free commonwealth of the spirit of man, that ~~the chief~~ most training schools of drama and ~~painting~~ art are closed to black folk; it is not enough that in ~~the~~ Annual nationwide radio audition no voice of an angel in a black skin, ~~though it were the voice of angels,~~ may be heard; it is not enough that the American schools at Fontainbleau, supported by the leaders in American painting, sculpture and architecture, have sought to extend the American color line across ~~Europe~~ France all this perhaps must be tolerated and even awaited in arts dominated by money, by the private profit ideal and by cheap and smug convention. But in the freer air of the drama, despite its all too evident pandering to monopoly and the intellectual mob, it is astonishing to realize the fight which the black actor has had to gain the merest shadow of foothold on Broadway. No one is child enough to believe that a black skin makes an actor, or that the suffering of a people creates of itself

(6)

the delicate art to portray it. But when the artist does appear, proven and clear, it is almost unbelievable that his fellow white artists would so long and so persistently deny him full recognition.

48-12-22

When Europe of the early 19th Century recognized the great Jewess, Rachel, and the great Negro, Aldridge, as the two outstanding leaders of the stage, whom governments and science and art delighted to honor, that black man could not put foot on a single legitimate stage in the land of his birth. But even after slavery, and from 1870 down nearly to our day, the Negro actor could appear at Court only as the ~~white~~ king's fool, with cap and bells, with quip and joke, ready over his own heartbreak to guffaw lustily and dance fantastically for the massed amusement of morons. Even when the unchangeable logic of a particular plot demanded black characters, up until yesterday, even these parts must be taken by white folk with blackened faces, unknown dialect and an unusually dumb mental equipment. This nonsense in time went beyond the limit ~~even~~ of New

York complacency/and today/not even burnt cork/could save a miserable play/although supported by the bad acting/of the royal family.

This hesitancy/of our freest form of art/really to be free/—this refusal of managers,/playwrights/and players/to use normally and intelligently,/the abundant stuff of dramatic material/and the not infrequent genius in acting/which a nation within a nation furnishes//a black nation greater than Ireland, Belgium, Austria or Portugal—a nation equal in numbers to Egypt, Persia, Czechoslovakia and all Scandinavia/—this studied neglect/of the most dramatic material in America/has already reacted/and will react/on the theatre in the United States./ A freedom unused/is perverted or lost./ If the stage dare not/frankly and fully portray the Negro problem/because of fear and snobbery,/—because of a provincial mentality/born of the slave oligarchy,/spawned south of the Mason and Dixon's line/and transplanted to the congenial concrete sidewalks of New York/—the American theatre will find itself/with all the

greater ease/and easier logic/denied the right to discuss sex and war, socialism and Russia, liquor and wealth,/and anything which/at anytime an entrenched autocracy or a prurient puritanism/or a Nordic impudence/ may guard/with the shackles of censorship.

48-12-24

The abiding refuge/of our optimism/is the slow growth of normal/ dramatic instinct/among us/even anent the Negro;/the slow expansion of a national receptive audience/unafraid of racial problems./ True it is that the fear still lurks;/for the stage is still slow/and the effective audience too small/—and already something may have been eternally lost/ in creative genius, dramatic ability/and the unhampered critical spirit;/ but "The Green Pastures"/has helped our hope/ And it has helped/not so much in form and word and authorship/as in the deft and subtle marvel of its interpretation./ For skillful as the written play may be, the secret of its triumph/lies in its interpretation by Negro actors/and above all in the high and delicate genius/of Richard Berry Harrison.

48-12-25

(9)

Even here/ an abundant satisfaction/ is haunted by a bleak memory. I have known Richard Harrison for thirty-five years./ He stands before you tonight/ with smiling lips and tranquil courage of a high heart./ But I know—I know what crucifixion this man has suffered./ Here is a white man/ of singular capacity and noble beauty/ who had ~~the accident of~~ a black great-grandfather/ And who because of that fact/ and that alone--/ because of a truth he ~~was too proud~~ saw no reason to deny or conceal,/ he has been given/ in this land of the free/ and home of the brave/ ~~during a life of nearly seventy years,~~ from 1864-1930-66 years no real opportunity, no fair chance, no liberty for the genius that always lay in him, until 1930/ and even then almost by accident.

What the author of this play/ expected in its presentation, I do not know,/ but you and I know full well/ and of a certainty/ what the first audiences expected—what any average American audience expects/ when Negro actors appear in a Negro play. They expected amusement; they

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expected slap-stick and broad farce;/ they expected filth. They licked dry lips/ for "The Green Pastures" 48-12-26 of their imagination/ would be gaudy with food and fun,/ and of the Still Waters ~~beyond~~ beneath they recked nothing./

If Richard Harrison/ had learned to dance clog/ and make faces/ in his youth,/ he might have riches now./ But his demand for sincere drama, for the sting of tragedy and the high humor of true comedy,/ had led him long years/ face to face with hunger and ~~threadbare~~ poverty, straight on toward careless neglect./ He was not one to complain./ He has the high ~~clothes on to~~ and African gift of laughter./ He too has looked at death and smiled.

At last the closed gate opened,/ so casually, so carelessly, that Harrison himself was not sure of what he saw—not sure it was The Gate.

Someone was needed/ to portray God/ as a nigger minstrel/ on Broadway. 11 But it had to be delicately done/ There were churches and censors to avoid,/ there were susceptibilities to be soothed/ and creeds to be molli-

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(11)

field./ The audience must surely/be tickled and amused,/but its mirth must be in bounds/subdued to something like decorum/at least in spots.

This called for subtlety in interpretation/and understanding/for a deep and human knowledge of mankind,/especially of that manner of men/who live behind/the veil of color,/yet are men./ Human beings, whether dark and singing slaves/or white and bored seekers of Broadway pleasure,/must/on this stage/see God and live./ Who could do this miracle of ~~a play~~? acting?

When manager and playwright/turned to find such a man/they faced a wall. They knew few Negro actors. To Broadway/the Negro was not an actor,/he was a vaudeville turn./ True it was/that Charles Gilpin,/by the tragedy of his own damnation/had, with dying flair of genius/and ~~the~~ clairvoyance of O'Neill,/forced the Negro defeatist psychology/partially across the footlights./ Half willingly thereafter,/Broadway endured patronizingly/Robeson and Rose McClendon/for limited periods/and with the clearly expressed proviso,/that the author engage in the climax to kill the black hero/or destroy him/or rend his soul from his body./ Then

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(12)

the white audience/could depart/secure in the knowledge/that all Negro aspiration and effort,/by the very constitution of the universe,/must ever end/in annihilation and defeat, frustration and death.

But this climax/would not suit "The Green Pastures"// Even on the American stage, God must be reasonably successful;/and that Richard Harrison almost as a last resort/was offered the opportunity/to try this role was ~~almost~~ a matter of chance.

What he ~~did~~ accomplished, the nation knows./ By the breadth of a hair and half-turn of a phrase—by a gesture & silence—he guided a genial comedy into a great and human drama./ Small wonder/that only those who see the miracle/can gauge the genius of its doing/or realize the rare perfection/of its detailed accomplishment./ The south, the west,/which have not seen the actor and the play/are curious and skeptical concerning it./ With puzzled frown/they inquire into its impression and results/and shake vague heads./ One can clearly understand

how England, reading the text alone, can not escape the feeling that its content must either be blasphemy or farce. And yet no human soul witnessing a performance can doubt the lure of its human kindliness and the mighty tragedy beneath the deep and reverent guidance of a great actor.

What you then as audience and 2 as authors have unleashed and unbound in this great soul — what you have freed and unfettered in a man and a race, is but earnest of what actors you may see and what drama you may evoke, if instead of hiding your heads in the sand and scurrying abroad to borrow for the American stage the second-hand situations of Paris and Vienna, — you open purblind eyes and glance about you.

This meeting tonight is a tribute to Richard Harrison — a tribute belated and artifical, but none the less sincere. He is in his charm and courtesy, his tact and tolerant philosophy, one to be emulated and envied. Toward this distracting problem of race, he is far finer than many of his darker friends, for he walks without plaint or protest even in his hurt, while I, by God, front earth and high Heaven with insistent and unceasing clamor against this throttling of the Art of beauty, against this enchaining of the human spirit — against, to be sure, its cruelty and pain, but even more, against its crass stupidity.

W. E. B. Du Bois.

BESIDE THE STILL WATERS

By W. E. B. Du Bois

This is peculiarly the occasion to say a word of the relationship between the theatre and the American Negro. The stage still retains among us something of freedom and the forward gaze. Behind the footlights one is permitted to examine and discuss Truth under circumstances where literature is stifled, painting inarticulate, sculpture choked of convention, architecture drowned in waves of monstrosity and music fettered by death.

But this continuing freedom of dramatic art is due to no courage of managers or merit of dramatists and is threatened not only by the well recognized fatty degeneration of musical comedy but by that secret, internal and devastating malady which attacks an art which is free to treat the truth and yet afraid to look it fair in the face. This is the present attitude of the American theatre as it faces the Negro.

The stranger from the stars bursting in upon earth today would, without shadow of a doubt or moment of hesitancy, fasten upon the plight of the black man in America as the most dramatic stuff of the modern world. Conceive this harsh and heavy thrust of dark and primitive peoples out of the soft green and gold and clantradition of the tropics into the spiritual anarchy of the French Revolution and the frozen puritanism of Victoria. For centuries fish fed on flesh across the whole Atlantic. The isles of the Caribbean shrieked to Boston and New Orleans; black slavery swept the valley of the Mississippi and fought white labor on Rockies and Appalachians. Nothing escaped it—neither religion nor philosophy, literature nor art, science nor government. Across a continent, across a world, the horror and tragedy and farce of this stupendous drama flew, and beside it men and women danced, and above it rolled a never-to-be forgotten song. The souls of stricken millions descended into Hell and the third century arose again

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from the dead—with what blood and prickling pain—with such exquisite horror of hurt as humanity has seldom known. Every known element of human drama, every device of theatrical effect was here—the crucifixtion of motherhood, the murder of children, the rape of homes; piteous debasement and nameless exhaltation of the spirit of man. There was lacking no impudence of wealth nor depths of uttermost pits of poverty. There was the sting of whips, the fangs of dogs, the laughter of power, the refinement of cruelty and the sobbing abasement of the lowest of the low—dragged slowly and bitterly and relentlessly out over endless years. This is the thing that today America makes merry over. It is our major amusement. It is material for clowns and braying asses. It is our national and perennial joke.

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our sale of laughter lie no pools of bitter tears.

Not only has the American theatre refused to face the drama of the Negro problem, but it has opposed every effort of the Negro himself to find dramatic expression on the stage. It is not enough, in this great and free commonwealth of the spirit of man, that most training schools of drama and art are closed to black folk; it is not enough that in the annual nationwide radio audition no voice of an angel in a black skin may be heard; it is not enough that the American schools at Fontainbleau, supported by the leaders in American painting, sculpture and architecture, have sought to extend the American color line across France—all this perhaps must be tolerated and even awaited in arts dominated by money, by the private profit ideal and by cheap and smug convention. But in the freer air of the drama, despite its all too evident pandering to monopoly and the intellectual mob, it is astonishing to realize the fight which the black actor has had to gain the merest shadow of foothold on Broadway. No one is child enough to believe that a black skin makes an actor, or that the suffering of a people creates of itself the delicate art to portray it. But when the artist does appear, proven and clear, it is almost unbelievable that his fellow white artists would so long and so persistently deny him full recognition.

48-12-3

When Europe of the early 19th Century recognized the great Jewess, Rachel, and the great Negro, Aldridge, as the two outstanding leaders of the stage, whom governments and science and art delighted to honor, that black man could not put foot on a single legitimate stage in the land of his birth. But even after slavery, and from 1870 down nearly to our day, the Negro actor could appear at Court only as the king's fool, with cap and bells, with quip and joke, ready over his own heartbreak to guffaw lustily and dance fantastically for the massed amusement of morons. Even when the unchangeable logic of a particular plot demanded

black characters, up until yesterday, even these parts must be taken by white folk with blackened faces, unknown dialect and an unusually dumb mental equipment. This nonsense in time went beyond the limit of New York complacency and today not even burnt cork could save a miserable play although supported by the bad acting of the royal family.

This hesitancy of our freest form of art really to be free—this refusal of managers, playwrights and players to use normally and intelligently, the abundant stuff of dramatic material and the not infrequent genius in acting which a nation within a nation furnishes—a black nation greater than Ireland, Belgium, Austria or Portugal—a nation equal in numbers to Egypt, Persia, Czechoslovakia and all Scandinavia—this studied neglect of the most dramatic material in America has already reacted and will react on the theatre in the United States. A freedom unused is perverted or lost. If the stage dare not frankly and fully portray the Negro problem because of fear and snobbery,—because of a provincial mentality born of the slave oligarchy, spawned south of the Mason and Dixon's line and transplanted to the congenial concrete sidewalks of New York—the American theatre will find itself with all the greater ease and easier logic denied the right to discuss sex and war, socialism and Russia, liquor and wealth, and anything which at anytime an entrenched autocracy or a prurient puritanism or a Nordic impudence may guard with the shackles of censorship.

The abiding refuge of our optimism is the slow growth of normal dramatic instinct among us even anent the Negro; the slow expansion of a national receptive audience unafraid of racial problems. True it is that the fear still lurks; for the stage is still slow and the effective audience too small—and already something may have been eternally lost in creative genius, dramatic ability and the unhampered critical spirit but "The Green Pastures" has helped our hope, and it has helped not so

48-12-1

much in form and word and authorship as in the deft and subtle marvel of its interpretation. For skillful as the written play may be, the secret of its triumph lies in its interpretation by Negro actors, and above all in the high and delicate genius of Richard Berry Harrison.

Even here an abundant satisfaction is haunted by a bleak memory. I have known Richard Harrison for thirty-five years. He stands before you tonight with smiling lips and tranquil courage of a high heart. But I know—I know what crucifixion this man has suffered. Here is a white man of singular capacity and noble beauty who had a black great-grandfather. And who because of that fact and that alone—because of a truth he saw no reason to deny or conceal,—he has been given in this land of the free and home of the brave, from 1864-1930--66 years, no real opportunity, no fair chance, no liberty for the genius that always lay in him, until 1930 and even then almost by accident.

What the author of this play expected in its presentation, I do not know, but you and I know full well and of a certainity what the first audiences expected—what any average American audience expects when Negro actors appear in a Negro play. They expected amusement; they expected slap-stick and broad farce; they expected filth. They licked dry lips for "The Green Pastures" of their imagination would be gaudy with food and fun, and of the Still Waters beneath they recked nothing.

If Richard Harrison had learned to dance clog and make faces in his youth, he might have riches now. But his demand for sincere drama, for the sting of tragedy and the high humor of true comedy, had led him long years face to face with hunger and poverty, straight on toward careless neglect. He was not one to complain. He has the high and African gift of laughter. He too has looked at death and smiled.

At last the closed gate opened, so casually, so carelessly, that Harrison himself was not sure of what he saw—not sure it was The Gate.

Someone was needed to portray God as a nigger minstrel on Broadway.

48-12-5

But it had to be delicately done. There were churches and censors to avoid, there were susceptibilities to be soothed and creeds to be mollified. The audience must surely be tickled and amused, but its mirth must be in bounds, subdued to something like decorum at least in spots.

This called for subtlety in interpretation and understanding—for a deep and human knowledge of mankind, especially of that manner of men who live behind the veil of color, yet are men. Human beings, whether dark and singing slaves or white and bored seekers of Broadway pleasure, must on this stage see God and live. Who could do this miracle of acting?

When manager and playwright turned to find such a man they faced a wall. They knew few Negro actors. To Broadway the Negro was not an actor, he was a vaudeville turn. True it was that Charles Gilpin, by the tragedy of his own damnation had, with dying flair of genius and clairvoyance of O'Neill, forced the Negro defeatist psychology partially across the footlights. Half willingly thereafter, Broadway endured patronizingly Robeson and Rose McClendon for limited periods and with the clearly expressed proviso, that the author engage in the climax to kill the black hero, or destroy him or rend his soul from his body. Then the white audience could depart secure in the knowledge that all Negro aspiration and effort, by the very constitution of the universe, must ever end in annihilation and defeat, frustration and death.

But this climax would not suit "The Green Pastures". Even on the American stage, God must be reasonably successful; and that Richard Harrison almost as a last resort was offered the opportunity to try this role was a matter of chance.

What he accomplished, the nation knows. By the breadth of a hair and half-turn of a phrase—by a gesture and a silence, he guided a genial comedy into a great and human drama. Small wonder that only

48-12-6

who see the miracle can gauge the genius of its doing or realize the rare perfection of its detailed accomplishment. The south, the west, which have not seen the actor and the play are curious and skeptical concerning it. With puzzled frown they inquire into its impression and results and shake vague heads. One can clearly understand how England, reading the text alone, can not escape the feeling that its content must either be blasphemy or farce. And yet no human soul witnessing a performance can doubt the lure of its human kindliness and the mighty tragedy beneath the deep and reverent guidance of a great actor.

What you then as audience and two as authors have unleashed and unbound in this great soul—what you have freed and unfettered in a man and a race, is but earnest of what actors you may see and what drama you may evoke, if instead of hiding your heads in the sand and scurrying abroad to borrow for the American stage the second-hand situations of Paris and Vienna,—you open purblind eyes and glance about you.

48-12-1

This meeting tonight is a tribute to Richard Harrison—a tribute belated and artifical, but none the less sincere. He is in his charm and courtesy, his tact and tolerant philosophy, one to be emulated and envied. Toward this distracting problem of race, he is far finer than many of his darker friends, for he walks without plaint or protest even in his hurt, while I, by God, front earth and high Heaven with insistent and unceasing clamor against this throttling of the Art, of beauty, against this enchaining of the human spirit—against, to be sure, its cruelty and pain, but even more, against its crass stupidity.

B E S I D E T H E S T I L L W A T E R S

This is peculiarly the occasion to say a word of the relationship between the theatre and the American Negro. The stage still retains, among us, something of freedom and the forward gaze. Behind the footlights one is permitted to examine and discuss ~~tents~~ Truth under circumstances where literature is stifled, painting inarticulate, sculpture choked of convention, architecture drowned in waves of monstrosity and music fettered by death.

But this continuing freedom of dramatic art is due to no courage of managers or merit of dramatists, and is threatened not only by the well recognized fatty degeneration of musical comedy, but by that secret, internal and devastating malady which attacks an art ~~which is~~ free to treat the truth and yet afraid to look it fair in the face. This is the present attitude of the American theatre as it faces the Negro.

The stranger from the stars, bursting in upon earth today would, without shadow of a doubt or moment of hesitancy, fasten upon the plight of the black man in America as the most dramatic stuff of the modern world. Conceive this harsh and heavy thrust of dark and primitive peoples, out of

clan tradition

the soft green and gold of the tropics into the spiritual anarchy of the French Revolution and the ~~broken~~ FROZEN puritanism of Victoria. For centuries, fish fed on flesh across the whole Atlantic. The isles of the Caribbean shrieked to Boston and New Orleans; black slavery swept the valley of the Mississippi and fought white labor ~~and~~ on Rockies and Appalachians. Nothing escaped it - neither religion nor philosophy, literature nor art, ~~family, town~~ science nor government. Across a continent, across a world, the horror and tragedy and farce of this stupendous drama flew and ~~beside~~ beneath it men and women danced, and above it rolled a never-to-be-forgotten song. The souls of stricken millions descended into ~~this hell of every possible degradation,~~ Hell and in the third century arose again from the dead - with what blood and prickling pain - with ~~such~~ what exquisite ~~horror~~ sting of hurt as humanity has seldom known. Every known element of human drama, every device of theatrical effect was here - the crucifixtion of motherhood, the murder of babes, the rape of homes, piteous debasement and nameless exhaltation of the spirit of man. There was lacking no ~~impudence~~ arrogance of wealth nor depths ~~of uttermost pits~~ of poverty. There was the sting of whips the fangs of dogs, the laughter of power, the refinement of cruelty and the sobbing abasement of the lowest of the low - dragged slowly and bitterly and relentlessly out over

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endless years. This is the thing that today America makes merry over. It is our major amusement. It is material for clowns and braying asses. It is our national and perennial joke.

Yet for four hundred years of the mad warp and woof of this land's history, the black and crimson thread of Africa ~~has~~ dominated every pattern; and not the double tongues ~~mouths~~ of all the Dunnings and Charles Beards shall alter the red record of one jot of it.

Before this mightiest of human dramas, save here and there, a lucid interval, the American theatre has sat distraught, dumb and stupid with a vacant grin on its face: afraid of the truth, cowed by the tragedy, aghast at the very intricacy and endless implications of the plot. American playwrights have strained their inwards to ~~submerge~~ transmute this drama into farce; to turn the ~~piteous~~ grim tragedy of the Negro into cheap pornographic bathos; to paint this all too human life into a degenerate reflection of ~~their own~~ sadistic desires. Until today, on stage and in literature, ~~in painting~~ nearly in all art save ~~alone in~~ alone music, the souls of black folk have been submerged in fetid filth and white pimps who finance and exploit black prostitutes in "Nigger Heaven" have ~~quite~~ persuaded a complacent world that Harlem has no light of common day; that underneath ~~this tear-stained bit~~ have quite concealed the blazing Hell beneath;

our vale of laughter hi no floods of bitter tears
~~of earth | see the no blazing depths of hell.~~

Not only | has the American theatre | refused to face the drama of the Negro problem, but it has opposed every effort of the Negro himself | to find dramatic expression on the stage. | It is not enough, in this great and free commonwealth | of the spirit of man, that ~~the chief~~ most training schools of drama and painting are closed to black folk; it is not enough that in ~~the~~ nationwide radio audition no voice, of an angel in a black skin ~~though it were the voice of angels~~ | may be heard; it is not enough | that the American schools at Fontainblew, supported by the leaders in American painting, sculpture and architecture have sought to extend the American color line to France ~~across Europe~~ - all this | perhaps | must be tolerated and even awaited | in arts dominated by money, by the private profit ideal | and by cheap and smug convention. But in the freer air of the drama, despite its all too evident | pandering to monopoly and the intellectual mob, | it is astonishing to realize | the fight which the black actor has had | to gain the ~~merest~~ shadow of foothold | on Broadway. // No one is child enough | to believe that a black skin makes an actor | or that the suffering of a people | creates of itself | the delicate art to portray it. But when the artist does appear, proven and clear, it is almost unbelievable | that his fellow white artists would so long | and so persistently | deny him ~~full~~ recognition.

When Europe | of the early 19th Century | recognized the

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great Jewess Rachel and the great Negro Aldridge, as the two outstanding leaders of the stage, whom governments and science and art delighted to honor, that black man could not put foot on a single legitimate stage in the land of his birth. ~~But even~~ And after slavery and from 1870 down nearly to our day, the Negro actor could appear at the white Court of Monnis only as ~~the white~~ king's fool, with cap and bells, with quip and joke, ready over his own heartbreak to guffaw lustily and dance fantastically for the massed amusement of morons. Even when the unchangeable logic of a particular plot demanded black characters, up until yesterday, ~~even~~ these parts must be taken by white folk with blackened faces, unknown dialect and an unusually dumb mental equipment. This nonsense in time went beyond the limit of New York complacency and today ~~not~~ even burnt cork could not save a miserable play although supported by the ~~best~~ bad acting of the royal family.

38-12-226

This hesitancy of our freest form of art really to be free - this refusal of managers, playwrights and players to use normally and intelligently the abundant stuff of dramatic material and the not infrequent genius in acting which a nation within a nation furnishes - a black nation greater than Ireland, or Belgium, Austria or Portugal - a nation equal in numbers to Egypt, Persia, Czechoslovakia and all Scandi-

navia - this studied neglect of the most dramatic material in America has already reacted and over reacts on the theatres in the United States. A freedom unused is perverted or lost. If the stage dare not frankly and fully portray the Negro problem because of fear and snobbery, because of a provincial mentality born of the slave oligarchy, spawned south of the Mason and Dixon's line and transplanted to the congenial concrete sidewalks of New York - the American theatre will find itself with all the greater ease and easier logic denied the right to discuss sex and war, socialism and Russia, liquor and wealth and anything or which at anytime an entrenched autocracy or a prurient puritanism or a Nordic impudence may guard with the shackles of censorship. The abiding refuge of our optimism is the slow growth of normal dramatic instinct among us even anent the Negro; the slow expansion of a national receptive audience unafraid of racial problems. True it is that the fear still lurks, for the stage is slow and the effective audience too small - and already something may have been eternally lost in creative genius, dramatic ability and the unhampered critical spirit; but "The Green Pastures" has helped our hope. And it has helped not so much in form and word and authorship as in the deft

38-12-222

and subtle marvel of its interpretation. For skillful as ~~its~~ the written ~~play~~ plot may be, the secret of the triumph of this play lies in its interpretation by Negro actors and above all in the high and delicate genius of Richard Berry Harrison.

Even here an abundant satisfaction is haunted by a bleak memory. I have known Richard Harrison for thirty-five years. He stands before you tonight with smiling lips and the tranquil courage of a high heart. But I know - I know what crucifixion this man has suffered. Here is a white man of singular capacity and noble beauty who had ~~the accident of~~ a black great grandfather. And who because of that fact and that alone - because of a truth he ~~was too proud~~ saw no reason to deny or conceal, he ~~has been~~ was given in this land of the free and home of the brave, ~~during~~ a ~~life of nearly seventy years~~, no opportunity, no chance, no liberty for the genius that always lay in him from 1864 until 1930 and ~~even~~ then almost by accident.

What the author of this play expected in its presentation, I do no know, but you and I know full well and of a certainty what the first audiences expected - what any average American audience expects when Negro actors appear in a Negro play. They expected amusement; they expected

38-12-226

slap-stick and broad farce; they expected filth. They licked dry lips, for "The Green Pastures" of their imagination would be gaudy with food and fun and of the Still Water, ~~beyond~~ beneath they recked nothing.

If Richard Harrison had learned to dance clog and make faces in his youth, he might have riches now. But his demand for sincere drama, for the sting of tragedy and the high humor of true comedy, has led him long years face to face with hunger and ~~threadbare clothes on to careless~~ poverty straight on toward an end neglect. He was not one to complain. He has the high and African gift of laughter. He too has looked at death and smiled.

~~At last~~ The closed gate opened, opened so casually, so carelessly, that Harrison himself was not sure of what he saw - not sure it was the gate.

Someone was needed to portray God as a nigger minstrel on Broadway. But it had to be delicately done. There were churches and censors to avoid, there were susceptibilities to be soothed and creeds to be mollified. The audience must surely be tickled and amused, but its mirth must be in bounds, subdued to something like decorum at least in spots.

This called for subtlety in interpretation and understanding - for a deep and human knowledge of mankind, espe-

cially of that manner of men who live behind the veil of color, yet are men. Human beings, whether dark and singing slaves, or white and bored seekers of Broadway pleasure, must on this stage see God and live. Who could do this miracle of ~~a play~~? acting?

When manager and playwright turned to find such a man they faced a wall. They knew few Negro actors. To Broadway the Negro was not an actor, he was a vaudeville turn. True it was that Charles Gilpin, by the tragedy of his own damnation had, with ~~the~~ dying flair of genius and ~~the~~ clairvoyance of O'Neill forced the Negro defeatist psychology partially across the footlights. Half willingly thereafter Broadway endured patronizingly, Robeson and Rose McClendon for limited periods and with the clearly expressed proviso, that the author engage, in the climax, to kill the black hero, or destroy him or rend his soul from his body. Then the white audience could depart secure in the knowledge that all Negro aspiration and effort, by the very constitution of the universe, must ever end in annihilation and defeat, frustration and death.

But this climax would not suit "The Green Pastures." Even on the American stage, God must be reasonably successful; and that Richard Harrison ~~almost~~ as a last resort was offered the opportunity to try this role was almost a mat-

38-12-230

ter of chance.

What he accomplished did, the nation knows. By the breadth of a hair and half tone of a phrase, by silence & the lifting of a hand he guided a genial comedy into a great and human drama. Small wonder that only those who see the miracle can gauge the genius of its doing, or realize the rare perfection of its detailed accomplishment. The south, the west, which have not seen the actor and the play, are curious and skeptical concerning it. With puzzled frown they inquire into its impression and results, and shake vague heads. One can clearly understand how England, reading the text alone, can not escape the feeling that its ~~content~~ message must either be blasphemy or farce. And yet no human soul witnessing a performance can doubt the lure of its human kindliness and the mighty tragedy beneath the deep and reverant guidance of a great actor.

What you then as audience and two as author have unleashed and unbound in this great soul - what you have freed and unfettered in a man and a race, is but earnest of what actors you may see and what drama you may evoke if instead of hiding your heads in the sand and then scurrying abroad to borrow for the American stage the second hand situations of Paris and Vienna, you open your fur blind eyes and glance about you.

This meeting tonight is a tribute to Richard Harrison - a tribute belated and artifical, but none the less sincere.

38-12-231

38-12-232

He is in his charm and courtesy, his tact and tolerant philosophy, one to be emulated and envied. / Toward this distracting problem of race, he is far finer than many of his darker friends, for he walks without plaint or protest even in his hurt; while I, by God, front earth and high Heaven, with insistent and unceasing clamor against this throttling of the Arts of beauty, against this enchaining of the human spirit -- against, to be sure, its cruelty and pain but even more against its crass stupidity.

W. E. B. DuBOIS.

[INCOMPLETE]

~~A FORWARD.~~

BESIDE THE STILL WATERS.

This is peculiarly the time to say a word of the relationship between the theatre and the American Negro. The stage still retains among us something of freedom and the forward gaze. Behind the footlights one is permitted to examine and discuss Truth under circumstances where literature is stifled, painting inarticulate, sculpture choked of convention, architecture drowned in waves of monstrosity and music fettered by death.

But this continuing freedom of dramatic art is due to no courage of managers nor merit of dramatists, and is threatened not only by the well recognized fatty degeneration of musical comedy, but by that secret, internal and devastating malady which attacks an art which is free to treat the truth, and yet afraid to look it fair in the face. This is the present attitude of the American theatre as it faces the Negro.

41-6-357

The stranger from the stars bursting in upon earth today would, without shadow of a doubt or moment of hesitancy, fasten upon the plight of the black man in America as the most dramatic stuff of the modern world. Conceive this harsh and heavy thrust of dark and primitive peoples, out of the soft green and gold and clan tradition of the tropics, into the anarchy of the Reformation and French Revolution and the puritanism of Victoria! For centuries fish fed on flesh across the whole Atlantic. The isles of the Caribbean shrieked to Boston and New Orleans; black slavery swept the valley of the Mississippi and fought white labor on Rockies and Appalachians.

Nothing escaped it—neither religion nor philosophy, literature nor art, science nor government. Across a continent, across a world, the horror and tragedy and farce of this stupendous drama flew, and beside it men and women danced, and above it rolled a never-to-be forgotten song.

The souls of stricken millions descended into Hell and the third century arose again from the dead—with what blood and prickling pain—with such exquisite horror of hurt, as humanity has seldom known.

Every known element of human drama, every device of theatrical effect was here—the crucifixion of motherhood, the murder of children, the rape of homes; piteous debasement and nameless exaltation of the spirit of man. There was lacking no impudence of wealth nor depths of uttermost pits of poverty. There was the sting of whips, the fangs of dogs, the laughter of power, the refinement of cruelty and the sobbing abasement of the lowest of the low—dragged slowly and bitterly and relentlessly out over endless years. This is the thing that today America makes meery over. It is our major amusement. It is material for clowns and braying asses. It is our national and perennial joke.

41-6-358

Yet for four hundred years of the mad warp and woof of this land's history, the black and crimson thread of Africa has dominated every pattern, and not the double tongues of all the Dunnings and Charles Beards shall alter the red record of one jot of it.

Before this mightiest of human dramas, save here and there a lucid interval, the American theatre has sat distraught, dumb and stupid, with a vacant grin on its face: afraid of the truth, cowed by the tragedy, aghast at the very intricacy and endless implications of the plots. American playwrights have strained their inwards to submerge this drama into farce; to turn the piteous tragedy of the Negro into cheap pornographic bathos; to paint this all too human life into a degenerate reflection of their own sadistic desires. Until today on stage and in literature, in painting, in all art, save alone in music, the souls of black folk have been submerged in fetid filth and white pimps who finance and exploit black prostitutes in "Nigger Heaven"

have quite concealed the blazing Hell beneath; and persuaded a complacent world that Harlem has no light of common day; that underneath our sale of laughter lie no pools of bitter tears.

Not only has the American theatre refused to face the drama of the Negro problem, but it has opposed every effort of the Negro himself to find dramatic expression on the stage. It is not enough, in this great and free commonwealth of the spirit of man, that most training schools of drama and art are closed to black folk; it is not enough that in the annual nationwide radio audition no voice of an angel in a black skin may be heard; it is not enough that the American schools at Fontainbleau, supported by the leaders in American painting, sculpture and architecture, have sought to extend the American color line across France—all this perhaps must be tolerated and even awaited in arts dominated by money, by the private profit ideal and by cheap and smug convention. But in the freer air of the drama, despite its all too evident pandering to monopoly and the intellectual mob, it is astonishing to realize the fight which the black actor has had to gain the merest shadow of foothold on Broadway. No one is child enough to believe that a black skin makes an actor, or that the suffering of a people creates of itself the delicate art to portray it. But when the artist does appear, proven and clear, it is almost unbelievable that his fellow white artists would so long and so persistently deny him full recognition.

41-6-359

When Europe of the early 19th Century recognized the great Jewess, Rachel, and the great Negro, Aldridge, as the two outstanding leaders of the stage, whom governments and science and art delighted to honor, that black man could not put foot on a single legitimate stage in the land of his birth. But even after slavery,

and from 1870 down nearly to our day, the Negro actor could appear at Court only as the king's fool, with cap and bells, with quip and joke, ready over his own heartbreak to guffaw lustily and dance fantastically for the massed amusement of morons. Even when the unchangeable logic of a particular plot demanded black characters, up until yesterday, even these parts must be taken by white folk with blackened faces, unknown dialect and an unusually dumb mental equipment. This nonsense in time went beyond the limit of New York complacency and today not even burnt cork could save a miserable play, although supported by the bad acting of the royal family.

41-6-360

This hesitancy of our freest form of art really to be free; this refusal of managers, playwrights and players to use normally and intelligently, the abundant stuff of dramatic material and the not infrequent genius in acting which a nation within a nation furnishes—a black nation greater than Ireland, Belgium, Austria or Portugal—a nation equal in numbers to Egypt, Persia, Czechoslovakia and all Scandinavia—this studied neglect of the most dramatic material in America, has already reacted and will react on the theatre in the United States. A freedom unused is perverted or lost. If the stage dare not frankly and fully portray the Negro problem because of fear and snobbery—because of a provincial mentality born of the slave oligarchy, spawned south of the Mason and Dixon line and transplanted to the congenial concrete sidewalks of New York—the American theatre will find itself with all the greater ease and easier logic denied the right to discuss sex and war, socialism and Russia, liquor and wealth, and anything which at any time an entrenched autocracy or a prurient puritanism or a Nordic impudence may guard with the shackles of censorship.

The abiding refuge of our optimism is the slow growth of normal

1931 Return 2 NYSDD

James Weldon Johnson, in whose honor we are here tonight, was born in Jacksonville, Florida June 17, 1871. He received his training at Atlanta University in Georgia and then became a high school teacher. In 1897, he was admitted to the bar and for four years practiced law. Then, in 1901, he came to New York City and for five years collaborated with his brother in producing music and light opera. From 1906 to 1912, he represented the United States as Consular Officer in Venezuela and Nicaragua. In 1917, he became Field Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and in 1920 its Executive Secretary.

This year he resigned his Secretaryship to devote himself to literature and to serve as Spence Professor at Fisk University.

I repeat these dates and details as an interpretative background for Mr. Johnson's spiritual development. He is characterized by a sort of genial humor which escapes cynicism, on the one hand, and on the other, is never mere light-heartedness. Indeed, his very charm of character rises from this union of philosophical humor with such stern experience, within the American veil of color, as his career indicates.

Mr. Johnson, for instance, was once nearly lynched in Florida; and quite naturally lynching to him, despite all obvious excuses and explanations and mitigating circumstances, can never be less than terribly real. He may smile over aspects of it but it can never be a mere joke.

His practice of law in the South gave him infinite opportunities to laugh at the plight of Negroes but he could never stop simply with laughing.

Coming to New York as a young man of 30, he had unusual opportunity to escape provincialism, both of race and of section. He met men and women of all walks of life and knew the metropolitan scene on a broad and tempting scale. He developed here that characteristic ability to meet and know and please all manner of men; and yet withal the straitness of the gates before him, the limitations of everyday life, the curious and recurrent difficulties of a Negro's artistic career never allowed him to mistake Life for the enjoyment of Life.

33-6-21

In South America Mr. Johnson touched in some respects an even wider world of nations, customs and languages. He escaped for the moment the hitherto inescapable sense of the color bar and he acquired that poise and individuality, that breadth and culture which his friends especially appreciate and admire. And yet even in this career, he could not altogether lose himself in the larger world because the Department of State too peremptorily refused him merited promotion for less than a reason, and Mr. Johnson suddenly found himself at 40 back in New York and at the end of an era.

33-6-22

There was a certain incongruity in having a man with such training join the executive staff of the N. A. A. C. P. Ours was an unpopular and disturbing fanaticism. One does not usually train a teacher, lawyer, poet and diplomat and set him to propaganda and social agitation. And yet here there were singular compensations. It was, for instance, easy for Mr. Johnson to converse genially with professional Southerners and admit the difficulties of the Negro problem, the humors of the color situation, and the eternal triumph of character. But with all this, no one could more easily prove than James Weldon Johnson that the color line was no mere myth nor wild phantasmagoria of bitter souls. Mr. Johnson, therefore,

easily created a role of interpretation and sympathetic contact, both with his fellow workers and with the outer world, while at the same time he pushed a furious anti-lynching campaign and beseiged the courts with cases of color discrimination which could not easily be dismissed.

33-6-23

This, then, has been James Weldon Johnson's life and work, and for this we honor him tonight. And yet, I have no doubt but that the majority of his friends here are much less stirred and motivated in their praise by these facts, than by the real and delightful comradeship which they have been privileged to enjoy with a broad and catholic soul. Mr. Johnson is one of the few men who can invade my office at 11 o'clock in the morning and receive a welcoming smile.

And finally the friends here are especially pleased tonight to mark with applause the fact, that in the early evening of life when the sun still lingers in color on the horizon, and when creative Beauty still beckons James Weldon Johnson is going to have some leisure to loaf and invite his soul to those pastures which he is so fittingly trained to enjoy.

33-6-24

AWE. DuBois

Baird of New Jersey.

The population of New Jersey has increased from 1,880,000 in 1900 to 2,500,000 in 1910 and 3,155,000 in 1920. There are today more than 3,500,000 people in the state. The Negro population from 1900 to 1920 forms from 3½% to three and seven-tenths percent of the population. Today, it probably forms at least 4% of the population and probably exceeds 200,000. There were in 1920 75,000 Negroes 21 years of age and over, men and women. Today there must be near 100,000 potential voters. Thus, the Negroes of New Jersey will cast in the coming elections 4% or more of the total vote. This is not a large vote. In the six presidential elections, from 1896-1916, 75,000 votes would have decided the electral vote of New Jersey. In 1920-1924, the State went so overwhelmingly Republican that the Negro vote was not decisive. In 1928, although the vote was nearer, still the Negroes alone could not have swung the election. But in 1932, the situation is different. The Negro vote is larger than ever, the different appeals of the Republicans and Democrats are small, unless all signs fail, it is going to be a close election, and that means that the black vote is going to come pretty near settling the result. The candidate for Governor is David Baird, Jr. He was born in New Jersey in 1881; educated at Princeton, where he met no colored students, and was United States Senator by appointment from 1929-1931. When the Parker case came up in the Senate, all classes of New Jersey colored people asked Senator Baird to vote against John J. Parker of North Carolina as Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Branches of the N. A. A. C. P., ministers, fraternal organizations, women's clubs, petitioned Mr. Baird. Mr. Baird replied May 7, 1930: "That the United States Senator should vote his personal conviction, and that he proposed to support the President." This is the basis

49-5-63

of fact before us. What are we going to do about it? If we are wise and patriotic, we are going to vote against Mr. Baird. Not because he is a bad man, not because he is not personally friendly to many of us, but because as [illegible] our political representative he did not do as we asked him to do. He was not compelled to do this. Neither are we compelled to vote for him if we do not wish to do it. It is a plain matter of barter and sale. A man holds political office in order to carry out the will of his constituents according to his own best knowledge and belief. If he conscientiously votes for a measure which his constituents do not wish to have put through, then he has no right to complain if his constituents prefer another person. And these constituents are dishonest with themselves and unpatriotic if they do not vote for the man that carries out their ideas in government. Senator Baird voted to put a man on the Bench of the Supreme Court who did not believe in the right of the Negroes to vote, and he did this frankly, openly, knowing what your wish was. If you do not punish him, you have no right to claim that you are intelligent voters.

RUSSIA
ENGLAND
GERMANY
FRANCE

INDIA
CHINA
LIBERIA

U.S.A. { 1776 / 1861 / 1931

DAVID BAIRD

(INCOMPLETE) Atlantic City Speech

Sept. 2, 1931

Du Bois

Baird of New Jersey.

The population of New Jersey has increased from 1,880,000 in 1900 to 2,500,000 in 1910 and 3,155,000 in 1920. There are today more than 3,500,000 people in the state. The Negro population from 1900 to 1920 forms from 3½% to three and seven-tenths percent of the population. Today, it probably forms at least 4% of the population and probably exceeds 200,000. There were in 1920, 75,000 Negroes 21 years of age and over, men and women. Today there must be near 100,000 potential voters. Thus, the Negroes of New Jersey will cast in the coming elections 4% or more of the total vote. This is not a large vote. In the six presidential elections, from 1896-1916, 75,000 votes would have decided the electral vote of New Jersey. In 1920-1924, the State went so overwhelmingly Republican that the Negro vote was not decisive. In 1928, although the vote was nearer, still the Negroes alone could not have swung the election. But in 1932, the situation is different. The Negro vote is larger than ever, the different appeals of the Republicans and Democrats are small, unless all signs fail, it is going to be a close election, and that means that the black vote is going to come pretty near settling the result. The candidate for Governor is David Baird, Jr. He was born in New Jersey in 1881; educated at Princeton, where he met no colored students, and was United States Senator by appointment from 1929-1931. When the Parker case came up in the Senate, all classes of New Jersey colored people asked Senator Baird to vote against John J. Parker of North Carolina as Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Branches of the N. A. A. C. P., ministers, fraternal organizations, women's clubs, petitioned Mr. Baird. Mr. Baird replied May 7, 1930: "That the United States Senator should vote his personal conviction, and that he proposed to support the President." This is the basis

Delivered at Mecca Temple — Peace Meeting undated

The Economics of War

Yesterday, I rode across the George Washington Bridge. I had watched its building from week to week since the first wire was thrown across. And yet, as I looked down from its high and magnificent triumph to the waters below, I realized that it was set thus upon a hill and enhanced tremendously in cost, not for the added beauty of its high reality, but so that the masts of battleships might more easily sail below it.

I could not help but remember that a single one of those battleships costs today near half the price of this bridge, and that if all the battleships of our navy paraded beneath it, as they probably will, it would represent sufficient to build nearly five bridges as beautiful and useful and destined for efficiency three or four times as many years as the ships.

38-12-65

Moreover, this vast waste comes out of that taxation of which the United States and all the world is complaining in these days of depression. When the United States government collects $4 in taxes, it spends $3 of this directly or indirectly for war. And even if we allow that some of this war expenditure is not total waste, it is nevertheless true that much less than half of our national taxation is left for those things for which governments ought primarily to exist: for law-making and the execution of the law; for the Civil Service and the direction of industry; for parks and public buildings; for science and education; for justice and social study. For all these things we have little to spend, as compared with what we spend in war and preparation for war.

All this has been said many times and with much emphasis, until it is so clear as a matter of logic that it scarcely needs repeating.

And yet, the difficulty with the statement and with the underlying philosophy of Peace is that they do not meet, and they are not designed to meet, a set of facts which contradict them and lead straight to war and war expense.

I believe that the War against War suffers more from this mistake and this contradiction in logic than from anything else. For instance, the arguments against war between England and the United States are so overwhelming that one gasps for words. The favorite expression is that such a war is "unthinkable!" When the World War was impending and that little German war vessel swept into Agadir, we who sat in London in 1911, at a world conference of Races, repeated the same futile words: a war among the civilized nations of the earth is unthinkable. And it was unthinkable, as a matter of self defence, as a matter of military glory—for any cause, unless you remembered all that there was at stake and in dispute between France and Germany, and England and Austria, and America and the world: you must, out of the surrounding haze of word and action, recall that the rivalry for Income and Profits between the leading nations of modern civilization was not simply an incident of their relations; it was, on the contrary, a great and increasing reason for Fear and Distrust, just as it is between England and the United States today. Moreover, the main area of that fight was not Europe but Africa and Asia, South America and the islands of the sea; the area was not close and clear to the eyes of citizens and voters but far off among people of different language, race, religion and culture. The men on the spot who were leading the rivalry and staking out the claims and fortifying the industrial positions, were not the great leaders of European and American civilization; they were not the writers and teachers and ministers of religion, the professors of science, and the inventors,

38-12-66

the social workers and the thinkers and philosophers, and natural molders of public opinion; they were rather the hard-bitten, and ruthless pioneers whose job it was to make profit and ever more profit on their transactions; to buy cheap and sell dear; to control labor, even by slavery; and to pour into the Babylons of modern civilization streams of tribute. They came to be aided as time went by astute propagandists and wise molders of fact until every school boy knew the character of the White Man's Burden among the child races and how different Liberty and Democracy were in England and Nigeria.

38-12-67

Such profit was worth fighting for, and that is the reason that the world went to war in 1914; but even before the conflagation reached Europe, it was alight here and there and always throughout the world; and in just the same way and with the same apparent lack of interest or attention on the part of the mass even of intelligent people, we must remember that since the Armstice of 1918 up until this very day, there has not been a single year, when European and American troops have not been waging war in some part of the world.

We can roughly divide this war of white Europe and America against the World into fifteen different wars covering the last thirteen years: it has been fought in Russia; South Africa and the Egyptian Sudan, time and time again in the Belgian Congo; in Portuguese Angola, French and British West Africa, Italian Africa, Indo-China and Syria; in Nicaragua and in Haiti, not to mention China and Turkey, and today in Cyprus.

There has not been a single year, if even a single day, since the World War Armstice, that the world has not been engaged in organized murder somewhere upon its surface, and in practically every case the leading civilized countries of Europe and America have been chief among the fighters, or instigating the fight or at least sitting armed on the sidelines ready for eventualities.

I have often repeated, and I shall never forget, that meeting of the New York Peace Society at the time of the war in the Balkans which preceded the World War, and was indeed, one of its many beginnings. It was Andrew Carnegie himself who stood before us in the Hotel Astor and explained that when we talk of world peace, we are not talking about the Balkans or other backward lands—we are talking about peace between the great civilized nations of the world. I firmly believe that it is principally this kind of argument that is making war permanent in the world and making it proceed upon the assumption that fires which we set and keep going in the wilderness about us have nothing to do with conflagations that threaten the whole world.

38-12-68

Why is it now that we do not make the logical nexus between a war to collect debts due our banking institutions in Nicaragua, a war to insure the regular flow of copper and diamonds out of Africa, a war to break down home rule in Syria and Indo-China,—and the fact that in the United States of America we spend two billion dollars on the army, navy and pensions, and with the fantastic sum which the world today is spending for military preparedness? can we longer refuse to consider the relation between this expenditure and the present economic organization of the world, as the prime present problem of Peace?

Upon what does the economic and cultural supremacy of Europe and America depend today? To some extent upon technique, education, science and literature; but to a far greater extent upon the low cost of labor in Asia and Africa and other parts of the world which we call backward. Our present power depends on keeping this cost of labor low, by holding down the standard of living, by restricting education and thinking, by curbing agitation, by making religion a soporif, by introducting a minimum of those labor restrictions by which we protect labor in civilized countries, and by so marshalling religious, tribal

and social jealousies that no concerted movement of revolt, self-rule and self-realization can get started.

The result is cheap raw material; This raw material which the new world industry devours, comes ever more largely from the colored laborers and the backward countries of the world. A stream of rubber, sugar, coffee, cocoa, cotton, metals, fibers, spices, in addition to gold, silver and diamonds, pour into the lap of Europe and America at a cost which is kept low, and back of all the devices for keeping this cost low has stood and must stand military power. Ask yourselves? What would you say to a free, self-governing Asia, Africa and Carribean? with schools, colleges, industry and high wages? You would, of course, preclude argument by saying it was impossible. But if it were possible, remember that the chief reason for war would go. We are fighting today all over the world for cheap labor and materials for ourselves.

32-12-69

It is for these reasons that Europe and America have their armies. It is not for direct defense against each other, but it is to keep down rebellion and self-assertion in the backward countries, and to ward off aggression on the part of other civilized countries in case they wish to share the profit of cheap labor and cheap raw material in these subject lands.

Unless now we face this nexus between economic imperialism and organized war and preparation for war, our arguments will lead us nowhere. For the very men who would view with displeasure if not horror increasing armaments for war between France, England, Germany and the United States, can easily be brought to see a number of vague but very real duties which England has in India and America in Manchuria and France in Indo-China.

They can be made to assent to collecting debts by force in the West Indies without inquiry too narrowly into what we gave for those

debts. But beyond the cost of direct war and the danger of widespread wars of rivalry, goes the greater cost to our own land of successful exploitation of poor, weak lands and peoples. When such trade and industry backed by military power become successful, the results are amazing. There is first the tremendous world-wide effort to buttress the system by race prejudice—by making everybody believe instinctively that the only method of dealing with most of the world's workers is to drive them and cow them and keep them ignorant. That is what they are fit for and nothing else. The whole old national philosophy of the working class is transferred from the nation to the world.

Beyond this go extraordinary results in the country which reaps the profit. It is the direct competition of low labor costs in backward countries which enables the English cotton manufacturer not simply to get cheap raw material but even to transfer his whole factory; and it makes those who thus dominate the distribution of capital and the direction of industry, independent of national labor conditions, and the demands of organized labor and independent of the popular vote. If, in a country like this, agriculture remains unorganized and depressed, it is partly because cheap agricultural foreign labor comes in direct competition with our agriculture, and in addition to this, because of the power of the masters of industry by which they can favor manufacturing and distribution at the expense of those who raise raw material in their own land. They can command ability, direct legislation, fill the cities and empty the country because out of concentrated city life the profit of investment is larger.

38-12-70

When statements like these are made, many people doubt their truth, of if they admit the truth, they take refuge in an attitude of helplessness; they insist that those who own and direct industry must be motivated by the great rewards of industry, and that you cannot have a United

States or an England or a France unless the possibility of becoming a millionaire, encourages able men to organize and do the world's work.

And yet no sooner has one stated this, than one faces a contradiction. Because it is manifest that even in industry our greatest organizers and executives are not our riches men; our greatest inventors and technicians are seldom millionaires; it is not unusual to have a man who has contributed priceless things to the organization of human industry, die comparatively poor, perhaps in actual poverty.

The reasons for this come out of our war philosophy. Through war and preparedness for war, we are herding the workers of the world and taking their raw material at the cheapest price. The resultant profit to manufacturers is so great that the manipulators of capital through world-wide gambling operations in the transfer of capital, and in the redirection of industry, are enabled to make fabulous sums, or in other words, to gain tremendous economic power; that economic power which is used to direct industry and to distribute wealth in a great country like the United States is not in the hands of our thinkers, of our inventors, of our teachers, of our prophets, or of our leaders of religion. It is ever more largely in the hands of men ignorant of the great landmarks of civilization, trained to a narrow outlook on life and work, and unable of their own initiative to inaugurate reform and afraid to attempt it lest the very machine which they dominate cannot be reformed without destroying the machine.

38-12-71

The great leaders of our industry and of the industrial organization of the world are, therefore, caught in a terrible dilemma; the organization which they have made is beyond their own comprehension. The world unity which has come to us through economic imperialism is not built upon reason, not humanity, it is built upon force. When it breaks down we do not know what it is that is broken or what can lead to rebuilding,

because the real thinkers are without power in the economic process, and the industrial leaders can conceive no other organization which could dominate the world.

All efforts, therefore, at reform are met with a blank negative. You cannot treat African natives like men because they are not men. China can never govern itself and Indian independence is a dream. Moreover, you will ruin commerce, you will ruin industry, and you will not have peace. You can always negotiate for small retrenchments of armament among the leading countries, but the thing must be done carefully, and with universal suspicion. Otherwise, the result will be mere changes in ownership of the cheap labor and cheap materials of the world, which will transfer vast streams of profit from one to another of the dominant countries of today.

38-12-72

On the other hand, if you are thorough-going, if you mean the overthrow of the idea of war, if you envisage the same doing away of arms among nations, as we have largely accomplished among individuals in civilized communities, then the defenders of militarism see and see with perfect truth that the main foundations of present international commerce will be overthrown; the streamof profit to Europe and America from Asia and Africa will be cut down; perhaps for long stretches of time absolutely destroyed. In other words, real pacificism, as contrasted with peace-meal disarmament, means that Europe must and America must give up their exploitation of wealth from the poor of the world and live upon their own labor and industry and upon a fair exchange with peoples able to bargain because free and uncowed by armies, navies and airplanes.

Thus, the real economics of war prove to us that pacificism, like all thorough-going reform, can only be had at great cost, and that the main problem of the United States is whether we will pay this cost or whether we prefer to continue to be one of the great armed powers of the

world with our feet on the necks of mankind and our hands in their pockets.

38-12-73

49-33-30

Address
Boston Community Church (1)
December, 1931

. . . What the New Negro Is Thinking.

It would be effrontery for any one person to pretend that he could with authority and truth state just what twelve million people were thinking. There is no such unity and definiteness in human thought which would make such knowledge possible. It is difficult enough for a single human being to be reasonably sure of his own thoughts and feelings from day to day, and while we talk glibly about a Group Mind, there is after all but scant reality back of such general statement.

When, therefore, I try to tell you what the new Negro is thinking, I must, to a large extent, be expressing my own thought. But I am sincerely seeking in this case to modify my own opinion by what other Americans of Negro descent have said to me and to others

49-33-31 (2)

and have written in books and papers and have given voice to, both in private conversation and on the public platform.

My excuse for being willing to essay so large a task is the fact that I have wide personal acquaintance with this group of people. I have come in contact with them in every state of the Union during some thirty years of public life. I have not only known them in great centers of Negro population, like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, New Orleans, St. Louis, Indianapolis and Los Angeles, but I have also lived on the plantations of the far South and in small towns and in waste places.

Also because it is usually difficult, even impossible, for me to be accommodated at public hotels or restaurants, I have been a guest in thousands of Negro homes of all sorts and grades. And finally, whatever community of blood and training and life-long environment

make for knowledge Which we call instinctive—all this I have. On this basis of fact, I am going to try to tell you what seems to me today to be the leading currents of thought among colored folk. This must immediately narrow itself to those whose thinking is fairly articulate. In other words, I am talking about those who are thinking, writing and speaking. Not, however, simply the opinions of persons of superior education, but also of intelligent laborers and common workers, porters and servants, as well as teachers and professional men.

This stream of thought has in the last hundred years been slowly but definitely integrating; that is, from extreme individualism and discreet groups and separate cities and sections, there has gradually come so many agreements and so much of conference, so many resolutions and statements, that one can with considerable approximation of truth speak today of public opinion among American Negroes.

In the 18th Century, and even in the early 19th Century, such a statement would have been inaccurate. There was the great division into the free Negroes and the slaves. The slaves who were eight-ninths of all were carefully segregated into plantation groups and all communication and spread of intelligence from group to group and place to place, sternly discountenanced. Secret and unusual information spread but with difficulty and distortion. The 100,000 free Negroes of the South were watched, harried and often re-enslaved. The three hundred and more thousand Northern free Negroes in the 18th century had little intellectual or social intercourse with each other. Small groups, like those in Boston, in Newport, and in New York and Philadelphia seldom visited each other, had no periodicals that circulated between them, had few meetings. They were, however, the thinkers for four and one-half millions and tended to develop a strong individualistic philosophy. Every man was thought to progress according to his own deserts and efforts. Two

49-33-34

(5)

wide lines of thought, therefore, developed: | one, that the Negro was an American, | and eventually was going to disappear into the American nation, | -not all Negroes, but this particular Negro who was doing the thinking | and who was exceptional; | and this philosophy was proven true in thousands of cases. | Or, the Negro was really an African. He was going to leave this country for some country in Africa | or elsewhere | where he could be a man. | John Brown Russwurm, the first Negro college graduate, | the son of a white man, with a white stepmother, | came out of ~~college~~ BOWDOIN in 1826 with the idea of achieving American citizenship for himself; | he faced American life two years, editing the first Negro weekly, | and then he turned straight around and said, | there is no chance for me to become a man in America. | He went to Liberia.

Gradually the different groups got in touch with each other.

49-33-35

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Late in the 18th Century there was written correspondence between the Negroes of Newport and Philadelphia. | Inter-group travel increased. | In 1830, occurred the first conference of Negroes in Philadelphia | with William Lloyd Garrison as guest. | From then down to the Civil War, | conventions reached wider and wider circles; | small monthly and weekly papers began to appear; | speakers, like Frederick Douglass and others went from group to group talking | not only to white people | but ~~[illegible]~~ even more effectively to colored people.

Then came the miracle of Emancipation. | Negroes were united by one new and astonishing ideal | and plan of development. | For the first time | among the mass of Negroes | the thought | that had been in the minds of only a few unusual and stalwart black thinkers, | namely: that far from being forever slaves or members of a despised caste, ~~[illegible]~~ there was a chance of their becoming real American citizens | appeared as a realizable ideal.

49-33-36

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There ensued those ~~fearful~~ fateful years | between 1863-1870 | when Negroes become recognized soldiers, voters and officeholders. | They apparently had the public opinion of the United States | back of them. | Skin-color was but an incident, | manhood and ability only | counted, | and the way to uplift was education. — | Learning to read and write, — | learning to handle figures, — | knowing what the world was and had been! Education! | It would not be true | to say that all Negroes believed this. | The thoughtful still doubted, | the thoughtless had no dreams; | but the great surging mass | uprooted from all past experience, | brought into close contact with each other for the first time | and listening to the voices of orators and agitators, | idealists and teachers, — This middle mass went through a physical, | spiritual and social revolution | more violent than any that ever happened to ~~the~~ four and one-half million people in less than a decade.

49-33-37 Then, from 1870-1880, came disillusion. | The reassertion ~~of~~ power by the white master | allied with the enfranchised poor white, | who feared and hated Negroes, | the reappearance of race animosity in the North, | which had only been disguised and lulled but not essentially changed or eradicated | and the new ~~organization of~~ revolution in industry | slapped | the jubilant and emerging Negro | full in the face. | The Negro group was ~~tremendously~~ shaken to its immost soul. | It did more thinking | in those days | than it had done even in the days of the war. | It began to drift and swirl into centers of opposition, inquiry, despair. | There were those who said; "I told you so." | You can never ~~not~~ trust white people. | There were others who said: | "Our rights may be postponed, but with the ballot | and even physical force, | we can regain them." | Still others were sure | that no small minority | could bring force to bear, | either political or physical | against the overwhelming mass of the nation. | ~~Then came the question as to how united and overwhelming this white mass was.~~ Segregation, migration, emigration | armed resistance | race suicide | — all had their advocates.

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(Ward Emancipation)

49-33-38

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But There was one shining and deciding light, and that was the influence of the white school teachers who went South to teach the Negroes. Their influence from 1870-1890 was tremendous. No cynical voice could arise among Negroes, decrying whites, doubting the faith of the nation, sneering at the failure of law, but there immediately arose in opposition the strong, quiet unswerting knowledge of thousands upon thousands of young men and women who knew white people as personal friends, knew them as teachers, advisers, leaders, companions. Moreover, this young group were the new educated leaders of the mass. They were the thinkers and dreamers (preachers, teachers). Against this knowledge of a new élite nothing could prevail, neither despair, revolt, emigration nor bitter recrimination; and the Negro under the leadership of these ~~men~~ students settled down to an unswerving faith in the ultimate triumph of race equality, despite disfranchisement, "Jim Crow" laws and lynching.

49-33-39

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From 1890-1910 however came ominous and portentous change. The inner and real economic problem of Emancipation forced itself for the first time to the front. It had been camouflaged and half-concealed by war, politics, and sentiment. Now came the real problem of transforming four million slaves & wage-earners in the new industry. The slaves had been suddenly changed from Capital & Labor, with no land or tools, suddenly enfranchised & suddenly disfranchised, with little skill no labor unions and in bitter competition with white labor. White labor had growing political power, strong unions and Racial prestige. When Negroes

49-33-40

10½

But from 1890-1910, the same economic difficulties, the logical aftermath of slavery and only postponed by war, political revolution and social unrest, but now increasingly and insistently evident. How were freed slaves and their children going to enter organized industry in America? It was the natural aftermath of Emancipation. In the attempt of slaves to establish themselves permanently as free laborers with a fair wage, they found themselves not only in competition with white labor, but handicapped by growing disfranchisement and race hate. * when they looked to white friends, the white friends, embarrassed looked away

Funds for education decreased. Lynching increased—reaching in 1892, most murders two every three days, in the year and this with little public protest. Matters seemed approaching an impasse when, in 1895, Booker T. Washington voiced his famous compromise. He proposed that Southern industry be opened to Negro workers; that Negroes no longer insist on the ballot, and

49-33-41

11

be trained mainly to work and that Northern philanthropy furnish the funds. The South leaped at the suggestion for it meant docile cheap labor and new industry. The North leaped just as eagerly for it meant common ground with the South, and better returns for capital and it evaded ~~no necessity for soul-racking for over philanthropic~~ platitudes on Negro equality which seemed increasingly dangerous. The Negro eagerly agreed to the compromise—it meant work, education, even eventual wealth, without violence or strife and in the midst of peace. North and South. The philosophy became almost universal. Train the Negro to labor and thrift and establish him as an indispensable part of the tremendous American economic organization. The thesis was clear, simply and logical, and back of it stood the most influential molders of public opinion, black and white.

Nevertheless, it eventually tore the Negro race in two; and it did so because it cut straight across the long prepared public opinion of this calm,

courageous and faithful mass of educated Negroes who were beginning
49-33-42
to get real education. They were not agitators. They were not doctrinaires. (12)
But they knew facts because they had learned from excellent teachers
They tried from the first quietly to speak and warn, but they had the utmost difficulty in making themselves heard. They were moving against a tremendous current of public opinion. They found themselves misrepresented as being ashamed of working with the hands despising all but white collar jobs, eager for Latin and Greek and the frills of education and unwilling to buckle down to the hard tasks of achieving their own economic emancipation.

jealous of new leadership

But they persisted. They had to persist or die. They hammered at the ears of public opinion and tried to say, and gradually in the early days of the 20th Century succeeded in saying, more and more clearly: the education of Negroes for entrance into the present economic organization is not enough. ~~They and their leaders must be~~ That organization may change and has changed. The new industry — mass production, chain distribution, concentration of capital, international trade and credit,

49-33-43
will bring new methods, new organization, new (12½)
skill, new machines, & while these new conditions
the black worker must be intelligently led and guided
Unless he has political power he cannot compete
with white groups who have political power. As a
social outcast he cannot protect the wealth he
accumulates. No matter how much skill he acquires
if he has no further education, when industrial methods
change he will be helpless. The object of education is not
created the Atlanta U. conference in 1902
to make more carpenters, it is to make carpenters
men. Thus the educated Negro-minority fought for existence from
1890 & 1910.

49-33-44

(13)

educated more broadly, else with any change of technique or increase of competition, they are going to find themselves not only without bread and butter, but without political power, vision or ideal. Their words and protests grew in volume and force, and if they had not been listened to, if the number of educated and thinking Negroes had not in the 20th Century reached proportions large enough to give the group a real thinking leadership, the American Negro would have been submerged and ruined during and since the World War.

As it was, there was sufficient thought and vision to guide him into modern industry when the World War made openings, to insist on migration from the feudal South, to make Negroes protest more and more against disfranchisement, caste legislation and mob violence, to organize his protest, and to make him more self-assertative and self-conscious, even in the face of increasing race separation or organized race hate.

49-33-45 All this brings us down to the present post-war days, and to a statement of what the Negro of average intelligence is thinking about his present situation. First of all, his earlier individualism has quite gone. He recognizes that only in inner organization and united strength is he going to defend himself or make any headway in the United States. He must more and more submit himself to inner voluntary organized control. His organizations today are vast and intricate, Churches, of course; Fraternal associations to help him in amusement and sickness; insurance organizations to escape the discrimination of white companies; even weak attempts to organize his own credit in banks; tentative entrance into retail trade to distribute goods to his own people and employ his own labor; a larger share in directing the education of his people, so that colleges and universities with white teachers have almost disappeared, and all the old contacts are dying out; and particularly there comes an unquenchable thirst for the Negro to

(14)

We would like to keep these organizations inter-racial but this is at present impossible. He has lost vital connections + friendships with the whites

49-33-46

(15)

express for himself and in his own way the meaning of this struggle in the souls of black folk.

His attitude toward this nation is, therefore, logical. He has no patriotism. He dislikes exceedingly to sing "My Country 'Tis of Thee", and he laughs, albeit secretly, at "The Star-Spangled Banner". His patriotism is almost wholly toward his own group or mass consciousness, even when accompanied, as it always is, by bitter self-criticism, inner bickering and widespread lack of mutual faith. This is usual in hard-pressed, ignorant, poor minorities but it leads by inevitable contradiction to sympathy with other hard-pressed and disadvantaged groups. Thus the American Negro is increasingly eager to learn about other minority groups and disadvantaged peoples all over the world. There is, therefore, a tendency as yet small and yet growing with rapidity toward an international point of view. It is handicapped by the difficulty which he has in getting in direct contact with suffering minorities. It is almost impossible for Negroes to get regular and authentic news from their own kinsmen in South, East and West Africa, with the peoples of India and other parts of Asia. Even intercourse with colored West Indians and South Americans is largely and artificially handicapped. An American Negro can hardly get a passport visa to visit the great black world south of us. Notwithstanding this, however, the Negro is reaching out toward these peoples with greater and greater determination and understanding.

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Curiously enough, however, there is one tremendously disadvantaged group at his very side concerning which the Negro has little knowledge and less sympathy and that is the white American laborer, native and foreign-born. This is not because of ignorance and snobbish ideals but it is rather because for three centuries white labor has sat on the black man's back, kicked, cuffed and lynched him and denied him every kind of human

Negroes have known white teachers but never white plumbers

(17)

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equality.[2] I can remember as a boy that the most fearsome thing in life were the yells [redacted] and fists of the German and Irish factory children of my birthplace. Their squalid homes, dirt and ignorance, were all in my child mind but part of their deep hatred and enemity toward me. It has taken some determined mental readjustments in my mature years to make me realize a common cause for their degradation and mine. No such metamorphosis has taken place today among the mass of [redacted] Negroes. White labor to them is the group that steals their jobs keeps them out of work, denies them property, hounds them out of decent living quarters, and swells the mob.

For this reason the average Negro is the ally of wealth and capital, not because he has been trained in snobbery, not because he is lead and dominated by a bourgeoise, but because he is ignorant of the modern labor movement and its relation to him. How should he learn?

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Moreover this only recourse for defense against the political and economic attacks of white labor is white capital: White wealth gives black men education charity and jobs and in return gets a chance to make more wealth at the expense of all labor. Whose fault is this? and who shall remedy it? You might look to the Negro intellectual leaders, but his

49-33-50

His intellectual elite in the passing generation got the old economic teaching of thrift and saving, wealth as the reward of work and sacrifice and wage as limited by inefficiency and the Wages Fund. The student never [illegible]—white and black—is getting no economic teaching at all except by permission of the Power Trust and Public Utilities magnates. The economic teaching of the present generation is coming from labor unions and radical groups and they either never think of the Negro or begin by barring him out for not knowing instinctively, that which he has had no opportunity to learn.

The result is pathetic. The Negroes' great pressing problem is today economic emancipation—completing the step begun in 1863, re-directed in 1895, hastened forward in the World War and thrown into disorder by the present depression. The economic thought and planning called for by this plight is non-existent. His industrial philosophy is chaotic and the mass see no light even in Roosevelt's power.

The political path of the Negro is strewn with difficulties which he sees all too clearly. He recognizes the social bankruptcy of the two main parties. He does not agree by any means with the majority of the nation as to just where they have failed. But he knows that so far as he is concerned, their failure has been lack of any disposition to protect him in his political or civil rights, to stop lynching, to uproot peonage, to secure him justice in the courts and a chance to work at decent wage. If, even, he starts to vote independently, he is at first faced by the severe economic pressure brought upon him. He is liable to lose his job or his customers unless he votes ~~for~~ the Republican ticket, or again, the bribe of office and even of money is exaggerated in his case because of his small income. ~~Especially~~, 96 however, he faces and ignores these considerations. The practical question is, what political allies can he find who will bid for his

vote and give him consideration in return? | He can expect nothing of the old-time Republican Party, except a few minor offices and small campaign largesse funds. | He can expect little from the Democratic Party which must depend upon the South for its main support, and the political South is built upon the disfranchisement of the Negro. | The independent Negro voter | can expect little from the Northern Liberal and reformers. He is enthusiastic for all reforms | except those which mainly effect the Negro, | and he is hesitant, even absolutely opposed to giving the Negro any representation or voice. He can get recognition | from local grafting gangs | in large cities like New York and Chicago, | but this involves co-operation in their political methods. | From the Socialists and the Communists, | he gets a determination to recognize color caste as a problem | only insofar as it is a labor problem | and to insist that the solution of the labor problem

For which Negroes get widely damned

automatically
is going to solve the race problem, a dictum which the Negro neither understands nor believes. So that the independent Negro voter finds himself with a ballot in his hands that nobody is really bidding for and he concludes in a large number of cases that he might just as well not go to the trouble of even casting it. Once in a while, as in the defeat of Judge ~~the~~ Parker ~~case~~, he becomes part of an accidental majority ~~and accident gives him~~ a startling victory. But he has no illusions in this case. It was accident and little more. White labor was ashamed of the alliance! /// How does all this affect

~~In the meantime, there comes~~ the Negro's attitude toward himself, his family, his friends and neighbors. The Negro family is not only a broken, imperfect thing, it has been systematically smashed for all the centuries that he has been American.

The magnificent and intricate organization of the African family show[ed] determined effort to survive in the West Indies and was at the bottom of the Haitian Revolution, but it did not survive slavery in

the United States. The new family on European lines simply could not adequately exist in slavery, although it made progress. It did exist among the free Northern Negroes, except that it was tremendously handicapped by poverty and ignorance which made family unity difficult and often impossible. Today the Negro family, like the white American family, is forced to be small because of its small income, and is continually broken up by migration and caste difficulties and the group AS expressed in the church or the neighborhood tends to transplant the family in social potency. It's problem of the Second Generation is enormous

The ideal of education still persists. No group in the United States, considering its income, is trying harder to educate its children but there again this education is handicapped by poverty and ~~it tends~~ by its ~~more and more~~ tendency, even in the North, to be a closed group training with all the provincialism and group loyalties of segregated communities. Education which throws white and colored pupils and students into close

and understanding contact is less and less frequent, and quite contrary
49-33-55
to the days of the past, Negro students ~~went~~ prefer to go to Negro schools.
They hesitate and shrink from the kind of persecution which they suffer
in white schools, and they are more and more convinced that the white
schools ~~have no monopoly of knowledge or method~~ cannot teach them properly or fully.
On the other hand, their vision of social development is clouded. They cannot at present see a
way out. They are face to face with the problem of prejudice. They
believe without any hesitancy that they are kept poor and ignorant by
prejudice and that if they had an opportunity they could be just as
effective in industry and science as any other group in the United
States. Their tendency is thus naturally to exaggerate their genius, desert
and accomplishment and to attribute all failure to race discrimination.

The resultant and growing bitterness toward white people has in
this way double growth. The Negro attributes his success to his over-
coming ~~prejudices~~ of white folks and his failure to the overwhelming

difficulties of color caste. If he is weak and lazy, he excuses himself by pointing out the failures of black men who have been strong and energetic. If he is restless and ambitious, he is not willing to wait and work for success for he forsees in every obstacle failure because of prejudice. If he tries to overlook race discrimination, it suddenly rises and slaps him in the face. If he refuses to attempt to succeed because he is sure he will not be allowed to, ~~he fails because he has never tried and~~ his failure is pointed out by white and black and attributed to exactly opposite causes. The resultant conflict among Negro youth greatly handicaps its best endeavor.

It especially forms the key to contemporary Negro art. This art—this vision of life—is not natural nor spontaneous. It is involved and artificially exotic. The black man clings to his primitive enjoyment of life but it is a conscious and calculated clinging. Negro joy has today no natural spontaneity. Cynicism, bitterness among colored folk, is much more spontaneous than ebullient joy. But the motions of joy and care-

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free abandon must still be gone through with. They pay. They are almost the only things that do pay among Negroes, in music and vaudeville, and even in books and writings. It is, nevertheless, more and more a pose—a method of earning a living. After and when the New Negro art enjoys a real freedom with a compensating chance of livelihood, there will pour forth a flood of bitter recrimination and tragedy which will astonish the more complacent white world.

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This complacency of the white world, its smug assumptions concerning Negroes, give rise to deep and twisted judgments. In the religion of white people, the American Negro has not the slightest faith, although he may still regard himself a religious person. ~~The mass of Negroes profess~~

The inner religious attitude of the Negro race and especially of its thinking portion has undergone great change. On the naive calvinism of the great ignorant mass has been elected an attitude of complete indifference so far as the doctrines of

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Christianity are concerned. The church is still well attended, even by Negroes of intelligence, except in a few large cities, like New York. But this church is an effective and fairly well-equipped social organization. The sermon falls into two categories: an old statement of the plan of salvation without criticism and without contradiction. A practical interpretation of present social affairs, particularly within the church. Between these two extremes nothing is said. There is no attempt to modernize the old religious doctrine; there is no attempt to put social organization upon a ~~logical~~ reasonable ethical basis. This does not mean the persistence of religion. It means the death of it, and at the same time a persistence and growth of the church. But this growth of the church is threatened by lack of educated leadership. The only revolt against religion in the Negro race is shown by the small number of Negroes who are willing to become ministers. On the other hand this means that Negroes are sure

~~do not believe in the religion of white people.~~ Negroes ~~[illegible]~~

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* that nine out of ten white folks do not believe half that they profess. They say ~~and perfectly well~~ that white folk do not believe in turning the other cheek, or in loving a neighbor unless the neighbor ~~has something they want~~ belongs to one's own class — all even these are Kaplan D (27)

~~or in real sacrificing charity.~~ They know, of course, that white people give ~~many forms of money~~ charity that they support numbers of Negro institutions and efforts, but Negroes do not for a moment believe that this is because of any love for Negroes or ~~any real wish for their~~ really self-sacrificing ~~success~~. They think it is partly from habit, partly from fear, ~~and partly because~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]

and
~~a~~ belief, Negroes' attitude toward the great moral problems of the
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world is naturally apathetic. Preach the cause of world peace to a
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colored audience and see how much enthusiasm you get. Peace, of course.
They are peaceful people, and because they were peaceful, they were
slaves and are still in semi-slavery. They ~~believe~~ suspect that the peace
movement is mainly a movement of agreement among white people to make
their domination over black, brown and yellow people more secure.

Talk to them of the freedom and uplift of women, and they immediately
assume that the real interest in this movement is white women
and not colored women. They are not interested in the World Court,
simply because they know that the justice of the World Court is
not for colored folk. They are politely incredulous of the League
of Nations because they regard it as essentially a league of white nations,
~~despite the fact that a few colored nations are included.~~ This cold,
cynical attitude toward the great moral movements of today thus
defeats itself and reacts upon a people naturally sunny, joyful and

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credulous. They are not sunny. They are not joyful. They do not believe. They disbelieve in the world and its ideals, and yet with all that, they are fighting on and pathetically searching for a cosmic ray of light.

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To this definitely pessimistic interpretation of Negro thought there is one ~~practically~~ equally optimistic note to be added. The ~~~~ inclusion of the two aspects is illogical and inexplicable, and yet it is true that the Negro race in America is optimistic and ~~~~ has not the slightest doubt, but that in the end it is going to triumph in each one of its demands. No writer, no speaker, no leader, ever suggests that the Negro is going to be submerged and ~~~~ held permanently in a caste position. The most pessimistic of Negro thinkers always concludes with ~~his~~ their audience that in the end the cause of a universal democracy which includes black men must triumph. It is hard to say whence this optimism arises. Certainly, the current

facts do not support it. It is only a vague generalization to say that such thinking is the racial characteristic of an exuberant group. This may be a true statement but it is no explanation. I presume that the real cause of Negro optimism is the tremendous strides by which in their own experience or the experience of fathers and grandfathers whom they have known they have accomplished such extraordinary things. For this reason, probably no accomplishment seems too extraordinary or contradictory in the reasonable future. At the same time, there creeps in continually today a new element: The faint foretaste of a willingness to hopeless sacrifice; a wild call for the ordeal of blood in the very face of the impossible; all of the world-old dreams of immolation, hari-kari, and the "voice without reply." This is not yet articulate but one feels it as a groundswell. One senses flames ready to burst and burn.

Address
Boston, Community Church, Dec. 27, 1931

What the New Negro Is Thinking.

It would be effrontery for any one person to pretend that he could with authority and truth state just what twelve million people were thinking. There is no such unity and definiteness in human thought which would make such knowledge possible. It is difficult enough for a single human being to be reasonably sure of his own thoughts and feelings from day to day, and while we talk glibly about a Group Mind, there is after all but scant reality back of such a general statement.

When, therefore, I try to tell you what the new Negro is thinking, I must, to a large extent, be expressing my own thought. But I am sincerely seeking in this case to modify my own opinion by what other Americans of Negro descent have said to me and to others and have written in books and papers and have given voice to, both in private conversation and on the public platform.

My excuse for being willing to essay so large a task is the fact that I have wide personal acquaintance with this group of people. I have come in contact with them in every state of the Union during some thirty years of public life. I have not only known them in great centers of Negro population, like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, New Orleans, St. Louis, Indianapolis and Los Angeles, but I have also lived on the plantations of the far South and in small towns and in waste places.

Also, because it is usually difficult, even impossible, for me to be accommodated at public hotels or restaurants, I have been a guest in thousands of Negro homes of all sorts and grades. And finally, whatever community of blood and training and life-long environment

make for knowledge which we call instinctive—all this I have. On this basis of fact, I am going to try to tell you what seems to me today to be the leading currents of thought among colored folk. This must immediately narrow itself to those whose thinking is fairly articulate. In other words, I am talking about those who are thinking, writing and speaking. Not, however, simply the opinions of persons of superior education, but also of intelligent laborers and common workers, porters and servants, as well as teachers and professional men.

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This stream of thought has in the last hundred years been slowly but definitely integrating; that is, from extreme individualism and discreet groups and separate cities and sections, there has gradually come so many agreements and so much of conference, so many resolutions and statements, that one can with considerable approximation of truth speak today of public opinion among American Negroes.

In the 18th Century, and even in the early 19th Century, such a statement was inaccurate. There was the great division into the free Negroes and the slaves. The slaves who were eight-ninths of all were carefully segregated into plantation groups and all communication and spread of intelligence from group to group and place to place sternly discountenanced, secret and casual information spread but with difficulty and distortion. The 100,000 free Negroes of the South were watched, harried and re-enslaved. The three hundred and more thousand Northern free Negroes had little intellectual or social intercourse with each other. Small groups like those in Boston, in Newport, and in New York and Philadelphia seldom visited each other, had no periodicals that circulated between them, had no meetings. They were, however, the thinkers for four and one-half millions and tended to develop a strong individualistic philosophy. Every man was thought to progress according to his own deserts and efforts. Two

wide lines of thought, therefore, developed: one, that the Negro was an American, and eventually was going to disappear into the American nation,--not all Negroes, but this particular Negro who was doing the thinking and who was exceptional; and this philosophy was proven true in thousands of cases. Or, the Negro was really an African. He was going to leave this country for some country in Africa or elsewhere where he could be a man. John Brown Russwurm, the first Negro college graduate, the son of a white man, with a white stepmoth r, came out of college with the idea of achieving American citizenship for himself; he faced American life two years, editing the first Negro weekly, and then he turned straight around and said, there is no chance for me to become a man in America. He went to Liberia.

Gradually the different groups got in touch with each other. Late in the 18th Century there was written correspondence between the Negroes of Newport and Philadelphia. Inter-group travel increased. In 1830, occurred the first conference of Negroes in Philadelphia with William Lloyd Garrison as guest. From then down to the Civil War, conventions reached wider and wider circles; small monthly and weekly papers began to appear; speakers, like Frederick Douglass and others went from group to group talking not only to white people but just as effectively to colored people.

Then came the miracleof Emancipation. Negroes were united by one new and astonishing ideal and plan of development. For the first time among the mass of Negroes the thought that had been in the minds of only a few unusual and stalwart black thinkers, namely: that far from being forever slaves or members of a despised caste, that there was a chance of their becoming real American citizens appeared as a realizable ideal.

There ensued those fateful years between 1863-1870 when Negroes become recognized soldiers, voters and officeholders. They apparently had public opinion of the United States back of them. Skin-color was but an incident, manhood and ability only counted, and the way to uplift was education. Learning to read and write, learning to handle figures, knowing what the world was and had been! Education! It would not be true to say that all Negroes believed this. The thoughtful still doubted, the thoughtless had no dreams; but the great surging mass uprooted from all past experience, brought into close contact with each other for the first time and listening to the voices of orators and agitators, idealists and teachers.—This middle mass went through a physical, spiritual and social revolution more violent than any that ever happened to the four and one-half million people in less than a decade.

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Then, from 1870-1880, came disillusion. The reassertion by power by the white master, allied with the enfranchised poor white, who feared and hated Negroes; the recrudescence of race animosity in the North, and the new organization of industry, slapped the jubilant and emerging Negro full in the face. The Negro group was tremendously shaken to its soul. It did more thinking in those days than it had done even in the days of the war. It began to drift and swirl into centers of opposition, inquiry, despair. There were those who said; "I told you so!" You can not trust white people. There were others who said: "Our rights may be postponed, but with the ballot and even physical force, we can regain them." Still others were sure that no small minority could bring force to bear, either political or physical, against the overwhelming mass of the nation. Then came the question as to how united and overwhelming this white mass was.

There arose one shining and deciding light, and that was the influence of the white school teachers who went South to teach the Negroes. Their influence from 1870-1890 was tremendous. No cynical voice could arise among Negroes, decrying whites, doubting the faith of the nation, sneering at the failure of law, but there immediately arose in opposition, the strong, quiet unswerting knowledge of thousands upon thousands of young men and women who knew white people as personal friends; knew them as teachers, advisers, leaders, companions. Moreover, this young group were the new educated leaders of the mass. They were the thinkers and dreamers. Against this knowledge of a new élite nothing could prevail, neither despair, revolt, emigration nor bitter recrimination; and the Negro under the leadership of these folk settled down to an unswerving faith in the ultimate triumph for race equality, despite disfranchisement, "Jim Crow" laws and lynching.

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But from 1890-1910, there came economic difficulties, the logical aftermath of slavery and only postponed by war, political revolution and social unrest; but now increasingly and insistently evident. How were freed slaves and their children going to enter organized industry in America. It was the natural aftermath of Emancipation. In the attempt of slaves toestablish themselves permanently as free laborers with a fair wage, they found themselves not only in competition with white labor, but handicapped by growing disfranchisement and race hate. When they looked for white friends they found the number dwindling. Funds for education decreased. Lynching increased—reaching in 1892, two every three days, and this with little public protest. Matters seemed approaching an impasse, when in 1895, Booker T. Washington voiced his famous compromise. He proposed that Southern industry be opened for Negro workers; that Negroes no longer insist on the ballot, and that

Negroes be trained ~~humanly~~ mainly to work and that Northern philanthropy furnish the funds. The South leaped at the suggestion for it meant cheap labor and new industry. The North leaped just as eagerly for it meant common ground with the South, better returns for capital and no necessity for contradicting former philanthropic platitudes on Negro equality. The Negro eagerly agreed to the compromise—it meant work, education, eventual wealth, without violence or protest and in the midst of peace, North and South. The philosophy became almost universal. Train the Negro to labor and thrift, and establish him as an indispensable part of the tremendous American economic organization. The thesis was clear, simply and logical, and back of it stood the most influential molders of public opinion, black and white.

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Nevertheless, it tore the Negro race in two; and it did so because it cut straight across the long prepared public opinion of this calm, courageous and faithful mass of educated Negroes who were beginning to get real education.

They tried from the first quietly to speak and warn, but they had the utmost difficulty in making themselves heard. They were moving against a tremendous current of public opinion. They found themselves misrepresented as being ashamed of working with the hands, despising all but white collar jobs, eager for Latin and Greek and the frills of education, and unwilling to buckle down to the hard tasks of achieving their own economic emancipation.

But they persisted. They had to persist or die. They hammered at the ears of public opinion and tried to say, and gradually in the early days of the 20th Century succeeded in saying, more and more clearly: the education of Negroes for entrance into the present economic organization is not enough. They and their leaders must be

educated more broadly, else with any change of technique or increase of competition, they are going to find themselves not only without bread and butter, but without political power, vision or ideal. Their words and protests were ~~pathetic~~ insistence, and if they had not been listened to, if the number of educated and thinking Negroes had not in the 20th Century reached proportions large enough to give the group a real thinking leadership, they would have been submerged and ruined during and since the World War.

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As it was, there was sufficient thought and vision to guide them into modern industry when the World War made openings, to insist on migration from the feudal South, to make Negroes protest more and more against disfranchisement, caste legislation and mob violence, and to make them more self-assertative and self-conscious, even in the face of increasing race separation.

All this brings us down to the present post-war days, and to a statement of what the Negro of average intelligence is thinking about his present situation. First of all, his earlier individualism has gone. He recognizes that only in organization and united strength is he going to defend himself or make any headway in the United States. He must more and more submit himself to inner voluntary organized control. His organizations today are vast and intricate. Fraternal associations to help him in sickness; insurance organizations to escape the discrimination of white companies; even weak attempts to organize his own credit in banks; tentative entrance into retail trade to distribute goods to his own people and employ his own labor; a larger share in directing the education of his people, even in colleges and universities where white teachers are rapidly disappearing and all the old contacts dying out; and particularly an unquenchable thirst to

express for himself and in his own way the meaning of this struggle in the souls of black folk.

His attitude toward this nation is, therefore, curious. He has no patriotism. He dislikes exceedingly to sing "My Country 'Tis of Thee", and he laughs, albeit secretly, at "The Star-Spangled Banner". His patriotism almost wholly toward his own group or mass consciousness, even when accompanied, as it always is, by bitter self-criticism, inner bickering and ~~words~~ wide-spread lack of mutual faith. This is usual in hard-pressed, ignorant, poor minorities, but it leads by inevitable contradiction to sympathy with other hard-pressed and disadvantaged groups. The American Negro is increasingly eager to learn about other minority groups and disadvantaged peoples all over the world. There is, therefore, a tendency as yet small and yet growing with rapidity, toward an international point of view. It is handicapped by the difficulty which he has in getting in direct contact with suffering minorities. It is almost impossible for Negroes to get regular and authentic news from his own kinsmen in South, East and West Africa, with the peoples of India and other parts of Asia. Even intercourse with colored West Indians and South Americans is largely and artificially handicapped. An American Negro can hardly get a passport visa to visit the great black world south of us or east of us. Notwithstanding this, however, the Negro is reaching out toward these peoples with greater and greater determination.

Curiously enough, however, there is one tremendously disadvantaged group at his very side concerning which the Negro has little knowledge and less sympathy and that is the white laborer, native and foreigner. This is not because of ignorance and snobbish ideals—but it is rather because for three centuries white labor has sat on the black man's back, kicked, cuffed and lynched him and denied him every kind of human

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equality. I can remember as a boy that the most fearsome thing in life were the yells, sneers and fists of the German and Irish factory children of my birthplace. Their squalid homes, dirt and ignorance, were all in my child mind but part of their deep hatred and enemity toward me. It has taken some determined mental readjustments in my mature years to make me realize a common cause to their degradation and mine. No such metamorphosis has taken place today among the mass of thinking Negroes. White labor to them is the group that steals their jobs, keeps them out of work, denies them property, hounds them out of decent living quarters, and swells the mobs.

For this reason the average Negro is the ally of wealth and capital, not because he has been trained in snobbery, not because he is lead and dominated by a bourgeoise but because he is ignorant of the modern labor movement and its relation to him. How should he learn? His intellectual elite in the passing generation got the old economic teaching of thrift and saving, wealth as the reward of work and sacrifice and wage as limited by inefficiency and the Wages Fund. The newer ~~generation~~ student--white and black--is getting no economic teaching at all except by permission of the Power Trust and Public Utilities magnates. The best economic teaching of the present generation is coming from labor unions and radical groups and they either never think of the Negro or begin by bawling him out for not knowing instinctively ~~instinctions~~ that which he has had no opportunity to learn.

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In the meantime, there comes the Negro's attitude toward himself, his family, his friends and neighbors. The Negro family is not only a broken, imperfect thing, it has been systematically smashed for all the centuries that he has been American.

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The magnificent and intricate organization of the African family showed determined effort to survive in the West Indies and was at the bottom of the Haitian Revolution, but it did not survive slavery in the United States. The new family on European lines simply could not adequately exist in slavery, although it made progress. It did exist among the free Northern Negroes, except that it was tremendously handicapped by poverty and ignorance which made family unity difficult and often impossible. Today the Negro family, like the white American family, is forced to be small because of its small income, and is continually broken up by migration and caste difficulties and the group as expressed in the church or the neighborhood tends to transplant the family in social peonage.

The ideal of education still persists. No group in the United States, considering its income, is trying harder to educate its children; but there again this education is handicapped by poverty and it tends more and more, even in the North, to be a closed group training with all the provincialism and group loyalties of segregated communities. Education which throws white and colored pupils and students into close and understanding contact is less and less frequent, and quite contrary to the days of the past, Negro students want to go to Negro schools. They hesitate and shrink from the kind of persecution which they suffer in white schools, and they are more and more convinced that the white schools have no monopoly of knowledge or method. On the other hand, their vision of social development is clouded. They cannot at present see a way out. They are face to face with the problem of prejudice. They believe without any hesitancy that they are kept poor and ignorant by prejudice and that if they had an opportunity they could be just as

effective in industry and science as any other group in the United States. Their tendency is thus naturally to exaggerate their genius, desert and accomplishment and to attribute all failure to race discrimination.

The resultant and growing bitterness toward white people has in this way double growth. The Negro attributes his success to his overcoming [redacted] white folks and his failure to the overwhelming difficulties of color caste. If he is weak and lazy, he excuses himself by pointing out the failures of black men who have been strong and energetic. If he is restless and ambitious, he is not willing to wait and work for success for he forsees in every obstacle failure because of prejudice. If he tries to overlook race discrimination, it suddenly rises and slaps him in the face. If he refuses to attempt to succeed because he is sure he will not be allowed to, he fails because he has never tried and his failure is pointed out by white and black and attributed to exactly opposite causes. The resultant conflict among Negro youth greatly handicaps its best endeavor.

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It especially forms the key to contemporary Negro art. This art—this vision of life—is not natural nor spontaneous. It is involved and artifically exotic. The black man clings to his enjoyment of life but it is a conscious and calculated clinging. Negro joy has today no natural spontaneity. Cynicism, bitterness among colored folk, is much more spontaneous than ebullient joy. But the motions of joy and carefree abandon must still be gone through with. They pay. They are almost the only things that do pay among Negroes, in music and vaudeville, and even in books and writings. It is, nevertheless, more and more a pose—a method of earning a living. After and when the New Negro art enjoys a real freedom with a compensating chance of livelihood, there will pour forth a flood of bitter recrimination and tragedy which will

astonish the more complacent white world.

This complacency of the white world, its smug assumption concerning Negroes, give rise to deep and twisted judgments. In the religion of white people, the American Negro has not the slightest faith, although he may still regard himself a religious person.

The inner religious attitude of the Negro race and especially of those thinking portion has undergone great change. On the naive calvinism of the great ignorant mass has been elected an attitude of complete indifference so far as the doctrines of Christianity are concerned. The church is still well attended, even by Negroes of intelligence, except in a few large cities, like New York. But this church is an effective and fairly well-equipped social organization. The sermon falls into two catagories: an old statement of the plan of salvation without criticism and without conviction. A practical interpretation of present social affairs, particularly within the church. Between these two extremes nothing is said. There is no attempt to modernize the old religious doctrine; there is no attempt to put social organization upon a logical ethical basis. This does not mean the persistence of religion. It means the death of it, and at the same time a persistance and growth of the church. But this growth of the church is threatened by lack of educated leadership. The only revolt against religion in the Negro race is shown by the small number of Negroes who are willing to become ministers. Negroes do not believe that nine out of ten white folks believe half what they profess. They know perfectly well that white folk do not believe in turning the other cheek, in loving a neighbor unless the neighbor has something they want, or in real sacrificing charity. They know, of course, that white people give away loads of money; that they support numbers of Negro institutions and efforts, but Negroes do not for a moment believe that this is because of any love for Negroes or any real wish for their success. They think it is partly from habit, partly from fear, and partly because they do not know that else to do.

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Of science and learning, Negroes are equally skeptical. They realize that for years science has been misused to their disadvantage, and that many theories concerning their race which formerly had the benediction of science are proven absolutely false; and yet plenty of similar falsehoods are replacing them. With this specific knowledge and belief, Negroes' attitude toward the great moral problems of the world is naturally apathetic. Preach the cause of world peace to a colored audience and see how much enthusiasm you get. Peace, of course. They are peaceful people, and because they were peaceful, they were slaves and are still in semi-slavery. They believe that the peace movement is mainly a movement of agreement among white people to make their domination over black, brown and yellow people more secure.

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Talk to them of the freedom and uplift of women, and they immediately assume that the real interest in this movement is white women and not colored women. They are not interested in the World Court, simply because they know that the justice of the World Court is not for colored folk. They are politely incredulous at the League of Nations because they regard it as a league of white nations, despite the fact that a few colored nations are included. This cold, cynical attitude toward the great moral movements of today thus defeats itself and reacts upon a people naturally sunny, joyful and credulous. They are not sunny. They are not joyful. They do not believe. They disbelieve in the world and its ideals, and yet with all that, they are fighting on and pathetically searching for a cosmic ray of light.

Address -
Boston - Community Church
Dec, 1931

What the New Negro Is Thinking.

It would be audacious for any person to pretend that he could with authority and truth state just what twelve million people were doing. There is no unity and definiteness which would allow any such statement to be proven as true. It is difficult enough for a single human being to be reasonably sure of his own thoughts and feelings from day to day, and while we have talked gullibly about a group in mind, there is after all but scant reality back of such general statements. When, therefore, I try to tell you what the new Negro is thinking, I am, to a large extent, ignoring my own thought, so far as I understand it. But I am seeking in this case to modify this thought and my own opinions by what other Americans of Negro descent have said to me and to others and written in books and papers and have given voice to, both in private conversation and on the public platform. My excuse for being willing to essay so large a class is the fact that I have wide personal acquaintance with this group of people. I have come in contact with them in every state of the Union during some thirty years of public life. I have especially known them in great centers of Negro population, like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, New Orleans, St. Louis, Indianapolis and Los Angeles, but I have also lived on the plantations of the far South and in small towns and in waste places. Also, because it is usually difficult, even impossible, for me to be accommodated at public hotels or restaurants, I have been a guest in thousands of Negro homes. From this wide place of fact, I am going to try to tell you what seems to me today to be the leading currents of thought among colored folk. And, of course, this immediately narrows itself to those whose thinking

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is fairly articulate. In other words, I am talking about those who are thinking, writing and speaking. Not necessarily simply persons of broad education, but laborers and common workers, porters and waiters, as well as teachers and professional men.

This statement of thought has in the last one hundred years been slowly but definitely integrating; that is, from extreme individualism and discreet groups and separate cities and sections, there has gradually come so many agreements and so much of conference, so many resolutions and statements, that one can with considerable approbation of truth speak today of a public opinion among American Negroes. In the 18th Century, and even in the early 19th Century, such statement was impossible. There was the great definition into the free Negroes and the slaves. The free Negroes, particularly, had little intellectual or social intercourse with each other. The small group in Boston, the small group in Newport, the Negroes of New York and Philadelphia almost never visited each other, had no periodicals that circulated with each other, had no meetings together. They developed a strong intellectual philosophy. Every man was growing up according to his deserts and efforts. The more radical took two wide lines of thought: one, that the Negro was an American, and eventually was going to disappear into the American nation. Not all Negroes, but this particular Negro who was doing the thinking and that happened in thousands of cases. Or the Negro was really an African. He was going to leave this country for some country in Africa or elsewhere where he could be a man. John Brown Russwurm, the first Negro college graduate, the son of a white man, with a white stepmother, came out of college with the idea of achieving American citizenship for himself, and then turned straight around within two years and said, there isn't any chance for me to become a man in America, and went to Liberia.

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Then, gradually, the different groups got in touch with each other. Late in the 18th Century there was correspondence between the Negroes of Newport and Philadelphia. In 1830, occurred the first conference of Negroes in Philadelphia with William Lloyd Garrison as guest. From then down to the Civil War, conventional newspapers reached wider and wider circles, small monthly and weekly papers began to appear. Speakers, like Frederick Douglass and others went from group to group talking not only to white people but just as effectively to colored people. Then came the miracle of Emancipation. Negroes were united in one new and astonishing ideal and plan of development. For the first time they assumed this position the thing that had been in the minds of only a few unusual and stalwart black thinkers, namely: that far from being forever slaves or members of a despised caste, that there was a chance of their becoming ~~real economic~~ citizens. There ensued those fearful years between 1863-1870 when Negroes become recognized soldiers, voters and officeholders. They apparently had public opinionof the United States back of it. Skin-color was but an incident, manhood and ability counted, and the way to uplift was education. Learning to read and write, learning to handle figures, knowing what the world was and had been. Education. It would not be true to say that all Negroes believed this. The thoughtful doubted, the thoughtless had no dreams, but the great surging mass uprooted from all thinkers, brought into close contact readings for the first time and listened to the voices of orators and agitators. This middle mass coalesced in their thinking to some such definite ideal. Then, from 1870-1880, came disillusion. The Ku Klux Klan, revolutions inn Southern states, the growing voice of race animosity in the North. The Negro group was tremendously shaken to its soul. It did more thinking in those days than it had done in the days of the war. It

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It began to drift into centers of opposition, inquiry, despair. There were those who said; "I told you so!" You can not trust white people. There were others who said: "Our rights may be postponed, but without ballot and physical force, we cannot regain them." Still others were sure that no small minority could bring to bear force, either political or physical, against the overwhelming mass of the nation. Then came the question as to how united and overwhelming this white mass was. There arose one shining and deciding light, and that was the influence of the white school teachers who went South to teach the Negroes. Their influence from 1870-1890 was tremendous. No voice could arise among Negroes, decrying whites, doubting the faith of the nation, sneering at the failure of law, but then there arose an opposition, the strong, quiet unswerving knowledge of thousands upon thousands of young men and women who knew white folks as personal friends; knew them as teachers, advisers, leaders, companions. Against this knowledge of a new elite nothing could prevail, and the Negro, steered down under the leadership of these folk to an unswerving faith in the ultimate triumph for race divisions in the United States. But from 1890-1910, there came pressing economic difficulties; difficulties of earning a living, of expenditures, of chances to take advantage of opportunities. It was the natural aftermath of Emancipation. The attempt of slaves to establish themselves permanently as free laborers with a fair wage. They found themselves not only in competition with white labor, but handicapped by growing disfranchisementand they seized eagerly upon the way out pointed by George Washington. Here was interesting leading labor. Train the Negro to labor and thrift, and establish them as an indispensable part of the tremendous American economic organization. The thesis was clear, simply and logical, and back of it stood the most

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influential molders of public opinion, black and white. It tore the Negro race in two, because it cut absolutely straigh[t] across the [ ] of this calm, courageous and faithful mass of educated Negroes who were beginning to get real broad education. They tried to speak and warn but they had the utmost difficulty in making themselves heard. They were moving against a tremendous current of public opinion. They were misrepresented as being ashamed of working with the hands, despised all white collar jobs, eager for Latin and Greek and the frills of education, and unwilling to buckle down to the hard tasks of achieving their own economic Emancipation. But they tried to say and gradually in the early days of the 20th Century they succeeded in saying more and more clearly: the education of Negroes for entrance into those openings in the present economic organization which are free to them, is not enough. They or their leaders must be educated more broadly , else with any chance of technique or increase of competition, they are going to find themselves not only without bread and butter, but without vision or ideal. Their words and protests were pathetic, and if they had not been listened to, if the number of educated and thinking Negroes had not in the 20th Century reached proportions large enough to give the group a real thinking leadership, they would have been submerged and ruined during and since the World War. As it was, there was sufficient thought and vision to guide them into modern industry when the World War made openings, to make them protest more and more against caste legislation, to make them more self-assertative and subconscious, even in the face of increasing race separation. All this brings us down to the present post-war days, and to a statement of what the Negro of average intelligence is thinking about his situation. His earlier individualism has gone.

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He recognizes that only in organization and united strength is he going to defend himself or make any headway in the United States. He must more and more submit himself to organized control. His organizations today are vast and intricate in extent. Fraternal associations to help him in sickness, insurance organizations to escape the discrimination of white organizations, attempts even ot organize his own credit to banks, tentative entrance into retail trade to distribute goods to his own people, a larger share in the education of his people, even in colleges and universities where white teachers are rapidly disappearing and all the old contacts dying out, and particularly an unquenchable desire to express for himself in his own way the meaning of this struggle in the souls of black folk. His attitude toward this nation is, therefore, curious. He has no patriotism. He dislikes exceedingly to sing "My Country 'Tis Of Thee", or "The Star-Spangle Banner", his patriotism is toward his own group or mass consciousness, but increasingly toward minority groups and disadvantaged peoples all over the world. There is a tendency as yet small and yet growing with curious rapidity toward an into national point of view. It is handicapped by the difficulty whichhe has in getting in direct contact with suffering minorities. It is almost impossible for him to get regular news and human connections with his own people in South, East and West Africa, with the people of India and other parts of Asia. Even intercourse with colored West Indians and South Americans is largely and artifically handicapped. Notwithstanding this, however, the American Negro is reaching out toward these peoples with greater and greater determination. In the meantime, there comes his attitude toward himself, his family, his friends and neighbors. The Negro family is not only a broken, imperfect thing, it has been systematically smashed for all the centuries that he has been American.

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The magnificent and intricate organization of the African family shows determined effort to sacrifice in the West Indies and also at the bottom of the Haitian Revolution, but it did not sacrifice slavery in the United States. The new family on European lines simply could not adequately exist in slavery, although it made great progress. It did exist among the free Negroes and the Northern Negroes, except that it was tremendously handicapped by poverty and ignorance which made family unity difficult and often impossible. Today again the Negro in the American family is forced to be small because of its small income, and is continually broken up by migration and caste, and the group as expressed either in the church or the society of the neighborhood tends to transplant the family in social potency. The ideal of education still persists. No group in the United States, considering its income, is trying harder to educate its children, but there again this education is handicapped by poverty and it tends more and more, even in the North, to be a groupeducation. And education where the incidents that throw white and colored pupils and students together are less and less frequent, so that quite contrary to the days of the past, Negro students want to go to Negro schools. They hesitate and shrink from the kind of persecution which they suffer in white schools, and they are more and more convinced that the white schools have no monopoloy of knowledge or method. But, on the other hand, their vision of economic emancipation is crowded. They cannot at present see a way out. They are face to face with the problem of prejudice inwork and wage, and how a caste group in modern economic organization can earn enough to live upon decently. They believe without any hesitancy that they are kept poor and ignorant by prejudice and that if they had an opportunity they could be just as effective in industry and science as any other part of the United States.

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And that bitterness toward white people is predicated more on their domination than on any other single thing. On the other hand, that economic familiarity has not brought them to make common cause with white labor, and this through no fault of colored people. But because of the intrenched prejudice of white workers. The mass of the unions of the better trades systematically exclude Negroes, either by open announcement or by secret manipulation. And, therefore, united white and black labor stoops before this indisputable fact and is the greatest handicap which the labor movement has in the United States. The labor movement has itself deliberately trained a nation of twelve million scabs, and this vast group of un_____ laborers can see no chance for betterment in so long as their white fellow laborers keep their present prejudices. Beyond this, comes the Negro 's vision of the world. He clings to his enjoyment of life but it is a conscious and determined clinging. Negro joy has no natural spontaneity today. Cynicalism, bitterness among colored folk, is much more spontaneous than ebullient joy. But the motions of joy and carefree abandon are still gone through. They pay. They are almost the only things that do pay among Negroes in music and vaudeville, and even in books and writings. It is, nevertheless, more and more opposed a method of earning a living. After and when the new Negro art enjoys a real freedom with a compensating chance of livelihood, there will pour forth a flood of bitter recrimination and tragedy which will astonish the more complacent white leaders. In the relation of white people, the American Negro has not the slightest faith. He may still be disliked, as himself a religious person. The mass of Negroes profess strongly the old pln of salvation, but even for themselves they do not particularly believe init. You will hear sermons along orthodox lines, but if your watch the colored audience you will find

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they are not taking the sermon seriously. They do take seriously the effort of the minister to balance his budget, to have a good and even luxurious church building, to multiply the group activities. They are orthodox in theory but absolutely indifferent to the old-time religion in practice, and if that is true of their own religion, it is even more true so far as white people are concerned. They do not believe in the religion of white people. They do not believe that nine out of ten white folks believe half that they profess. They know perfectly well that they do not believe in turning the other cheek, in loving a neighbor unless your neighbors has got something that you want, or in real charity. They know that white people give loads of money. That they support numbers of Negro institutions. But they do not for a moment believe that this is because of any love for Negroes or wish for their success. They think it is partly from habit, partly from feeling, and partly because they do not know what else to do under the circumstances. Of sciences and sanitation, Negroes are equally skeptical. They realize that for years science has been misused to their disadvantage. And that many theories concerning their race have formerly had the benediction of science, and that plenty of similar falsehoods are now current. With this specific knowledge and belief, their attitude toward the great moral problem of the world is naturally strongly apathetic. Preace the cause of peace to a colored audience and see how much enthusiasm who get. Peace, of course. They are peaceful people, and because they were peaceful, they were slaves and are still in semi-slavery. They believe that the peace movement is a movement of agreement among white people to make their domination over black, brown and yellow people more secure.

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Talk to them of the freedom of uplift of women, and they immediately assume that the real interest in this movement is white women and not colored women. They are not interested in the World Court, simply because they know that the justice of the World Court is not for colored folk. They are politely incredulous at the League of Nations because they regard it as a league of white nations, despite the fact that a few colored nations are included. This old cynical attitude toward the great moral movements of today

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Alpha meeting Cincinnati Address
Dec 1931 Address.

Economic Planning for the American Negroes

In an address at Howard University, June, 1930, I discussed the history and present situation with regard to industrial and higher education among American Negroes, and I tried to show that at present neither the colleges nor the industrial schools were solving our problem of work and wages. Since that time, in several other addresses, I have tried to go further along this line and emphasize the fact that careful economic planning has got to take place among us if we are going to solve our present problems. I want in this address to gather up conclusions and statements which I have made before into one constructive whole and to discuss economic planning for American Negroes.

First of all, let me stress the factsin the situation of which most of us do not seem aware; and that is, the appalling ignorance in the United States, among all people, concerning the principles of economics and the specific facts of labor and income. This id due largely to the complete collapse of real economic teaching in our colleges. Beginning long before the World War and coincident with the triumph of international commerce, mass production, and large industry, of chain retail distribution, economic teaching in the United States has been reduced to the smallest possible proportions. Outstanding economic figures have either been discouraged or dismissed from their academic positions, with the result that today in a time of the most severe industrial crisis that this country and the world have known, there is no economic leadership, and least of all are we turning toward the colleges for information or guidance. This is true of the great white universities, and it is even more true of colored institutions. The older teachers in these colored institutions do not

realize the new economic situation, and the younger teachers have been taught in the white institutions of the North. We face, therefore, a situation almost fantastic. Here we are with a partial and increasing educational system of our own, which has taken immense strides during the last decade. We have three institutions that bid fair to be real universities. We have a half-dozen first-class colleges that can be compared with the old New England college. We have not near enough high schools but we do have an increasing number of well-equipped, well-housed and well-manned secondary schools. The number of Negroes in college have increased phenomenally, not only in Negro colleges but as well in white colleges; and yet we face the gravest problem of our history not knowing what we can do to earn a living and how we may properly be trained for it.

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Coming out of college, we face, as youth has ever faced, the three great possibilities of Service, Fame and Wealth. Service to fellow men; Fame as the applause of the world; and Wealth for enjoying life. The Negro college of my day stressed Service. Perhaps it was even maudlin and sentimental about it. We were all going out to lead our people and to be of service to them. The reiteration of this ideal led undoubtedly to a great deal of hypocrisy; but on the other hand, there was a tremendous amount of earnest and reall willingness to sacrifice. There was here and there something of the true martyr spirit. I have seen men and women deliberately turn their backs on reputation and good income and go down with shining eyes into the backwoods of the South and devote themselves to a forlorne hope.

Today, however, this ideal has not even the saving tribute of of hypocrisy. We have throughout our schools a plain statement that what the graduates are looking for is income and fame. That service is all right in its way but it is incident to the main chance. This,

however, increases the contradiction between our opportunities and our dreams. Let us, for instance, survey the fields opened to a college-bred Negro. First of all, he looks to the professions. He regards college training as a pre-professional training. He feels that if he does not enter a profession after going to college that he is to a degree disgraced. His family and friends are disappointed. College means a profession and it means it whether it means for his particular profession or not. First of all, comes medicine, a profession which calls for long training, strong physique, wide knowledge of human nature, the ability to endure strain and suffering. The man who goes into medicine gives very little time or thought to the service which the physician may give a community or a group. It is not a matter of health and healing, it is a matter of a paying practice amid pleasant surroundings. The result is a profession already overcrowded. Not from the point of view of the need of medical service, but from the point of view of the money and fame which Negro physicians are able to get out of the present situation. There are dentistry and pharmacy with their usual demands upon physical strength. There again the service is the last thing thought of by most candidates and the income and the chances for gain are the main incentives. There is teaching, where the income is moderate or small but the tenure long. If the teacher keeps his mouth shut and follows the given routine, he can have for life with a short day's work and a short week's work, and a long summer vacation. Of the service which he can do to the children under him, he gives thought to be sure, but not nearly the amount of thought which the profession demands. The ministry is out of focus altogether. Of course, no modern college-bred Negroes give it a thought. It calls for competition with a type of untrained men where they are seldom successful. The Civil Service

and political life is more alluring. There is a chance for large pay but insecure tenure, coupled with the law, which may bring considerable gains. But it demands a certain facility in things that most young men, certainly at first, shrink from. The field of journalism is narrowed to a comparatively few weekly papers. It has possibilities but the present openings are exceedingly few. Then there is the artist, the man who would write and the poet. Real success here calls for starvation for a long time. Anything less than real success defeats the artist's ideal. There are few who are willing to stick to this career. For, however, the professions, we have schools. Schools of theology, law, medicine, and there is alike, the professions for normal schools and teachers. But none of these schools today are addressing themselves fundamentally to the ethical or psychological aspects of the Negro professional man and to his problem of service as modifying and making a peculiar problem of his income. There are many college graduates who would like to enter business. Many of them are not attracted or adapted to the professions. Others, even if they are adapted to the professions, look at the world around them where the great rewards of life are going to business men. If they come froma northern college, their classmates by overwhelming majority go into business. The income of these men reach fabulous heights. They escape a certain kind of unpleasant publicity as to his personal affairs which is forced upon the professional man. They are allowed under the ethics of business to do things that the ethics of the professional man would not allow. But at the very beginning, they are faced by the problem of capital and credit. It is not the old problem of inheriting the wages of fifty parents, or of accumulating one's own capital, or of receiving personal credit

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from a friend. The capital which is used today is on so vast a scale that few white men and almost no Negroes inherit sufficient to go into business on an adequate scale. Capital is accumulated now by great institutions of credit and the masters of the banking system designate the persons who can use this credit and they do not designate black men. Moreover, in manufacturing, we have mass production, calling for capital and machinery on a vast scale. Into the great standard organizations colored people enter with great difficulty or not at all. The distribution of goods is coming also under the chain system and in these chains Negroes have little or no part. The result is that today the efforts of educating young men to go into the business are for the most part dismal failures. They can to some extent take advantage of certain manifestations of prejudice and go into insurance business and again back of the insurance business must start the credit organization of the country, and this is overwhelmingly in the hands of those who are not particularly eager to have Negroes succeed. Into the third field of industry, the difficulties are even greater. In the first place, there is the old prejudice. College-bred Negroes do not want to go into industry. He figures that the world is going to look down upon him if with his training he becomes an artisan. And yet he has the perfectly natural urge for the work of the chemist and physics, for the work of the engineer, for the work of the artisan, for the good hard physical labor. And then he comes to the personal service, whether it is nursing or conducting a household, or serving drinks in a drugstore. The difficulty here, however, is three-fold. First, in the higher ranks of the engineer, the openings for the most gifted Negro are frightfully small. The artisan is faced with the displacing machine and the average trade union.

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And labor and personal service has its handicaps of small wage and public distress. Here, then, are the fields of the professions, business and industry, and we stand not outside of locked doors but a succession of closed doors, and the first doors that are partially opened are crowded and jammed with candidates so that they are in each other's way, so that few of them have any real chance to exercise their individual bent but are doing things because they are the only chances for earning a living. If here is not a chance for leadership, where is there? That there should be among twelve million people in a world of work any lack of work, any lack of chances for a man to develop his own bent to the highest is simply idiotic. A nation half the size of Spain, a nation as large as Belgium or Holland, a nation far larger than most of the new nations that grew up after the World War, hasn't any business to sit down in helplessness like this before a problem. It calls for thought and planning, but altogether logical thought and perfectly business planning. The people who demand services, professional and personal, the people who demand goods made by hands and machines, the people who demand the transportation and distribution of goods, the people who themselves furnish the capital which is being used by the world, those are our own people. They are the congregations. They fear our churches. They are the people that fear our streets and the Negro districts of our cities and counties. They need service. They have to have it. And they are willing to give labor and service for it, but as the organization is today, their labor and service is given principally to white people and the trained colored people who could give them their service are simply not there to give it, or not prepared to give it, or do not know how to give it. Even in our organization of health

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and medicine, we are not doing one-tenth that the field demands, and so far as furnishing food and clothes and shelter and recreation goes, there is simply no meeting place for demands and supplies. I have walke through a Negro district in Wilmington and seen white artisans putting roofs on colored houses. You go through the business districts and see white clerks waiting upon colored customers. You pass factories where white workers are making things that colored people must buy. You go into banks where colored people have their wages and where colored people cannot borrow. You see roads on which Negroes must be transported, but which they cannot help make. And yet the solution of all these problems is clear and easy. There are examples all over the world. The experience of England and Denmark, of Russia andqCzecho-Slovakia, of all parts of the world for_____ for us, if these_____ were properly taught in our colleges and schools, and then logical inferences carried out inour universities. And all this must be done if we are going to enjoy that higher life for which the colleges are seeking to give us, the broad education. It is the man with leisure who explains the art and thought and ideals of the world. We have no leisure. Our income does not permit it. We are faced, therefore, with the necessity of such a careful collection of facts and figures, sufficient organization of life, sufficient direction of action as will extricate us from this absolutely unnecessary dilemma. The author of Laughing Boy told me of a case in New Mexico. There was a man and family who lived in a house which they had built. They ate the food left in the garden and from the animals which they raised. The animals furnished them wool and leather which they spun and tanned. They had wide lands for work and r creation. They had a lake for bathing. They needed only to buy a few things,

like coffee and sugar which they could easily get from the surplus of what they raised. They were independent and happy. And there is no reason in the world why on a larger scale that this and under the peculiar difficulties of the way in which we live, twelve million Negroes might do the same thing and be an economic _____ mass of people with a refusal to think and play and dream.

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W.E.B.D undated

Economic Planning for the American Negroes

In an address at Howard University, June, 1930, I discussed the history and present situation with regard to industrial and higher education among American Negroes, and I tried to show that at present neither the colleges nor the industrial schools were solving our problem of work and wages. Since that time, in several other addresses, I have tried to go further along this line and emphasize the fact that careful economic planning has got to take place among us if we are going to solve our present problems. I want in this address to gather up conclusions and statements which I have made before into one constructive whole and to discuss economic planning for American Negroes.

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First of all, let me stress the facts in the situation of which most of us do not seem aware; and that is, the appalling ignorance in the United States, among all people, concerning the principles of economics and the specific facts of labor and income. This id due largely to the complete collapse of real economic teaching in our colleges. Beginning long before the World War and coincident with the triumph of international commerce, mass production, and large industry, of chain retail distribution, economic teaching in the United States has been reduced to the smallest possible proportions. Outstanding economic figures have either been discouraged or dismissed from their academic positions, with the result that today in a time of the most severe industrial crisis that this country and the world have known, there is no economic leadership, and least of all are we turning toward the colleges for information or guidance. This is true of the great white universities, and it is even more true of colored institutions. The older teachers in these colored institutions do not

realize the new economic situation, and the younger teachers have been taught in the white institutions of the North. We face, therefore, a situation almost fantastic. Here we are with a partial and increasing educational system of our own, which has taken immense strides during the last decade. We have three institutions that bid fair to be real universities. We have a half-dozen first-class colleges that can be compared with the old New England college. We have not near enough high schools but we do have an increasing number of well-equipped, well-housed and well-manned secondary schools. The number of Negroes in college have increased phenomenally, not only in Negro colleges but as well in white colleges; and yet we face the gravest problem of our history not knowing what we can do to earn a living and how we may properly be trained for it.

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Coming out of college, we face, as youth has ever faced, the three great possibilities of Service, Fame and Wealth. Service to fellow men; Fame as the applause of the world; and Wealth for enjoying life. The Negro college of my day stressed Service. Perhaps it was even maudlin and sentimental about it. We were all going out to lead our people and to be of service to them. The reiteration of this ideal led undoubtedly to a great deal of hypocrisy; but on the other hand, there was a tremendous amount of earnest and real willingness to sacrifice. There was here and there something of the true martyr spirit. I have seen men and women deliberately turn their backs on reputation and good income and go down with shining eyes into the backwoods of the South and devote themselves to a forlorn hope.

Today, however, this ideal has not even the saving tribute of of hypocrisy. We have throughout our schools a plain statement that what the graduates are looking for is income and fame. That service is all right in its way but it is incident to the main chance. This,

however, increases the contradiction between our opportunities and our dreams. Let us, for instance, survey the fields opened to a college-bred Negro. First of all, he looks to the professions. He regards college training as a pre-professional training. He feels that if he does not enter a profession after going to college that he is to a degree disgraced. His family and friends are disappointed. College means a profession and it means it whether it means for his particular profession or not. First of all, comes medicine, a profession which calls for long training, strong physique, wide knowledge of human nature, the ability to endure strain and suffering. The man who goes into medicine gives very little time or thought to the service which the physician may give a community or a group. It is not a matter of health and healing, it is a matter of a paying practice amid pleasant surroundings. The result is a profession already overcrowded. Not from the point of view of the need of medical service, but from the point of view of the money and fame which Negro physicians are able to get out of the present situation. There are dentistry and pharmacy with their usual demands upon physical strength. There again the service is the last thing thought of by most candidates and the income and the chances for gain are the main incentives. There is teaching, where the income is moderate or small but the tenure long. If the teacher keeps his mouth shut and follows the given routine, he can have for life with a short day's work and a short week's work, and a long summer vacation. Of the service which he can do to the children under him, he gives thought to be sure, but not nearly the amount of thought which the profession demands. The ministry is out of focus altogether. Of course, no modern college-bred Negroes give it a thought. It calls for competition with a type of untrained men where they are seldom successful. The Civil Service

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and political life is more alluring. There is a chance for large pay but insecure tenure, coupled with the law, which may bring considerable gains. But it demands a certain facility in things that most young men, certainly at first, shrink from. The field of journalism is narrowed to a comparatively few weekly papers. It has possibilities but the present openings are exceedingly few. Then there is the artist, the man who would write and the poet. Real success here calls for starvation for a long time. Anything less than real success defeats the artist's ideal. There are few who are willing to stick to this career. For, however, the professions, we have schools. Schools of theology, law, medicine, and there is alike, the professions for normal schools and teachers. But none of these schools today are addressing themselves fundamentally to the ethical or psychological aspects of the Negro professional man and to his problem of service as modifying and making a peculiar problem of his income. There are many college graduates who would like to enter business. Many of them are not attracted or adapted to the professions. Others, even if they are adapted to the professions, look at the world around them where the great rewards of life are going to business men. If they come from a northern college, their classmates by overwhelming majority go into business. The income of these men reach fabulous heights. They escape a certain kind of unpleasant publicity as to his personal affairs which is forced upon the professional man. They are allowed under the ethics of business to do things that the ethics of the professional man would not allow. But at the very beginning, they are faced by the problem of capital and credit. It is not the old problem of inheriting the wages of fifty parents, or of accumulating one's own capital, or of receiving personal credit

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from a friend. The capital which is used today is on so vast a scale that few white men and almost no Negroes inherit sufficient to go into business on an adequate scale. Capital is accumulated now by great institutions of credit and the masters of the banking system designate the persons who can use this credit and they do not designate black men. Moreover, in manufacturing, we have mass production, calling for capital and machinery on a vast scale. Into the great standard organizations colored people enter with great difficulty or not at all. The distribution of goods is coming also under the chain system and in these chains Negroes have little or no part. The result is that today the efforts of educating young men to go into the business are for the most part dismal failures. They can to some extent take advantage of certain manifestations of prejudice and go into insurance business and again back of the insurance business must start the credit organization of the country, and this is overwhelmingly in the hands of those who are not particularly eager to have Negroes succeed. Into the third field of industry, the difficulties are even greater. In the first place, there is the old prejudice. College-bred Negroes do not want to go into industry. He figures that the world is going to look down upon him if with his training he becomes an artisan. And yet he has the perfectly natural urge for the work of the chemist and physics, for the work of the engineer, for the work of the artisan, for the good hard physical labor. And then he comes to the personal service, whether it is nursing or conducting a household, or serving drinks in a drugstore. The difficulty here, however, is three-fold. First, in the higher ranks of the engineer, the openings for the most gifted Negro are frightfully small. The artisan is faced with the displacing machine and the average trade union.

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And labor and personal service has its handicaps of small wage and public distress. Here, then, are the fields of the professions, business and industry, and we stand not outside of locked doors but a succession of closed doors, and the first doors that are partially opened are crowded and jammed with candidates so that they are in each other's way, so that few of them have any real chance to exercise their individual bent but are doing things because they are the only chances for earning a living. If here is not a chance for leadership, where is there? That there should be among twelve million people in a world of work any lack of work, any lack of chances for a man to develop his own bent to the highest is simply idiotic. A nation half the size of Spain, a nation as large as Belgium or Holland, a nation far larger than most of the new nations that grew up after the World War, hasn't any business to sit down in helplessness like this before a problem. It calls for thought and planning, but altogether logical thought and perfectly business planning. The people who demand services, professional and personal, the people who demand goods made by hands and machines, the people who demand the transportation and distribution of goods, the people who themselves furnish the capital which is being used by the world, those are our own people. They are the congregations. They fear our churches. They are the people that fear our streets and the Negro districts of our cities and counties. They need service. They have to have it. And they are willing to give labor and service for it, but as the organization is today, their labor and service is given principally to white people and the trained colored people who could give them their service are simply not there to give it, or not prepared to give it, or do not know how to give it. Even in our organization of health

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and medicine, we are not doing one-tenth that the field demands, and so far as furnishing food and clothes and shelter and recreation goes, there is simply no meeting place for demands and supplies. I have walke through a Negro district in Wilmington and seen white artisans putting roofs on colored houses. You go through the business districts and see white clerks waiting upon colored customers. You pass factories where white workers are making things that colored people must buy. You go into banks where colored people have their wages and where colored people cannot borrow. You see roads on which Negroes must be transported, but which they cannot help make. And yet the solution of all these problems is clear and easy. There are examples all over the world. The experience of England and Denmark, of Russia and Czecho-Slovakia, of all parts of the world for_____ for us, if these_____ were properly taught in our colleges and schools, and then logical inferences carried out inour universities. And all this must be done if we are going to enjoy that higher life for which the colleges are seeking to give us, the broad education. It is the man with leisure who explains the art and thought and ideals of the world. We have no leisure. Our income does not permit it. We are faced, therefore, with the necessity of such a careful collection of facts and figures, sufficient organization of life, sufficient direction of action as will extricate us from this absolutely unnecessary dilemma. The author of Laughing Boy told me of a case in New Mexico. Here was a man and family who lived in a house which they had built. They ate the food left in the garden and from the animals which they raised. The animals furnished them wool and leather which they spun and tanned. They had wide lands for work and r creation. They had a lake for bathing. They needed only to buy a few things,

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like coffee and sugar which they could easily get from the surplus of what they raised. They were independent and happy. And there is no reason in the world why on a larger scale that this and under the peculiar difficulties of the way in which we live, twelve million Negroes might do the same thing and be an economic _____ mass of people with a refusal to think and play and dream.

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It is a tragic commentary on modern culture that when a man realizes the inherent beauty and longing beneath the religious belief of mankind, and seeks because of this to make religion reasonable, truthful and ethical, he is doomed to crucifixion.

John Haynes Holmes has had the vision and has made the effort. He has tried to establish a church founded on the Golden Rule and having as its creed recognized scientific truth and the best human experience and desire. He has tried to visualize this church as an integral part of modern life: of its politics and efforts toward social uplift; of its work and play; of its poverty and wealth. For this he has been pilloried as a radical; looked upon askance by the timid and respectable, and given but meagre financial support for his great effort. And yet, with all this, he is one of the chief citizens of the greatest city of the world, and his life and work mark a wide step forward from the days when words like his would have meant burning at the stake.

33-G-92

[1931]

[1932] Address given at Florence Kelley Memorial — Friends House N. Y. March 16 1932. 5 - o'Clock.

Florence Kelley

by W. E. B. Du Bois.

The death which we commemorate today brings to us no sense of that frustration or incompleteness which so often follows the end of a human life. We may well wish that all the courage and tenacity and accumulated experience of Florence Kelley were still at our disposal in the struggle of these hard days. And yet, in the rest which she has earned, comes a certain fine satisfaction. Our rightful heritage from her life is wealth enough for carrying on.

Very few American citizens, even those of education and breadth of outlook, are willing to face in the United States and in our day the problems which we inherit from the institution of Negro slavery in this land. Deliberately and repeatedly, the best class of american thinkers, writers and executives, turn their backs upon these problems, trying to ignore them and even to forget them.

If this is true of the rank and file, it is even more true of social workers. Of the greater leaders in social work in the United States during the last two decades, one may count on the fingers of one hand, those who have dared to see the plight of the American Negro as an integral part of the problem of American democracy. And one of these few was Florence Kelley.

She joined the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at its first inception, was a member of our first Board of Directors in 1911, and remained an active participant until her death. She did this with a clear conception of what it cost her in prestige and sympathy. The majority of those people who were interested in her main work of the Consumers' League, were not in-

terested in the Negro and had not the slightest desire, either to study the Negro problem or to do anything about it. Florence Kelley desired both knowledge and work. Nothing human was foreign to her interest, even thought that humanity was black. And so she was a member of our Board; she attended our meetings; she worked faithfully upon committees; and above all, she continued wanting to know the facts.

I was particularly impressed with that aspect of her activities. All Boards of Directors have numbers of people who loan their names and never attend, and that, of course, may be better than nothing, although not much better. They have, also, other persons who attend now and then or even regularly, but are there to listen and nod or to repeat, for the benefit of those present, certain choice bits of wisdom which they have picked up and embalmed and which may or may not be related to the facts in hand. But to have a board member who is eager for new facts and new lines of thought and fresh investigation, is an unusual thing. I remember, time and time again in our Board, when meetings were drawing on drowsily to conventional conclusions, Florence Kelley would burst in with a question. What was this thing? And what did it mean? And why? And what were the other and supplementary facts? And if they were not known, why were they not known, and how could they be obtained? I have seen a dead board galvanized, sometimes quite unwillingly by these new queries, this new orientation of thought, until either we had convinced Mrs. Kelley that our conclusions were right, or just as often she had convinced us that we were not ready for conclusions at all.

And then, once having grasped the situation, knowing the facts and having made up her mind, Florence Kelley stuck to the problem,

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reiterated it, explained it, and begged and called and insisted upon action. This is illustrated in the case in the repeated attempts which have been made by persons of the highest position in the United States, to put through Congress bills which would aid education in the common schools of the nation. They have stressed the disgraceful illiteracy which still characterizes this great republic. They have emphasized the dangers of sheer ignorance, but with all this, they have been in practically every instance not only willing but eager to allow the Southern States to expend these funds without any investigation or any power over the disgraceful discrimination now customary between white and colored children. Against this national surrender to ignorance, Florence Kelley took her stand, and by word and pen and personal complaint, she opposed every single attempt to perpetuate in new law the old discrimination against American Negroes in Federal appropriations.

Or again, certain immature students in Arkansas were sending out questionnaires concerning the Negro and one came to Mrs. Kelley. She declared this to be one of "a flood of fraudulent surveys based on meaningless questionnaires." And she added: "The Negro problem in the United States is an exceedingly difficult and delicate matter which should be dealt with only by people of mature years and proven and enlightened experience in the humble spirit of the searcher after truth."

On another occasion, when the City Housing Corporation planned projects for the poor at Radburn, New Jersey and Sunnyside Gardens, New York, it was Florence Kelley almost alone who forced these professional Liberals at least to face the discrimination which they were making against the most wretchedly-housed people in the community, and even though they continued to refuse to admit Negro tenants, they were forced to sin against the light.

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Not only did Florence Kelley seek to do but up until the end of her life, she was willing to learn, which again sets her far apart from the average social worker. I can remember in the earlier days of our Association, when in the pages of THE CRISIS magazine that social equality with those of his fellows who wished it, was just as much a human right as ~~an~~ economic or political equality, Florence Kelley was aghast and for a while considered her resignation ~~to~~ from the Board. But there came a time when she acknowledged that this was a plain and temperate statement of a perfectly obvious truth. ~~She did for American Negroes great and continuing service in the correspondence which she had with students of social facts all over the country.~~

I might adduce many other instances of Mrs. Kelley's clear sight and unfaltering courage. It was not so much a question as to whether or not she was always right in her judgment but the faster moral problem of daring, unflinchingly and with open mind and willing intelligence, to face a situation not matter how difficult of understanding or how startling its implications and command. Half our muddle, indecision and cowardly dishonesty would disappear if we dared to know. If we dared to call a problem a problem and did not repeatedly seek to ignore it by burying our heads in the most popular surrounding sand.

This is the lesson of Florence Kelly's life and for the handing on of that lesson she paid--she paid in bitter dislike, in determined misunderstanding and in the loss of nearly every reward which smug respectability and calculating conformity brings to its legion of devotees. And of all Florence Kelley's sins against convention, none--not even her socialism and pacificism, her championing of sex equality and religious freedom, her fight for children and democracy--none ~~most~~ least her more fair-weather friends than her demand for the rights of 12 million

Americans who are black.

Before such courage and determination, before such unswerving facing of Truth and Right as one great unified and universal problem, we stand today uncovered and with a sense of triumph in the presence of sorrow and death.

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(1)

OF PEACE AND HAPPINESS

By W. E. B. Du Bois at Town Hall New York May 16 1932

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World Peace and Happiness will best be promoted by insuring the contentment of the great mass of human beings the world over and the desire to hurt and harm no human thing. Here is a program so simple and clear and true that no one disputes it and yet few are willing to follow it. First of all, it is, we are often assured, quite impossible of realization. We cannot all be happy men say and we ought not to be if we could. And then growing more involved and subtle, we erect Pain and Evil into a great method of Ultimate Good and beat our breasts and shed our own blood in ecstacy of Sacrifice.

But before involving our thought in such intricacy and contradiction, let us go back and gently insist: Would it not be the best possible world if all living things could be happy and are we utterly sure that this is impossible? Let us face Evil and Sorrow and Hurt. Are they all and always necessary? The deeds and happenings of the world that sicken us are not mainly Chance and Accident and what, for want of words, we call Fate. Rather it is the Will to Evil; the careless gambling with human life; and the sorrow which effort and kindness could prevent. If we subtracted from the endless and seemingly eternal suffering of mankind, all that reason and work, forethought and kindness, fairness and the curbing utter selfishness could do—how much of Evil would be left? War would go and cruel Punishment. Most of our Sickness would disappear and all of our Poverty. The great bulk of Crime that rests on poverty, insanity and ignorance would cease to be ~~disappear~~; and with Ignorance would fall all that fantastic superstructure of Fear and Hate, of Prejudice and vague Dislike; and of that colossal selfishness which men call Patriotism, Family pride, Race superiority

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(2)

and consciousness of Kind.

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Let us freely admit | there would be something of Suffering left— Disease which science has not yet conquered; the chance and accident beyond human control | and the tragedy of Death | if normal Death is ever tragedy. | But surely the stopping of preventible evil | would leave us in a world | which we could justly and rightly call Happy, where men | in the recurrent miracle of Spring | could rightly and in overwhelming measure | feel themselves in tune | with the abundant joy of resurrecting nature.

Why should anyone doubt the possibility of this ideal | and even go so far | as to refuse to recognize the contentment | of the great mass of men | as the true and only end of living? It is doubtless, first, because the Easy and Logical and Obvious | does not appeal to the average mind, | distorted by seeing Evil all its life | until Life seems in its essence red and wrong. And, secondly, because so many of us, (though we hate to say it), derive a curious sadistic pleasure from the suffering of others. To know that that neighbor of yours, whom you never did like, is at last "getting it in the neck" is a well-known form of through enjoyment.

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(4)

Perhaps the greatest cost | of preventible evil | is the sense of utter helplessness. The frantic search for the Thunderbolts of some Almighty God to do the simple job that any ordinary man | could do | if he would. | We want alchemies and mystic rythyms; revelations, holy books, prophesies and Sons of God. | We want Temples and altars and sacrifices. | But we are impatient when we are asked to try meekness and forgiveness and vaccination, public baths, old age pensions and respect for brown women as well as white. We want a priest to raise himself from the dead at Easter, | but we will not provide sufficient hospitals or medical science to raise Chinamen from the miasma of flood | or Negroes from the bite of the Tsetse fly | or

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Indians from the malarial musquito.

Beyond this is a more sinister and widely spread feeling. We do not, all of us, want other people happy. We do not always acknowledge it, but we cherish a deeply hoarded glee at the disaster and suffering of some folk. We want to play God and punish and blast in accord with our secret dislikes. We do not want to stop crime nearly as much as we want to burn a criminal alive or hang, draw and quarter him and watch him writhe. We do not want to abolish poverty. We do not think it ought to be abolished. We regard it as part of the beneficent nature of things. We would not want to live in a world where there were not people so poor that they had to dig manure and wash up after our filth or else die of well-merited starvation. We cannot imagine a world worth living in where there would be no color bar against Dagoes, Chinks, Japs and Niggers, guarded with mighty guns and poison gas; or where at least some hotels and some residential districts, some schools and some public offices would not be closed to Jews.

And just so far as we are unwilling to accept the simple and obvious duty in lieu of the miraculous Ten Commandments; just so far as our selfish dislike of most human beings is necessary to our complete satisfaction, just exactly so far is the unhappiness of most men necessary and the evil of this world inescapable and eternal.

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On the other hand, if looking life squarely in the face with open eyes and unhindered ears, we once realize that all this paradox and contradiction, this futile waste of effort and clouding of logic is due primarily not to intricacies of Creation but to the foolishness and blindness and selfishness of men—and not of other men and men afar off in time and space, but of us ourselves here and now, then the problem of the world becomes one of stark and awful simplicity—

a deed of today, done in this city and this country, by you.

The way which you will stop war in Europe and China will be first to stop in your own hearts. The Rebellion in India will be your own rebellion against humanity in all its forms and colors. The Crime that reddens this land will first stain your hands and be washed therefrom before it leaves your neighbors clean. And the Starvation that stalks in every cornerof the world, will find its answer and solution in the over-fed and over-dressed bodies of this audience.

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We sit in ignorance, we who presume to teach and lead, because we shut our minds and ears to the wider and deeper intelligence of the millions of the world's masses, stored in their knowledge and experience and ready, through the floodgates of a world-wide democracy, to teach all mankind. In our hands, here in America, here in New York, are the keys to Democracy and linked therewith the keys to Happiness and World Peace.

Address Delivered by Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois

Before the Twenty-third Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People - Washington, D. C., May 18,1932.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE N.A.A.C.P.?

The meetings of this Association have usually been those where we have taken time to criticise our white citizens in plain language, and I have tried to do my part in that direction. Now the time has come when some of the time should be devoted to self-criticism, and all the more today, because during the last year this Association has been subjected to criticism from within and from without. These are days and years of criticism when all sorts of individuals and of organizations have had to make some kind of answer and to say why they are doing these things and that; and that is particularly applicable to organizations, because organizations are born, live, and then they come to the time when they begin to show signs of age, and if they do not receive some new infusion of youth they die. Moreover, it does not make any particular difference to the individual or organization whence the criticism comes or why. After all, the thing itself is the criticism.

I have tried in the last few weeks to make various categories of the criticisms I have heard which have been levelled against this Association and every time I made the final list it was different from the last.

First of all, I think the widest spread criticism within the Negro race of the National Association for the Advancement

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of Colored People is that it is a highbrow organization; that it is an organization composed largely of the better circumstanced of the Negro race, of those who by accident and by their own efforts rank higher than the mass of their people, who have accumulated more wealth and who, consequently, feel more of the pressure of prejudice and of discrimination than the masses are supposed to feel; that, going beyond that, those people who formed the organization had very naturally met opposition and that they think of the organization as for themselves; that not only is the organization composed of these advantaged people but that the object of the organization is the advancement of this particular class of the Negro race.

Now, this organization was formed at a time when the phrase, "the talented tenth", meant something for the advancement of men, when we were thinking along lines of that sort. We said, "The people who are the exceptional people must of necessity be the ones who lead any group out of the wilderness.It is not a question of their advantages." And then we went further than that and quite naturally said, "This organization must also be for the advancement of this "talented tenth." After all, if the talented tenth is the judge, the tool by which we are going to raise the Negro race, then the more we ourselves are raised, the more advantages we have, the more in the long run we are going to solve this problem.

But there comes a question . "Are you thinking of the advancement of this tenth for your own sake or for the sake of the great mass of people? When it comes to the advancement of the great mass of people who is to be the judge as to what these people want and ought to have ? We are the ones who know what the masses ought to

want; therefore, we are the ones who go ahead and lay down the program for these people, who manage; and while we have been going on with our program there has come actually a change in the thought of the world, a change which is tremendous and says not only is the object of the organization advancement for the masses of people but that it must be dominated by the masses of people. That change is so fast that there are large numbers of people who have not heard it at all; large numbers who do not believe it. It is going to have a hard time making its way but it is going to make its way. The world more and more is going to be organized not simply for the masses of people but by the masses of people. They are going to be the ones who will dominate.

Then there comes the question of means, as to how this is to be brought about; and it comes inside our organization. If we change our point of view as more and more we have got to change it and think of this Association as an Association which uses the talents of the talented, the advantages of those who form our advantaged class, we have got to come to the place where we more clearly realize that this organization is to be used for the advantage of the great masses of the people and that the great masses of the people are the ones who are going in the long run to have the voice. They are the ones who are going to say what is going to happen and what they think is for their advantage.

It is an extremely difficult problem that is placed before us and the peoples of the world. It resolves itself into a matter of organization. And that brings me to the second criticism which has been aimed against this Association - that this is a peculiarly

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centralized organization; that the Board of Directors is self-perpetuating; that the Chairman of the Board has too much power. There are times when the Chairman of the Board is the National Association. This is a meeting which comes here without power, which discusses matters but its decision has no authority. You come to no conclusions which are incumbent upon the Board of Directors to execute. The Board meeting in New York in the National Office constitute through the power which they have the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Now, of course, there were historical reasons for that. At the time when we were organizing it was a little difficult for any body of people to stand on a platform with much less than that and be safe. We wanted to keep the platform covered and know where it was; so we put it in the hands of a small group of people in order to carry out the ideas we had.

Nevertheless, the time comes when it is necessary, for the advantage of the central body, that there be decentralization to some extent, in authority and in power. It is for the advantage of the central body because after all this problem which we call the Negro problem is growing in complexity every single day. Every man who is born with a face perceptibly brown in any degree has been a man who knew all about the Negro problem. It made no difference where he was born, he was perfectly ready to go out and lecture when white citizens wanted him to tell what the Negro wanted and what he thinks. We are supposed to know Negro music. We do not know it by intuition. In no greater degree do we know the whole Negro problem as it it presents itself to us in thousands of communities.

It is, therefore, necessary that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have real branches; and we have

not. We have organizations throughout the United States which now and then come to life and which live during the time that the Regional Secretary is there, and go to sleep and die possibly for a year or more. Moreover, those branches have a right to complain on their part. They say, "After all, we are never called to life until the central office needs money; then there come clarion calls to get together, join the Association, and send us funds." There is no doubt about the need of funds. Any organization which tries to take care of the problems of twelve millions of people needs a good deal more money than the Association has ever had. On the other hand, it is not going to get these funds until the branches of the Association become really live centers, real centers and living cells of activity and of ideals.

Now, it is easier to say that a branch, a local organization, should live and function than it is to point out just exactly the way in which it is going to do this. We have always been terribly afraid that some branch would go off on its own hook and do curious things; but I think the real fear is that the branch will not go off on any hook at all, or would not go at all. Life should come from the branches of the Association and we have been trying to do the other thing, send down the life, and we haven't enough life to send down. If we are going to have these branches as real live organizations, a thousand different centers which are studying their own problems and in that way the National Office become as it should a clearing house rather than a place where the different solutions are made, are organized and sent down; if we are going to have that kind of thing; we have got to look to our program.

The program for this Association was made when the echoes

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of the eighteenth century were still before us. Think of the phrase which has interpreted what we pledge to do -"free from peonage, free from ignorance, free from disfranchisement, free from insult." We ring the changes upon the word, free - the idea of freedom which originated in the eighteenth century. That was a negative program. It still is. There must be there a suppression of terms. We want freedom not for freedom itself. We want freedom for the action which is coming. The premise which was stressed is that once you get this great freedom or have a larger degree of freedom, then you are going forward and be a part of the American nation, taking such action as other Americans would take under the circumstances. That has not shown itself altogether true, chiefly because the success of our program has been a gradual success. We have gradually progressed in nearly all the lines in which we have been working. It is not often that an organization working twenty years can point to so much that is tangible. There is not so much danger of lynching and mob law. There is larger political freedom. The widespread insult on account of race is not as clear, as open, as it was before we began our work. But at the same time there are difficulties that come from a gradual widening of these principles so that more and more we are faced with the necessity of a positive program. This has been brought out tonight, it has been brought out in all of the argument as to what you and I are going to do in these days of depression. You are going to discuss an economic programand that program was put in without any particular thought that we are transgressing in a way the kind of outline we had of our work in the early days. We rather prided ourselves that it was not a

question of saying what Negroes should do but what trammel should be taken away from their freedom of action. But we must go forward because we are faced with the same kind of decision that we were faced with in the matter of being a high-brow organization. It was not the difficulty of making the change in the first case. We said, "We have been accused, but after all we have been working for the masses of the colored people; so many things we have done have had their interests in mind.

But we are going into this economic program which is going to find in the opposition/membership of the Association and among friends of the white race who are with us. There is among us still the idea that the kind of things we have learned in our branches, the idea that after all we are going to achieve our economic freedom in the United States in the way that economic emancipation has been brought in other days. They say, "We are going to work hard, earn money, invest that money, have property, employ ourselves, and thus we will reach what used to be called economic independence." The majority of thinking colored people have something like that today in the back of their heads. That means, of course, that if it is successful we are going to build up inside of the Negro race an economic class, not quite clear as yet; we are going to have a property class, an employing class, a class with property, a class which will employ. Hitherto, we have not been able; we have no rich and poor as yet. We have some who are better off than others; but after all you cannot say that the class struggle, the economic struggle, has shown itself inside the Negro race. But that is partially hidden by the fact that we are living in a great country where most of our employment comes from the white capitalists. But if the things keeps on and our thinking keeps clear as in the past we are going to have this division, a real economic class.

How far is that a division which we ought to have? We can

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say frankly it is a division which is against the present trend of the world. We may go back after this depression to what appears to be the same economic condition as before; but as a matter of fact there will never be the same condition. More and more we are going to have an economic organization where the masses of the people will have a larger voice in the distribution of wealth and in the rulership of industry. In the meantime what are you and I going to be doing? There is a feeling which we have all got, that all we have to do is sit back and see the salvation of the Lord. But it does not happen that way. Mr. Harris said all we have got to do is to get the whites and blacks together. But if they do not get together, then what are we going to do? Manifestly, it is necessary that we have an economic organization, an economic program, and know exactly where the world is going and where we are going, assuming the world is going.

In making this program we are going to have a difficulty, a peculiarly racial difficulty and one which we have been facing for years; and every time I give voice to it I get in trouble. I am going to give voice to it again.

This Association has laid down as one of its cornerstones that we are against segregation by race. As to the validity of that I am sure, for I am faced with a paradox . In the District of Columbia you have separate schools. Separate schools are against the basic principles of this organization. This organization has its headquarters in New York. In New York we have mixed schools. That is according to the basic principles of this organization. However, I know that the colored children of the District of Columbia are getting better education. I sent my child as far from Harlem as possible to get an

education. I should have been very glad to send her to the public schools of the District of Columbia. This is not against the principle laid down with which you and I agree; but manifestly we cannot go on with that double argument. Here is the situation in our institutions of higher learning. It is more difficult for a Negro student to get into Harvard, Columbia, Yale, than it used to be. The institutions of higher learning throughout the United States are crowding Negroes and some others out, as much as they can. On the other hand, here are the Negro universities. Their development in the last ten years has been one of the miracles in the world. We have made enormous advances in education. We should not have discriminations in universities, but we have got them.

We come to the District of Columbia and we come bringing principles of ant-segregation which belong in this organization. We meet in this church. This church is a product of segregation; a product not only of the system when Negroes were put by themselves to worship God but one that broke down a large number of their bonds.

We must have a statement which does not talk differently with the two sides of our mouths. An organization working for the uplift of the Negro people should not be apologetic and need not be. There are those who say that in an ideal world we ought to have no segregation by race; but, unfortunately this is not an ideal world and it does not look as if it is going to be tomorrow.

Then, there comes a third thing which must go into the new program. The United States of America has been for a long time going along with a simple sort of philosophy as to its relation to the rest of the world. This philosophy arose after the Civil War, when we got

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a chance to develop the enormous wealth of this country for ourselves; and we kept all other exploiters of the world out; and we made millions upon millions, so that we became a collosal example of a great, rich, exploiting country. And now we are trying to show ourselves and the rest of the world that America stands by itself - nothing to do with the League of Nations; nothing to do with the

The only difficulty is we have something to do with them. Once the President of the United States said it was simply confidence in ourselves which would restore conditions, but now he says it is conditions in Europe which is the cause of our trouble. Colored people have tried the same kind of thing; tried to get the National Association interested in the peoples of the world; tried to bring them back to the basic idea which gave us our name. When that name was adopted it was adopted because those people who stood behind it wanted us to remember it was not merely for the advancement of the Negro in the United States. There were numbers of people who said, "Now, haven't we trouble enough at home without going to look for trouble in Africa? This is not an African problem," they said. "After all, this is a local American problem. What we want to do is to become American citizens. After that we may take some interest in other parts of the world." The only difficulty is that this cannot be worked out. The solution of the color problem of the world is going to be worked out in Africa before it is worked out in America, and in the West Indies just as soon as it is worked out in America. You may say you have nothing to do with the upheaval and strife in other parts of the world; but you have.

We must, then, make our program wider. We have a sort

of re-adopted program which has to do with our economic status; a program which has to do with a clearer recognition of our united effort; a program which has to do with the world ramifications of the color line. Every one of you will say, "That is a pretty large order.." We started out with a fairly simple program; started out to do away with discrimination in the United States. It is analagous to the way in which the Abolitionists started out to abolish slavery; and when slavery was abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment and a few other amendments, the Liberator stopped publication and the Abolitionists stopped work. It meant the work was just well begun; it meant there would be another organization; the work had to go on.

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Now, with us we have a name that has a good many advantages yet. We have the possibility of not going again through the throes of organization. Some people speak lightly of starting national organizations. No one who has been through it really wants to start again. He wants rather to save all of that energy and reorganize and start again on a larger program. But that takes courage and it takes strength.

Now, courage and strength come from youth; and the greatest charge that has been brought against the N.A.A.C.P. is the fact that we have not used the youth. We have not invited them in; have not shown any particular thought about their problem. I often think of the way that phrase, "a man without a country," applies to certain young colored men and women. A student in Chicago not lone ago passed out a questionairre to certain young colored students asking them about certain things which you and I ought to know - the names of certain Negroes who had led insurrections; Negroes who had been prominent; and he was tremendously disgusted and surprisedthat they did not know anything about it. Why

should they? Why should anybody going to the University of Chicago know anything at all about the Negro race? Why should he have any idea of what the Negroes of the United States have done? Not by anything he has heard in his classes, because they are not teaching that. Consequently, we are sending out continually young men and women who know nothing about us.

These young people have not been welcomed into this organization; particularly because we had so much to do. We have made gestures but usually our gestures were not felt. We wanted them to organize and do what we wanted them to do, but they did not want to. They wanted to say some things which were not complimentary, and that is very difficult for older people to hear.

The youth have got to come into this organization because those who are in it are not going to run it very much longer. You have got to have that trained body. After all, you get the new ideals, you get the strength to go forward, from the young people who are going forward. The matter of extending to them the benefit of your experience and wisdom is an extremely difficult and intricate one. They do not want to listen. And why should they? In some way the link between one generation and another has got to be made, and that is the task to which the N.A.A.C.P. has not given its thought.

Let me recapitulate these four things, these four criticisms of the N.A.A.C.P.:

1. It has laid itself open to the charge of being a high-brow organization, and while the work it has done has been in the main work for the masses, it must in the future recognize that the interests of the masses are the interests

of this Association, and that the masses have got to voice themselves through this Association.

2. The N.A.A.C.P. has got to decentralize the power of the central office and learn that great lesson of democracy, to use the store of experience and knowledge which the masses of people possess. We must, therefore, increase the activity and power of the branches and of the Annual Conference.

3. We must have a positive program rather than mere negative attempt to avoid segregation and discrimination. We need a program of economic guidance and of united effort for the realization of racial and interracial ideals and a program which recognizes the color and race problems of the world as part of our Negro problem here in America.

4. Finally, we must get the strength and courage for this readjustment of our objects by attracting and assisting and welcoming Youth to our organization.

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NAACP

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WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE N. A. A. C. P.

W. E. B. DuBois

In recent years, and particularly during the past year, the N. A. A. C. P. has been subjected to continuous and even violent criticism. This arises partly because this is an era of criticism—of criticism and suffering and disillusion—no human institution can or should escape its share. Again no organizations are eternal. They are born. They live. They die. As they grow old they must continually submit to such acid tests as will determine their right longer to exist. Finally, all of us know, whether inside or outside the N. A. A. C. P., that we merit criticism. That there are plenty of things "wrong" with us. That we are not, never were and never claimed to be a perfect organization. We can have an honest pride in our past. Considering the magnitude of our task, the limitation of our means, the opposition of a powerful part of white America and the naturally divided councils and jealousies within our own constituency, our success has been nothing short of extraordinary. On the other hand, it is equally true that the N. A. A. C. P. has not only not settled the Negro problem, it has hardly more than begun to settle it and what it has not done is far greater in extent and importance than what it has done or has tried to do.

Only then out of attention to and earnest study of the systematic and continuous criticism aimed at us, can we hope to revise and rearrange our program and strengthen our action and face an even more critical and exacting future. Nor does it make any essential difference whence the criticism comes and from what motives or how valid its assertions. So far as our arraignment is based on falsehood, we can easily answer it by re-stating and reiterating the truth.

So far as it comes from enmity and jealousy, it is just as valid if true as though it were based on high motives of helpfulness. Above all, let us never be jockeyed into a position of denying to others the right of free speech and criticism even when directed unjustly against us. I have especially in mind the criticism of Communists in the Scottsboro case. I think much of the Communists criticism of the N. A. A. C. P. is deliberately false. I, nevertheless, stand firmly and squarely for their right to voice their beliefs in regard to us, the United States and the whole capitalistic world. Truth and truth alone is criteria of the past and only reason and faith can chart the future.

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Current criticisms of the N. A. A. C. P. fall into these main categories:

1. That we are a "high-brow" organization interested mainly in the "Talented Tenth" and in those of our own group who live by exploiting labor; and that we are not primarily interested in the great mass of laboring Negroes.
2. That our organization is autocratic and centralized in the New York office with no effective democratic control and that the expenditure of monies and the far-reaching decisions as to policies and lines of action are controlled by a small inner clique without effective consultation with branches and individuals.
3. That the proportion of our income spent in salaries and overhead is excessive.
4. That we are not covering anywhere nearly the field of work for which any definite settlement of the Negro problem calls but are simply selecting cases here and there for reasons of

publicity and advertising.

5. That the N. A. A. C. P. is not attracting youth. That the young people—workers, students and graduates—are not joining the organization; are not being consulted or employed by it but that it is becoming a stronghold of conservatism dominated by the middle-aged and old.

6. That, particularly, we are failing in our program to recognize that political and social reform depends today primarily upon economic reform and that without a thorough-going and even revolutionary change in our organization of industry, there can be no frontal attack on race prejudice.

7. That the general program of the N. A. A. C. P. is outgrown and out-of-date and needs thorough-going revision in the light of present-day facts and that this applies especially to racial segregation and international efforts.

I propose to examine each of these criticisms in turn in the light of history and present fact:

1. That we are a "high-brow" organization interested mainly in the "Talented Tenth" and in those of our own group who live by exploiting labor and that we are not primarily interested in the great mass of laboring Negroes.

In 1910, the dominant philosophy among American Negroes and their friends was that the salvation of the race depended upon trained leadership; that the "Talented Tenth" were both proof and means; proof of the possibilities of the Negro race in character and accomplishment and the means by which the masses were to be lifted, pushed and led forward.

It was on this philosophy that the N. A. A. C. P. was based. When we demanded that American Negroes be "physically free from peonage, mentally free from ignorance, politically free from disfranchisement and socially free from insult," we undoubtedly had primarily in mind, as the result of this freedom, the advance of larger and larger numbers of black folk in education, wealth and prominence, and we envisaged the rise of the masses of Negroes by means of this leadership.

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Meantime, the thought of the world has changed. It has been pointed out that aristocracies of talent may and may not serve the mass and that they are more than apt to help in the continual subjectionof the masses if they become a part of the present economic system which is based on the exploitation of hired labor. There is no doubt that there has been strong tendency, beginning with the economic philosophy of the earlier Tuskegee and coming down to the Negro business development of our own day, to see in the establishment of Negro landlords and capitalists the settlement of the problem of racial discrimination. The N. A. A. C. P. has never wholly embraced that doctrine. It has continually stressed injustice to the masses—lawlessness and lynching, serfdom and poverty—but at the same time it has not openly and clearly espoused the cause of common labor insofar as the real interests of black labor were diametrically opposed to the interests of black investors and employers as well as white exploiters. True it is that the diversity of interest between capital and labor within the black group is still small. Our capitalists are largely laborers who saved and our laborers buy houses to occupy as well as rent. We have not come to the period of

"Class Struggle". Black employers give work with better pay and conditions than most employees could get elsewhere, and this has obscured the essential division of interest and the necessity of consequent action. Nevertheless, the whole world development since the Russian Revolution and the World War forces a decision upon the N. A. A. C. P. Where do we stand? With the privileged aristocracy of the world, which by its ownership and monopoly of capital is controlling the political and social development of the masses of men, or with a new industrial democracy of working people who more and more consciously propose to organize industry and direct the division of wealth in accordance with the wants and wishes of those who create it? Insofar as the N. A. A. C. P. has not faced this decision in the past, it may excuse itself by saying that there has been hitherto in the Negro race no sufficient division of economic interest to make decision necessary. But every hour now decreases the validity of this excuse and compels us to decide just where we stand between Mass and Class.

2. That our organization is autocratic and centralized in the New York office with no effective democratic control and that the expenditure of monies and the far-reaching decisions as to policies and lines of action are controlled by a small inner clique without effective consultation with branches and individuals.

When the N. A. A. C. P. was organized, it faced opposition so bitter without and within the race, that its firm establishment was a grave problem. For a year it was a "conference" without office, funds, or salaried officials. Even when it achieved a permanent loca-

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tion and a Secretary, it had no money and its hope of contributions and endowment from the rich was immediately recognized as a dream. The colored world regarded us with suspicion, dislike and ridicule—suspicion that our object was simply to criticize and attack those who were already working to solve our problem; dislike because of our plain speaking, and ridicule because of our impossible program. One of our colored contemporaries remarked when we were a year old: "Well, you haven't restored the Negro's vote, abolished 'Jim Crow' cars, nor stopped lynching!" It was this attitude that led us to concentrate our efforts, centralize power in the hands of the few we trusted, frown upon debate and oratory, come to quick and far-reaching decision in order to keep continuously and doggedly at our job.

The result of this policy has been at once our success and our present difficulty. Without centralized power of action and money on hand in the earlier days, we would have gone the way of the Afro-American Council and degenerated into a debating society accomplishing nothing because of divided counsels and intolerable delay. Autocracy of organization has pointed the method and way of work. But on the other hand, we suffer from the weakness of all autocracy. The King by the Grace of God does wrong, not from will but from lack of knowledge. Only by appeal to every widening democracy—to my Lords and Gentlemen and even to commoners and laborers—can he learn what the nation wants and needs. Democracy is not miraculous, it is a Reservoir of human Knowledge and experience out of which may be gleaned the world's best and widest wisdom. The baffling social problem of democracy is the method of extracting this wisdom and the technique of applying it. We Negroes are afraid of Democratic methods—because of the present disrepute of Democracy in

the nation and world and because we have had less experience in democracy than most folk. Slavery means not simply physical compulsion but compulsion of thought. Our first experiments in free democratic action scared us because of our ever attentive audience who ridiculed and disparaged. Even today the mobs which try to rule our great fraternal organizations and our church conferences, increase our distrust of mass decisions. Nevertheless, we have no choice. In the long run the people will and must rule. And our only opportunity is in helping to decide what kind of people these potential rulers shall be. The failure of democracy in the United States and in the modern world is due primarily to the fact that the government has not succeeded in making the ruling people intelligent and efficient, so that democratic power is continually wielded by mass ignorance debauched by demagogues. When it comes to voluntary action within groups which are not governments and thus have but limited group control, the problem of democracy is increasingly difficult. Nevertheless, there are some compensating advantages. The group has a voice in choosing its own membership, and thus by care and teaching and study it may build a constituency whose democracy is a source of intelligent guidance, rather than of frustration.

There is no doubt that the N. A. A. C. P. has gone as far in the concentration of power as it can or ought to. It needs now the intelligent co-operation of its branches and membership, and into the hands of these branches and members some of the power hitherto exercised by the central office must be entrusted. Indeed, the Negro's problem today has no such unity as corresponds to unified central action. The condition, opportunities and needs of the varying groups of American Negroes differ tremendously in every center

throughout the United States. They can only be intelligently understood by local study and local knowledge, and remedied in part only by local action. They call for the raising and expenditure of local as well as national funds. This means that in the future, if the N. A. A. C. P. is going successfully to do its job, it must become not one central office but a thousand central offices working in unison with a main office as a clearing house of activities. This annual conference, instead of being simply a place of speeches and publicity, consultation and advice, must become a real center of power with the right and duty of naming at least a part of the directorate of the National Organization and of laying down policies in general lines. There is no doubt that the changes here indicated, to be effective and successful, must be made gradually with great thought and care. But on the other hand, they must come; it is inevitable, if this organization is going to reflect, as it should, the voice and action of twelve million American Negroes.

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3. That the proportion of our income spent in salaries and overhead is excessive.

It would be easy to present figures here which would prove that this organization, as compared with other social organizations throughout the United States, has had a modest expenditure for salaries and has done its work on a small budget. But the gravamen of the criticism here voiced lies deeper than this. It is in reality not a criticism of the earning capacity of individuals or the cost of certain sorts of work; it is the revolt of poor people who are trying to exist on an income far below that which furnishes the bare necessities of life against the favored classes who not only have enough to live upon decently and happily, but in a large number of cases, have money to waste on luxuries and even anti-social activities.

Poor people are today criticizing a world in which poverty is unchallenged regarded as natural and inevitable. And they are especially alarmed and incensed when they see this unequal division of income invading the limits of their own group.

The answer to that criticism is, that as the world is now organized, we ourselves are victims of its condition and cannot of our own initiative set prices and scales of expenditure. When the N. A. A. C. P. hires lawyers, the price which they pay is not set by the income standards of the Negro group. Nor can we stop to argue in a case of life and death as to what the right reward of a lawyer ought to be. When Negroes hire Negroes for executive work, they are not free to decide what executive work in the United States is worth, but are faced by the alternative of either paying customary salaries or discriminating against our own race. Moreover, it is not usually a question of social workers being paid too much but rather the undoubted fact that most other workers are paid too little, while certain captains of industry are paid out of all proportion to what their services are worth to the world. These are the economic contraditions in which we find ourselves, and yet there is undoubtedly some steps toward reform and reconciliation open to the colored servants of colored groups. First of all, they can and must eschew the American ideal of great wealth, of what is so often called "independence". They must definitely put before themselves the ideal of small income and moderate living expense. On the other hand, it would directly defeat the very objects for which they and the colored people are working if income were too low for them to live and rear moderate families and have food and shelter necessary to health and efficiency.

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4. That we are not coverng anywhere nearly the field of work for which any definite settlement of the Negro problem calls but are simply selecting cases here and there for reason of publicity and advertising.

There is no doubt that we are not covering our field of work. And that is because the field is so large and intricate. With a budget ten times the size of our present budget, we could not begin to deal effectively with all cases of illegal arrests, excessive punishment, cheating in wage and property, discrimination in education, and dozens of other categories where race prejudice shows itself in the United States. For this reason, we are tempted to overemphasize publicity. We advertise the cases in which the public is interested, in order to keep an increase interest. We arrange programs for our meetings and conferences with a wary eye to the headliner whose appearance will get us on the front page of newspapers. We use propaganda and ballyhoo, and to some extent, we are compelled to do this as the sheer price of survival.

But these methods must not deceive us into thinking that Advertisement is Work or that Publicity is Accomplishment. After all, looking back upon what hasbeeen done in the last twenty years, quite outside of what has been said about it, there is a distinct improvement in race relations in the United States to which the N. A. A. C. P. has certainly contributed. This and this alone is our excuse for being; and our hope for the future is through the strengthening and broadening of branch work to be able to cover the field more thoroughly.

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5. That the N. A. A. C. P. is not attracting youth. That the young people—workers, students and graduates--are not joining the organization; are not being consulted or employed by it but that it is becoming a stronghold of conservatism dominated by the middle-aged and old.

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This is a serious accusation and it is true. This is not the only organization of which it is true. Nevertheless, it is peculiarly serious in our case because the need of successive increments of trained youth is so great in our case. The number of our trained young men and women has been increasing extraordinarily during the last ten years. THE CRISIS found during the collegiate year, during 1930-31, nearly nineteen thousand Negro college students and two thousand annual college graduates. If we add to this army, the numbers of those educated in other ways than by the formal methods of the schools, we must realize that we are receiving yearly a body of three or four thousand trained young people who must be used for the emancipation of the Negro face. Their use for this purpose has been unfortunately limited. Even if they step into life filled with enthusiasm, ideas and the spirit of sacrifice, the opportunities for them to work, particularly for their own people, are limited to an extent which is almost ridiculous. The N. A. A. C. P. has done almost nothing directly to guide and employ these young people, and has done very little to organize them and encourage them to membership and voluntary activity. It is one of our greatest failures, and it calls for the serious attention of this organization in its central office and in all its branches. It is not enough to train our young people. We must secure them proper employment and the opportunity to forward our ideals.

6. That particularly, we are failing in our program to recognize that political and social reform depends primarily upon economic reform and that without a thorough-going and revolutionary change in our organization of industry, there can be no frontal attack on race prejudice.

This is the accusation voiced particularly by Communists and other Radicals. They say that the legalistic and political program,— the program of social uplift and reform which the N. A. A. C. P. has been voicing and following, is a case of putting the cart before the horse; that so long as industry, wealth and income are dominated and monopolized by privileged classes, there can be no political freedom and no unhampered justice; that, therefore, our program should be turned around and that we should lay all stress upon a new industrial order which puts the control ofwealth, industry and income into the hands of the producers.

This is a fundamental criticism which I have already touched on. It will meet, so far as the American Negro is concerned, and particularly in the case of some of his best white friends and helpers, a great deal of opposition. Stung by the discrimination against him in the labor unions; doubtful of the attitude of white labor and the middle class of clerks and merchants, and encouraged by the action of rich philanthropists in providing education and other social institutions for him, the Negro has been largely persuaded that his path lies in alliance with the rich against poor, and that the economic difficulties by which the white world is plauged are not his primary concern.

I believe this attitude is a grave mistake and threatens the future of the white world as well as the black. If the white world

attempts economic reform without understanding that the serfdom of colored labor is a prime cause of present difficulties; of if the black world attempts emancipation at the expense of white, continued disaster to both must ensue. European civilization can only realize the plight of black folk as black folk teach them and no economic reform of this world is possible which excludes the majority of the working class, which is colored. The danger today is that Liberals and Socialists will continue to ignore the peculiar problems which race prejudice opposes to their programs and that the darker world will continue in ignorance of the fundamental and tragid collapse of that system of world industry which they have been taught to regard as unshakeable and eternal.

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7. That the general program of the N. A. A. C. P. is outgrown and out-of-date and needs thorough-going revision in the light of present-day facts and that this applies especially to racial segregation and international afforts.

If we join, as I know we must, in the establishment of the new industrial order, this will call for a revision of the program of the N. A. A. C. P. Let me seek to illustrate this specifically rather than in broad theory. We have long faced two problems—Segregation and Africa. Segregation, we regard as peculiarly our central and typical problem. Most American Negroes would call it the essense of the Negro problem and declare that once segregation by race ceased in this country the race problem would be at an end. On the other hand, these same Negroes would say that American Negroes have nothing to do with the color problems of Africa and the West Indies, of South America or Asia and that to mix ourselves into these problems would be a tactical error and an unfortunate mistake.

As a result of this line of reasoning, the N.A.A.C.P. and its colored constituency has landed into curious contradiction and paradox.

We lay down the postulate that there should be no segregation based merely on race; that such segregation is a denial of democracy and humanity, and a basic reason for that anarchy which we call war. But facing us

and just as true is the fact that we do have war, we do have separate races and nations and we do have right here in the United States so fundamental as separation by race lines that we almost inhabit separate worlds.

And what is the result? The result is that we have no philosophy which applies to the facts but only a program of negation. The thing must not happen but it does happen. Segregation is wrong but it is true. We have no practical program for this situation. We praise the school situation in New York because there is no segregation of colored teachers and pupils but we are afraid to acknowledge that the colored children of Washington under coloredteachers are getting far and away better training than the black children of Harlem. We get eloquent over the work which colored undergraduates do at Yale or Harvard but almost apologize for the fact that better undergraduate work is being done at Atlanta and Talladega. We are trying desperately to believe that we American Negroes can entirely dissociate ourselves from the Color Line ~~of the Nation~~ that belts the world and brings its infinity of problems in Liberia and Uganda, Basutoland and Congo, India and Java, Jamaica and Brazil. I tried several years to prove to the Board of Directors of the N. A. A. C. P. that the Advancement of Colored People did not refer simply and parochially to North America but bound us to a world-wide problem of race and color just as surely as the United States is an integral part of the modern civilized world.

We must then so rearrange our program that it fits enthusiastic forward action in the segregated South as well as unremitting vigilance where the battle against segregation has been won. We have got to realize that the solution of the race problem in America is goingto

3-5-51

lie outside of America, and that the present problems of race in Asia, Africa and the other Americas are of primary and pressing interest to the Negro race in the United States. I firmly believe that unless we recognize this, and unless we make the advancement of colored people outside the United States a main part of our N.A.A.C.P. program, we are destined to find the same paradox and contradiction that the United States itself is finding in this world depression.

These, then, are the seven criticisms and the seven answers. We have been high-brow and we have got to decide as to whether that attitude is going to continue. We have been autocratic and centralized and we are facing the problem of increasing the activity and power of the branches and of the Annual Conference. We have not spent too large a proportion of our income in salaries and overhead, but, nevertheless, we have got to conform to a new rule of poverty as contrasted with the American ideal of excessive wealth. It is not our fault that we have not covered our whole field. It is rather the size and intricacy of that field. But is our fault that we are not attracting and assisting yough and that fault we must correct. Finally, we must reform our program and recognize the predominant and pressing interest of economic reconstruction, and our general program must go beyond the problems of the American Negro to the problems of the colored peoples of the world.

32-52

What is Wrong with the NAACP

CRITICISM

HIGH BROW

TALENTED TENTH

METHOD - END

CHANGE { FOR MASS / BY MASS

ORGANIZATION

CENTRALIZED

BRANCHES

LIVING CELL { STUDY / ACTION / POSITIVE / IDEAL

ANNUA CONF

PROGRAM

18th CENTURY

FREEDOM { PEONAGE / IGNORANCE / DISFRANCHISEMENT / INSULT

47-S-222

NEGATIVE
SUPPRESSED MAJOR
EMPLOYMENT

OUR SUCCESS
ECONOMIC PROGRAM
THRIFT - SAVING
BOURGEOIS
OUR CLASS STRUGGLE

A NEGRO PROGRAM -
SEGREGATION
PARADOX

EDUCATION: D.C. - N.Y
HARVARD - AU

HOMES: DRUID HILL
139th St
SOUTH PARKWAY

ART + LITERATURE

INTEGRATION

PROVINCIALISM
AN AMERICAN PROGRAM
WORLD COLOR LINE
PAN AFRICA

RE-ADAPTED PROGRAM
INCOME - UNITED EFFORT -
WORLD COOPERATION

STRENGTH - COURAGE

YOUTH.

NEGLECT
WITHOUT COUNTRY
WORK

NAACP

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1. MASSES
2 - DECENTRALIZATION
3 - ECONOMICS - UNION - WORLD
4 - YOUTH.

42-S-22y

Address Delivered by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
at Harpers Ferry, W. Va.

John Brown

May 21, 1932

During the Twenty-third Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

37-6-96

You have heard an admirable statement of the occurrences in the John Brown raid, and you have heard how that raid affects us and our ideals. I want to say a word about something that has happened - a curious ending to what we have done and tried to do.

There is a tablet in that chair, a little thing of bronze. It was intended to be put here at Storer College. We are going to take it back with us. I am sorry. Storer College has been a beautiful memory to me. I saw it first twenty-five years ago. The Niagara Movement came here for its second meeting. It took courage for the Niagara Movement to come here. It took courage for Storer College and its President and its officials to welcome us; and Storer College then had the courage.

We proposed to put here this memorial to John Brown because we are meeting so near here and because the thing seemed so appropriate in our minds. The Secretary of the Association asked me to write an inscription for this tablet; and I wrote it - at night; or rather, it wrote itself. I did not think of any controversy. It did not occur to me that I was saying anything that anyone in the United States would disagree with. And these were the words which I wrote:

Here
John Brown
Aimed at Human Slavery
A Blow
That woke a guilty nation
With him fought
Seven slaves and sons of slaves.
Over his crucified corpse
Marched 200,000 black soldiers
And 4,000,000 freedmen
Singing
"John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave
"But his Soul goes marching on!"

37-6-97

Now, let me go over this again.

This is a magnificent section of the United States. Things physically center here in a peculiar way, and something centers here which has not been directly mentioned today.

In the Appalachian Mountains John Brown was born and lived his life. He knew the Appalachian Mountains. These mountains are the backbone of the eastern half of this country, and go straight down into the Great Black Way, down into the Black Belt of the Carolinas and of the southern United States; of the West Indies and of Central and South America. They extend to twenty-five million human beings of Negro descent today, and in the day of John Brown they reached four million slaves here in the United States.

It has been said that John Brown did not have a plan. He did have a plan, a great plan and a feasible plan; but it broke down. But that is of little importance. It is important to remember that here was that center for the passing of fugitive slaves through which Harriet Tubman came by night time and time again, and John Brown knew of this pass from slavery to freedom.

I have said that John Brown "aimed a blow at human slavery." I am not going into the question as to how far that blow ought to have been physical and how far it ought to have been a moral blow. I hope that in the world that is around us today we are civilized enough to do great things without physical force; but I am sure there have been times in the world when nothing but physical force would do. He "aimed a blow at human slavery"and that blow "shook the conscience of a guilty nation." There comes the first real controversy.

We have been re-writing recently the history of the United States, and the children here in Storer College and you who are larger children,

and the children throughout the United States, are being taught that after all slavery was not evil; that everybody connected with it was good; that every body was trying to do the right thing; but unfortunately the wrong thing was done; so that all we have to remember is the Right that people wanted to do and not the Wrong they did.

And I was trying to aim a blow at that lie.

I know there are people here at Storer College and round about who believe in the Lost Cause; people who suffered in the Civil War just as much as those who won. Nevertheless, their cause was lost, and it ought to have been lost; and it does not make any difference what Daughters of the Confederacy say here or elsewhere, it remains eternally true that you cannot make the defense of human slavery heroic. There is no way in which you can write history so as to make it heroic.

37-6-98

I am not only willing to admit, but I know it to be perfectly true that the guilt was not wholly in the South. There were men in the North who invested in slavery and defended it. The great mass of the people of the North never aimed to abolish slavery. I did not say John Brown was fighting against the guilty South. I said he was fighting against a guilty nation, and the whole nation was indeed guilty.

I come to the second matter concerning which there is even more controversy. I have been reading again the last few days the history of Emancipation - what men said and what men did. As you know and as students in school ought to know, there has been a concerted effort to minimize the part which Negroes themselves took in the emancipation of slaves. Just as an attempt was recently made to praise the few Negroes of Harpers Ferry who did nothing, so there is a wider attempt to show that after all the slaves loved slavery. Therefore I sought to emphasize, in this inscription, the fact that slaves and persons

descended from slaves, fought side by side with John Brown. There were Osborne Perry Anderson, Shields Green, Dangerfield Newby, John A. Copeland, Lewis Sherrard Leary, John Anderson, and Jeremiah Anderson. Two were fugitive slaves, three were free-born sons of slaves and two were grandsons of chattels. Four of them were killed, two of them were hanged, and one escaped; and not only that, but something like seventeen other Negroes of the neighborhood were killed at the time. Thus at least seven slaves and sons of slaves fought with John Brown.

There comes now a matter which is more or less one of sentiment. "Over his crucified corpse." I might have said "Over his corpse." Some people have the idea that crucifixion consists in the punishment of an innocent man. That is not crucifixion. The essence of crucifixion is that men are cilling a criminal, that men have got to kill him; that he has got to be a criminal; and yet that the act of crucifying him is the Salvation of the World. John Brown broke the law; he killed human beings, not only here at Harpers Ferry but in Kansas. He intended to kill human beings. That was against the law, and he deserved to have had the law executed upon him; those people who defended slavery had to execute John Brown although they knew that in killing him they were committing the greater crime. It is out of that human paradox that there comes Crucifixion.

37-6-99

Then again, continually we forget or try to forget the black soldiers of the Civil War. They do not march in our current textbooks. I doubt if they march in the textbooks used here at Storer College. But there were two hundred thousand black soldiers that marched in the War that emancipated the slaves and at least one authority says that without them **that** War could not have been won: and that authority was

Abraham Lincoln.

And over that dead body of John Brown four million freedmen also marched, - singing.

I am sorry that Storer College and its trustees and its President did not have the courage to have this memorial left here. I am not sorry for myself. I know about John Brown. I am sorry for these students here and the students that are coming. Because after all/the it is Truth, in the long run, that makes us free.

37-6-100

These are my own thoughts; and now I want to read the official attitude of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in which the whole matter is put somewhat more politely and carefully:

> The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People regrets that the tablet displayed here today is not to be placed on John Brown's Fort. In fairness to all parties concerned, and especially to our host today, Storer College, we take this means of making public the reasons for this:
>
> When the idea was conceived of placing a tablet here, Storer College graciously welcomed the Association and gave permission for the placing of the tablet. It was and is the desire of the Association to express through this tablet three things:
>
> 1. To pay tribute to the great martyr, John Brown.
>
> 2. That through this act we of the N.A.A.C.P. might re-dedicate ourselves to uncompromising struggle for the ideals of justice.
>
> 3. To make answer to the new copperheadism which has infiltrated into practically all of the writings of contemporary historians regarding the causes of the Civil War, the Reconstruction Period, and the Negro's part in both of these. Through this tablet the N.A.A.C.P. wished to express and only to express the convictions and opinions of the organization and of those who agree with its point of view. It was for this reason that Dr. Du Bois was asked to draft the inscription as it now appears.

Upon submission of this wording and after the order for the tablet had been placed, the trustees of Storer College expressed a desire that

no controversial matter be included in the inscription and that no idea or phrase be used which might give offense to anyone. It was suggested that a tablet bearing the words, "John Brown, 1859 - His Soul Goes Marching On", would be all that the trustees would wish. The N.A.A.C.P. was unable to agree to such a wording in that it would not express what the Association wished.

As no agreement could be reached between the trustees of Storer College and the Directors of the N.A.A.C.P., it was finally decided that the meeting should be held here today and the tablet exhibited but not left permanently upon the Fort.

37-6-101

The tablet will be placed in the National Office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People until such time as public sentiment in West Virginia will permit its being placed upon John Brown's Fort.

Conferences c1932 N.A.A.C.P. Conference Speech Copy

The Organization of Our Buying Power.

Most persons writing concerning the present depression seem to regard the Negro as utterly helpless, and even in normal times the current philosophy is that both in the United States and elsewhere are absolutely at the mercy of the surrounding economic organization. This assumption arises from the fact that we assume that no group can approach economic independence or a position of self-sustaining inter-dependence unless it is organized as a nation with law-making powers, armies and police.

37-6-23

On the other hand, if we remember that the American Negro numbers about 12,000,000 and that means that we are much larger than either Denmark, Greece, Hungary, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal or Sweden, and very nearly the size of Egypt, half the size of Spain, and one-third the size of Brazil.

This surely indicates that we must have great economic power. The American Negro must on a conservative estimate earn and spend each year in the neighborhood of a Two thousand millions of dollars. Most thinkers say, however, that the power which this represents is closely curtailed by the fact that we have no decisive economic power in production or transportation, in commerce or credit, or in government; that we sell our labor and farm produce at prices determined by a market in which we have little influence; and that we must buy what is offered to us at prices determined by others.

It is this latter point that I wish to discuss. The economic process does not begin with production. It begins with consumption. It begins with the need of the buyer, and his ability to satisfy that need. We are misled as to this basic fact because for three centuries emphasis has been put upon the production of goods and their trans-

portation and their sale. In the next few centuries this is going to be changed and we are going to look more toward the welfare and power of the buyer. As a buyer, the Negro spends something like a thousand million dollars each year. How much exercise of judgment has he in this buying? At first it may seem that he has little. In fact, he has a great deal. He has a wide choice of stores which he will patronize. He has a wide choice of articles of food and clothing which he will choose to satisfy his needs. He has some choice in the selection of housing material. In fact, in nearly everything that he buys, either of goods or services, he has a power which today is not organized and which he does not use. Recently, we have had some intimation of what he can do. The American Negro can, to a large extent, confine his patronage to such retail stores as employ colored people and treat colored customers with honesty and courtesy. This was shown by:

37-6-24

1. The Chicago Whip campaign ~~last winter~~ and by a number of other instances throughout the United States.

2. In the matter of public service agencies, like telegraph, telephone, electric power, railroads and the like. The Negro, through his political power and his power as a consumer, can compel to some extent the employment of colored people and courtesy and consideration in the treatment of customers. This has been shown on the Southern railways where the increase of courtesy toward colored passengers has been notable in the last ten years, and it is shown in the hiring of colored telegraph messengers. Very little impress has been made on other public services but this is very largely because the Negro has not realized his power or tried to use it.

3. There is a vast field for the organization or mutual services which has been almost untouched. Negroes raise and prepare foods; they buy it and eat it. Much of the food which they buy and eat is raised

and prepared by Negroes. Much more might be. Much of the raw material raised on Negro farms and prepared by Negro workers is consumed by Negro buyers. In addition to this, many services which are rendered Negroes by white people and many services which Negroes render to white people could by thought, training and organization be rendered by Negroes to Negroes, thus insuring more sympathetic service and more regular employment.

37-6-25

4. By group buying at wholesale instead of for retail, by organized and country-wide effort instead of by single stores, a great deal could be saved and a good many colored persons lucratively employed. A beginning of this is being made by the C.M.A. Stores.

5. The people who can buy, build and maintain church edifices to the value of $60,000,000 could do the same thing with regard to homes and tenements, if they were organized and trained to do it. In fine, by co-operative effort in doing their own laundry, making their own bread, preparing most of their food, making a considerable part of their clothes, doing their own repairing of all sorts, printing their own papers and books, and in hundreds of other ways, the colored people of the United States could, if they put their mind to it, and secure the proper training, spend a considerable part of this two thousand million dollars each year in hiring themselves at decent wages to perform services which the Negro group needs; and they could do this without antagonism to the white group, without any essential charter of new laws and without a national organization involving army and police. They could even do it without the help of a protective tariff because color prejudice and race loyalty furnishes a certain amount of the same kind of protection which the tariff furnishes to the country at large.

Many will say, that this is excellent theory but is practically impossible. They are wrong. The estimate of this organization of buyers and of consumers throughout the world has reached proportions today that are nothing less than astounding and the only reason that we do not know of it and are not talking of it is because the organization of the world for production in selling clothes consumers' co-operation out of the news columns and off the editorial pages. One-third of the population of England is today organized in groups of consumers who use their buying power to reduce costs and better conditions. As a result of this effort, they count five million members who have invested a capital of $40,000,000 and sell annually between four and five hundred millions of dollars in goods. On these sales they made in 1929 a net profit of over $5,000,000. These organizations of buyers own flour and food mills, bakery, butter and cheese factories, tobacco and cigar factories, canning factories, clothing factories, and shoe factories, besides 28,000 acres in farm lands upon which they are growing food and fruit and 33,000 acres of tea plantations upon which they are raising tea. This is simply the story of one country. It can be duplicated in Scotland, in Denmark, Belgium, France, Germany, Holland, India, Italy, Russia, Switzerland, Australia, and to a less extent, in the United States. The difficulties of organizations of this sort for a comparatively untrained people like ourselves are great. Our poverty and ignorance, our natural but internal bittering and jealousies, our lack of experience at team work and the large interests which many of our white fellow citizens have in keeping us from attempts of this kind. Nevertheless, here is the economic way out of our present difficulties, and if our schools and universities will proceed to a training and education of the proper sort of economic general staff and if those students scanning care-

37-6-26

fully the world and its experience will plan and guide our procedure, we can reach in the United States a plan of economic independence which will not only begin with the organization of our buying power but extend easily and naturally into production, transportation, commerce, and an increased political power which will help not only us but our fellow citizens.

In such economic reform the Negro has much to learn from the labor movement in Europe and in Russia but its accomplishment calls for neither war nor revolution. Consumers' co-operation is our Peace Movement toward economic reform without bloodshed. A program of violence is race suicide for us at the present time.

37-6-27

47-7-1

(1)

NEXT STEPS

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

The real question that I am to suggest an answer for is, "Where do we go from here?" We are looking for guide posts and we are coming to realize that we have got to choose more or less new roads. In the past we had a fairly clear program worked out: First, we assumed a reasonably stable world, going on at a uniform rate or progress, toward well defined goals. Our particular problem was to find our place and part in this world, and that seemed to be ~~human~~ primarily a matter of exertion and effort on our part, in certain clearly defined lines. We had got to demonstrate our ability to be modern men, and we had got to deserve the respect and consideration of the world.

It was a rather fine program. It called out the best aspiration in those who understood it and during fifty years there is no doubt that we have worked desperately hard. On the other hand, there is also no doubt ~~but~~ that we have failed in our main objectives. I know this statement will bring almost indignant protest on the part of many, and yet if we are going frankly to face facts, we must acknowledge that after an effort of a half century, despite what we have undoubtedly accomplished and essayed, we are not recognized as an integral part of American civilization, or of modern culture. We have found the ~~wall~~ mark wall of race prejudice impenetrable. I say this with deliberation for I am no counsellor of despair. Like the Negro who was arguing about liquor and said: "I am temperate but I ain't no fanatic." So I'm an optimist but I've got eyes.

47-7-2

(2)

We have done a great deal, without doubt; in spite of a bad and incomplete school system we have learned in large measure to read and write. Our progress in art and literature, even in business, has been notable. Our determined opening of Labor opportunities is astounding Conferences like this show vast inter-racial

advance over a comparatively short period. I have known the Negro problem to be seriously discussed in America by conferences made up entirely of white people. We have all seen in many places promising meetings of minds between white and colored people. At the same time, as I have said, in our main objectives of becoming recognized American citizens judged by character and not color we have failed, and the failure is of such significant sort that it calls for careful thinking and thoughtful planning for our future, lest our failure be final and complete.

To instance but one part of our failure, there is no doubt about the native ability that has been shown by members of the Negro race in the United States. I sat ~~last~~ before last night spellbound by two voices. Had they been in white bodies you know their destiny. As it is, you know equally well. Magazine articles no longer decry or belittle Negro genius. They do not even call it an illustrative exception.

At the same time, when we come forward and ask for corresponding justice, the reply today is much more discouraging than it used to be. Formerly men could say, "You cannot vote, you cannot be admitted to civil rights, you cannot enter here and there, but after all, it is because of your lack of training. You are not ready for it." But today there are unnumbered cases to which no such answer can be given. May I cite one of a thousand cases.

Recently three young boys applied for admission to various Friends' schools. The Quakers are among the finest of Americans. Their reputation over a long series of years is something of which the nation and the world is proud. And too, these boys were from the finest of families; they had had exceptional training; and there was unusual need and reason that they have further good schooling. They were handsome, healthy, well-bred, charming. They have not been able to find in the United States a single Quaker

school that would receive them, and the excuse has been simply and boldly the fact that they had Negro grandfathers. //

But our greatest failure is in ability to earn a decent living. Whatever we have lacked of accomplishment has come from the plain fact that the average income of the Negro family since emancipation has been below the standard which civilization today requires. There has been an effort to tell us in various papers (read here) that we are after all no worse off than whites in the various aspects of the depression. The very sincerity and pervasiveness of this desire to encourage us is eloquent; but this emphasis does not change our all too definite knowledge. One percent makes little difference to a statistician, but it spells hell to man on the edge of starvation. As a people we are on the narrow ridge of decent economic survival and we know it. We are the surplus laborer without security of job or certainty of public relief. (We are the professional + business man with no adequate clientele) Every time I hear the Negro farmer discussed, I get mad. I want to throw things. I know

that he faces the difficulties of all farmers today but I know, too, that he faces more than that. He faces mob law, no schools, no vote, crop lien, usury and cheating. When a man discusses the Negro farmer and neglects or forgets to mention these facts I cannot believe in his sincerity. Of course, Negro farmers are stupid, slow and afraid - all the cream of swift intelligence, initiative and courage has run or crawled away or lies murdered to fertilize southern soil. We have seen wave after wave of the poor and ignorant and unskilled come into America, climb over our bent and broken backs and achieve success, honor, and wealth and thumb their noses in our faces. Look at the Irish, the Italians, the Russian and Polish Jews, the Greeks and the people from the Balkans. I am not jealous of them. I do not even blame them in the environment of race hatred in which they unwillingly come. I simply say that America will not let us succeed. We have done

(7)

more/ for this land/than any of its recent immigrants./ They have succeeded./ We are still at the bottom/and the blow of this depression falls on us/with more crushing force/than any element in this nation— statistics to the contrary notwithstanding./ There is no point/in meeting this fact/ with modest self-blame./ We are human/with human faults and failures./ But no group in the modern world/has accomplished as much/with as little/and gained so limited/and grudging a reward.

This is no counsel of despair. It is a warning against the optimism of the fool.

Now, it may be said,/in the face of this,/that failure is natural to human beings/and particularly to great groups/of human beings; that we have in the United States/an exceptional situation; that it would have been nothing unusual/if the American slave/in two or three generations/had shown no appreciable advance/or recognition,/and

(8)

that therefore the next steps before us/consist in renewed efforts at training our ability/and deserving the world's recognition/and that of the American nation.

There are two answers to this: one is a matter of psychology. Our nerves/are a bit frayed/with the unusual efforts/that we have put forward./ It is going to be difficult/with the present generation of young black people/ to prove to them that they ought to try/to get the good opinion/and the recognition of their white fellows./ They are asking , "After all, who are these people/who require of us/so much more than they require of others?/and whence came their right/and assumption of world ownership?/ But that is a minor matter./ The other matter,/and the matter of greatest import,/is that instead of our facing today/a stable world,/moving at a uniform rate of progress toward well-defined goals,/ we are facing Revolution.// I trust you will not be scared by this word, as you were Thursday night. I am

47-7-9 -5- (9)

not discussing/ a coming revolution./ I am trying to impress the fact upon you/ that you are already/ in the midst of revolution!/ you are already/ in the midst of war;/ that there has been no war of modern times/ that has taken/ so great a sacrifice of human life/ and human spirit/ as the extraordinary period/ through which we are passing today.

Some people/ envisage revolution/ chiefly as a matter of blood and guns/ and the more visible/ methods of force. But that, after all, is merely the temporary and outward manifestation./ Real revolution is within/ that comes/ before or after the explosion,/ is a matter of long suffering and deprivation,/ the death of courage/ and the bitter triumph of despair./ This is the inevitable prelude to decisive/ and enormous change,/ and that is the thing that is on us now.

We are not called upon then to discuss/ whether we want revolution or not./ We have got it./ Our problem/ is how are we coming out of it./ I should be/ very glad indeed/ if the matter were as simple as the presiding officer of Thursday night indicated:/ that we are not on the brink of anything/ but simply preparing to mount solid steps in plain view./ I am afraid that down in the mud/ in which most of us are wallowing,/ it is not a matter of steps./ We have trees and cliffs to climb./ We have swamps to wade/ and forests to penetrate.

47-7-10 (10)

But that is all aside;/ because this matter of world depression and revolutionary changes/ in social life and industry/ is not primarily the problem of the American Negro,/ and just because it is not our problem,/ we have plain proof of the thing/ that I said before,/ namely, that we are not/ in reality/ a part of this nation./ We stand, even in its greatest crisis,/ at one side,/ only partially connected with its remedies,/ but dumb victims of its difficulties,/ and by just that token,/ because we are outside/ the main current of the country,/ we have got most carefully/ to ask ourselves/ what we are going to do/ to protect our past and to insure a future.

(11)

I was exceedingly interested the other night/ when Mr. Candy suggested a separate Negro state. / It is arresting/ to see how often this old solution drifts back again and again/ to the American Negro. I remember what the Negroes of Newport /said to the Negroes of Philadelphia/ back at the end of the 18th century,/ when the same thing had been suggested./ If we were living in the 17th century, there is no doubt/ but what Mr. Candy's suggestion/ would be the next natural step:/ that we should say to the American people,/ "We have tried to be reasonable, decent citizens,/ and to meet all of the difficult requirements /that have been put upon us,/ and we have been unable to satisfy you. / Now we are going off to be by ourselves/ and to seek to satisfy ourselves."

Today, however, the very fact/ that such a solution is suggested makes it evident/ how far many of our best minds are/ from realizing

(12)

just the situation in this world. The organized industry of the world today,/ the organized finance and commerce,/ the Empire of concentrated capital,/ will not let any group of people escape. I have been studying the extraordinary developments in Liberia/ under the domination of the National City Bank and the Firestone interests. (born of slavery started without capital) Liberia tried to borrow $500,000 in 1870./ She got $100,000/ and had to pay back/ practically the whole $500,000/ with interest/ or be wiped out of existence./ She tried again in 1906 to borrow another $500,000,/ and all she got out of it/ was a small rubber forest./ She tried in our day to borrow a million dollars of the Firestone interests/ in return for this rubber forest, and other rubber land,/ and today she is paying nearly 75 per cent of her total income/ simply as service charges and whole mess salaries on this debt. She is financially ruined/ and almost politically defunct/ unless the American Negro vote can stop the power of the Firestones.

In the same way in Haiti every claim or shadow of a claim against that state has been capitalized at its peak, and the state saddled with a debt far beyond its power to pay, with the United States Army and Navy ~~stand~~ ready to enforce its demands. If the 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States should leave this country and find space where they could settle with reasonable resources for development, unless they had their own capital and skill, materials and machines, they would find themselves under the power of the banking interests of this or some other country backed by military tyranny power and unable to make any direct appeal to the sovereign rulers of any land.

(and unless the present world slavery to capital monopoly is finally overthrown)

I admit freely the difficulties of the frying pan, but I am not attracted by the fire. When that fire is out, I expect mass emigration of American Negroes unless vital change comes to America

We must then recognize the facts of the case. We are the victims of a caste system in the United States whose main lines we have been unable to break. We are at the beginning of a vast change in the organization of industry here and in the world, and the question is, What part are we going to take during this change, and how are we going to prepare for a place in the world that comes after?

47-7-14 14

It is rather curious that those very people who put special stress upon spiritual values do not usually, when it comes to practical reform, take any account of the inner spirit of man. The ~~change~~ economic change that is coming into the world has got to take account of it. Primarily what is happening, and what must be accomplished whether it takes place next year or a dozen years hence, is that we are going to stop the organization of work for private profit and substitute therefor work for public welfare. And the essential thing about this change is not new law or a facist regime, but it is a change of spirit. The average man must give up the idea

that the chief end of an American is to be a millionaire. Now this is a trememdous change. Only the other day a friend of mine was talking to a young banker. The banker said, "My opinion is that now is the time when the foundations of the great fortunes of the future are going to be laid," In other words, in a day when we are suffering all the disaster that has come from this founding of great private fortunes, with its war and waste, its cheating and lying, its murder of men and women and children and death of ambition and beauty, the idea of this young man was that just as soon as we get over this crisis, we were going right back to doing the same thing again and yet again, and indeed unless we suffer a spiritual revolution by which men are going to envisage small incomes and limited resourcees and endless work for the larger goals of life, unless we have this, nothing can save civilization either for white people or black.

Now it happens that the colored people in the United States

are the group that has gone least forward on this program of the exploitation of the many for the benefit of the few. It has not been our fault. Rather we have been blamed and blamed ourselves for this lack of "economic progress," as it is called. We are rather ashamed that we have not developed more millionaires and more big business. But I venture to say that at some future day this will be our greatest reason for pride; because after all, we have had the temptation and we have made terrific effort: we have tried just as far as possible to divide the American Negro into economic classes, with the professional and investing classes at the top, and the mass of partially unlettered laborers at the bottom; and it has only been the impenetrability of American prejudice that has made our advance in these lines so small,

The task that I have recently been setting myself is to blunt

off the wedge which the Communist party is driving into our group | because of their very tendencies, | and I do this, not because of any enmity or fear or essential disagreement with the Communists. | If I were in Russia, I should be an enthusiastic Communist. If the Communist party in the United States had the leadership and the knowledge which the situation here calls for, I certainly should join it; | but it is today ignorant of fact and history and the American scene | and is trying to over-emphasize the truth | that the natural leaders of the colored people, the educated and trained classes have had goals and interests different from the mass of Negroes. There is a partial truth in this, and a partial falsehood. American race prejudice has so pounded the mass of Negroes together that they have not separated into such economic classes; but on the other hand they undoubtedly have had the idealogy and if they had been free we would have had within our race the same exploiting set-up that we see around about us. Now, however, 47-7-18 in the tremendous change which sooner or later is bound to come in the world, we have a chance to be the first to make the change | and make it with the least internal catastrophe, | and our only reason for fear | is that at this crucial moment we be robbed of our intelligent leadership. 18

Before our leaders can essay this new task they have a vast lesson to learn. As has been charged here, in the most courageous address of the conference, we have been timid and conservative. | We have sought peace at any price; | we have placated philanthropy | and kow-towed humbly to the rich. | Today our turning to saner and more manly methods | does not involve throwing bricks or calling names. It does involve an inner readjustment of ideas. We must rid ourselves of the persistent idea | that the advance of mankind | consists of the scaling off of layers | who become incorporate with the world's upper and

ruling classes, leaving always dead and inert below the ignorant and unenlightened mass of men. Our professional classes are not our aristocrats and our masters - they are and must be the most efficient of our servants and thinkers whose legitimate reward is the advancement of the great mass of American Negroes and with them the uplift of all men. We, even before America, must slough off the preconception of bigness, growth and eternal success. This world makes progress in little things, in contractions and failures as well as tremendous surpluses and increased prices and wild expansion.

We must face revolution calmly and sanely. No revolution destroys the past. The past must be foundation of any future failure. Our huge and intricate and marvelously ingenious industrial organization must be saved for any future reorganized state. We shall need machines and capital, engineers and captains of industry. Russia proves this. But the object, the end, the reward, the measure of

success - there is the kernel and meat of the problem and the judgment of the success and failure of revolution.

I think we have all been secretly astonished at the peculiar problems suggested here. Too much coal, too much cotton, too many machines, too much land; and then as remedies less coal, less cotton, less ingenuity, less land, for people who are cold and naked, who work too hard and too long and get nothing for it. What kind of fantastic world are we visioning? Nonsense, there is no such world, it is mirage. We want more coal, more cunning machines, more cotton, more everything, but for all men and not for private monopoly profit. If this is not to be done, we are lost, white and black, in one world wide disaster.

For us then revolutionary changes calls for the following steps:

1. The no profit idea. That is the idea of carrying on business not for private profit but for service; the pay being not the surplus

value which is made out of the hiring of labor or the monopoly of machines or the theft of raw material, but a reasonable and even meagre salary scale. Such change, as I said before, has got to be spiritual. Just as long as we have within the Negro race and any race, young men of education and power who believe that they ought to have the right to spend $100,000 a year, just so long we are facing toward those same seas of disaster upon which already the world has met shipwreck.

3. Our work has got to be primarily for Service. I know that this word has been overworked, but let me give a concrete example of what I mean. We have among American Negroes 1250 lawyers. On the other hand, in every state in the United States when the average Negro is arrested the chances are that he is going to be started on a criminal career simply because he has no proper legal defence. Our jails are filled

with black folk who are simply monuments to miscarried justice. The NAACP has done some legal defence work; but it had to be in exceptional cases, to establish some great principle of law. We have not had, and we could not expect to have, the money necessary for carrying on complete legal defence on the scale it ought to be. Every single city, every single county in the United States where there are any number of Negroes ought to have Negro lawyers of ability working on small and regular salary, not to aid the rich to break the law, but standing ready to defend black people who need defence in simple human rights. Moreover, we have a part of the machinery to do this. We have 25,000 ministers and churches, twice as many in proportion as the whites, and the real criticism of the church which I and others have voiced from time to time is not a criticism of belief. It is not my business what anybody believes so long as it is sincere. I may

not share his belief or comprehend his mentality, but I respect it. My criticism is not one of organization because some Negro churches are marvelous organizations; but it is a criticism of the effective work for which they are organized. There is no reason in the world why everyone of the 35,000 Negro churches should not furnish the salary for one lawyer to defend Negroes who need it, even if once in a while, they cannot pay the minister's salary. The same kind of socialized medicine, dentistry and nursing, could be widely and extensively used.

In the third place, we have got to take thought concerning the Negro family, for sheer physical survival of our best! As it is today, we are making no plans for the marriage of our children at the age when they ought to be married; we are not keeping in mind that the marriage of young people is as much a matter of careful planning and forethought as any other object of civilized life. We have thousands of marriageable men and marriage-

able women kept from mating because of a public opinion in their own group that calls for a standard of living we cannot and ought not to afford. The resulting repressions + complexes are disastrous.

But finally and above all, key to all the rest, there comes the matter of work. Here it is extraordinary how the patterns of the present set-up of business have completely captured our imagination. Practically this conference has come to the conclusion that we have got to make obeisance to Big Business and ask it please to allow us to be exploited on the same terms that good white people are; on the contrary I am firmly convinced that in the methods and objectives of big industry there is absolutely no hope for the American Negro. I don't care what the Steel Trust has done for us, or what the Food Trust may do or what the Coal Trust will do. In truth, they all are using us as tools to make fortunes which no human being has a right

to possess and which works for the dmanation of his soul and the starvation of our bodies. We have no right to exist for such a purpose. The American Negro will only be admitted to organized industry as his labor returns a profit and a bigger profit than white labor does, and upon the wage thus received no civilization or culture can possibly be built. As long, therefore, as big industry is dominated by these ideas, we are facing something worse than a blank wall.

On the other hand, what can Government do for us? We are turning to Government today like babies crying for mother's milk. And yet this is not the effort of intelligent masters of democratic method bent on making an efficient instrument do its work. It is rather the despair and debacle of laissez-faire. The impasse of government today lie in the fact that it has no intelligent democracy upon which it can depend. We are turning to dictators because of the stupidity and ignorance of the average voter, white, black or yellow,

If we give Mr. Roosevelt the right to meddle with the dollar, if we give Herr Hitler the right to expel the Jew, if we give to Mussolini the right to think for Italians, we do this because we know nothing ourselves. We are as nations ignorant of the function and meaning of money, and we are looking around helplessly to see if anybody else knows. This is not, as some assume, the failure of democracy - it is the failure of education, of justice and of truth. We have lied so long about money and business, we do not know now where truth is. Democratic government without intelligence back of it simply cannot function, and therefore if we expect that the American government is going to rescue the Negro worker when he and his fellow white workers are disfranchised because of their lack of experience and intelligence, we are again hoping against hope. The present dictatorship of industry in American has killed Democracy

as definitely as any dictatorship in Europe or South American.

Now, what is the alternative? The alternative, as I have said many times, and as I am going to continue to say, is to look ~~to the~~ Consumer for rescue to the intelligent. The consumer in American is made almost ham-strung because his thought is dominated by extraordinarily stupid patterns. It is assumed, for instance, that the man who does not buy every thing at the cheapest price is an idiot. I have know women to spend ten cents in wear and tear of shoes in order to save two cents on the price of cabbage. I have known Negroes to put a good colored grocer, giving two colored clerks work, out of business in order to support a chain store which wouldn't hire a colored dog, and they saved 5 cents on the week's grocery bill. When the consumer learns that buying is a bargain in which he is ~~a~~ becoming a partner ~~in~~ in industry; that it is not the matter of

buying the cheapest thing, but of paying the fair price, then things begin.

Or again, we are today at the mercy of advetising and display, a plain waste of money, for which we pay with our hard earned cash. Most of our essential trade could be done in the back room of a fifth floor flat without a plate glass window or nickle plated counter. But we do not seem to think so. We have been taught differently.

Or again, we have been told here of the havoc that machines have wrought and it has seemed as though some of the speakers had no conception of any escape from that dilemna. Here comes the machine - out go 400 workers. It must happen in the name of Progress.

But why must it happen? Who gets the saving that is made from the use of the machine? Who lets him get it but the man who buys what the machine makes? We are on the threshold of a day when the ~~human~~ and must the machine be monopolized

47-7-29

industry and the privately owned machine or the machine owned by a small cooperative group can come into its own, if we have the requisite sense. The Muscle Shoals development is going to make it possible to have village after village of people supporting themselves by house industry, supplying their own wants; buying of themselves; more + more independent of factory and trust. Professor Murchison weeps over the plight of the poor mill owner; I am unmoved. My tears are for the people who wear his dresses. There ought to be village after village of colored people at Muscle Shoals building an independent self supporting economy.

Again we are not at all clear as to how we are going to use the votes that we have for our economic uplift. We have used them for certain changes in law, for putting on office people who have spoken pleasantly before election and sometimes after, but we have not used our vote for certain clear things which we might accomplish and

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which go to the foundation and undermining of our industrial dictatorship - enforced publicity, all ownership of property, the right to criticize big and bad business without being put in jail; the right to say for instance, that one of the great and popular drinks sold all over the United States contains cocaine. The right to name the theives who loot savings banks and gamble with other's money, in fine, the right to make clear the wretched methods of so much of present business activity. We could use our vote continually to refuse to give monopolistic privileges like patents to certain kinds of business which increase the tremendous tyranny of industry.

All this is a part that the consumer can play and a voluntary part. And finally, he can cooperate not only in consumption, but in manufacture. I know how much this proposition is criticized, but I say again, as I have said before, twelve million people in the United States can by voluntary effort, intelligent planning + self denying ordinance, work for

themselves and feed themselves, can pay themselves and organize their own industry, unless they are incurably stupid. For a great mass of people to sit up and actually starve to death in the midst of plenty is to prove not only to the world but to themselves that they are going to be of no real use in the ultimate reorganization of industry.

In other words, I propose as the next step which the American Negro can give to the world a new and unique gift. We have tried song and laughter and ~~even~~ with rare good humor, a bit condescendingly the world has received it; we have given the world work, hard, back-breaking labor and the world has let John Henry die breaking his heart to beat the machine ~~and~~ It is now our business to give the world an example of intelligent economic cooperation so that when the new industrial commonwealth comes we can go into it as experienced people and not again be left on the outside as mere beggars.

37-7-37

NEXT STEPS

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

The real question that I am trying to suggest an answer for is "Where do we go from here?" We are looking for guide posts and we are realizing more or less clearly that we have got to choose more or less new roads. In the past we had a fairly clear program worked out. In the first place, we assumed a reasonably stable world going on at a uniform rate or progress toward well defined goals. Our particular problem was to find our place and part in this world, and that seemed to be a matter of exertion and effort on our part in certain plain lines. We had got to demonstrate our ability to be modern men. We had got to risk the for our past and we had got to deserve the respect and consideration of the world.

It was a rather fine program. It called out the best aspiration in those of us who understood it and during almost fifty years there is no doubt that we have worked hard. On the other hand, there is also no doubt but that we have failed. I know that this statement will bring almost indignant protest on the part of many, and yet if we are going frankly to face facts, we must acknowledge that after an effort of fifty years and more, despite what we have done and tried to do, we were not and are not recognized as an integral part of American civilization, or of modern culture. We have done a great deal, without doubt; in spite of a wasteful and incomplete school system we have learned in large measure to read and write. Our progress in art and literature, even in business, has been notable. Conferences like this show vast advance over a comparatively short period. I have known the Negro problem to be seriously discussed in America by conferences made up entirely of white people. We have all seen in many respects promising meeting of minds between white and colored people. At the same time, as I have said, in our main objectives

we have failed, and the failure is of such a sort that it means careful thinking and careful planning for our future, lest that failure be complete.

To instance but one part of our failure, there is no doubt about the ability that has been shown by various members of the Negro race in the United States. Magazine articles no longer decry or belittle it. They do not even call it an illustrative exception. At the same time, when we come forward and ask for justice in specific cases, the reply today is different and much more discouraging than it used to be. Formerly men could say, "You can not vote, you can not be admitted to civil rights, you can not enter here and there, but after all, it is because of your lack of training. You are not ready for it." But today there are common cases to which no such answers can be given. Recently three young boys applied for admission to some Friends' school. The Quakers are among the finest of Americans. Their reputation over a long series of years is something of which the nation and the world is proud. Two of these boys, although of Negro descent, were from the finest families; they had had exceptional training, and there was exceptional need and reason that they have good schooling. They have not been able to find in the United States a single Quaker school that would receive them, and the excuse has been simply the fact that they havehad Negro grandfathers.

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But our greatest failure is in earning a living. Whatever we have lacked of accomplishment has come from the plain fact that the average income from the best Negro families has been below the standard which civilization today requires. Now it may be said in the face of this that failure is natural to human beings and particularly to groups of human beings. We have in the United States an exceptional situation, that is, it would have been nothing unusual if the American slave in two or three generations had shown no appreciable advance or recognition, and that therefore the next steps before us consist in renewed efforts at training our ability and deserving the world's recognition and that of the American nation. There are two answers to this: one is a matter of psychology. Our nerves are a bit frayed with the unusual efforts that we have

put forward. It is going to be a little more difficult with the present generation of young people to prove to them that they ought to try to get the good opinion and the recognition of their white fellows. They are asking, "After all, who are these people who require of us so much more than they require of others?" But that is a minor matter. The other matter, and the matter of greatest import, is that instead of our facing today a stable world, moving at a uniform rate or progress toward well-defined goals, we are facing revolution. I trust you will not be scared by this word, as you were Thursday night. I am not discussing a coming revolution. I am trying to impress the fact upon you that you are already in the midst of revolution, you are already in the midst of war, that there has been no war of modern times that has taken so great a sacrifice of human life and human spirit as the extraordinary period through which we are going today. Some people envisage revolution chiefly as a matter of blood and guns and the more visible methods of force. But that, after all, is merely a temporary and outward manifestation. Real revolution that comes before or after the explosion is a matter o long suffering and deprivation and enormous change, and that is the thing that is on us now.

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We are not called upon to discuss as to whether we want revolution or not. We have got it. Now our problem is how are we coming out of it. I should be very glad indeed i the matter were as simple as the presiding officer of Thursday night indicated: that we are not on the brink of anything but simply preparing to mount steps in plain view. I am afraid that down in the mud in which most of us are wallowing, it is not a matter of steps. We have trees and cliffs to climb. But that is all aside, because this matter of world depression and revolutionary changes in social life and industry is not primarily the problem of the American Negro, and just because it is not our problem, we have plain proof of the thing that I said before, that we are not in reality a part of this nation. We stand, even in its greatest crisis, at one side, only partially connected with its difficulties and its proposed remedies,

and by just that token, because we are outside the main current of the country, we have got most carefully to ask ourselves what we are going to do to protect our past and to insure a future.

I was exceedingly interested the other night when Mr. Gandy suggested a separate Negro state. It is arresting to see how often this solution comes back again and again to the American Negro. I remember what the Negroes of Newport said to the Negroes of Philadelphia back at the end of the 18th century, when the same thing had been suggested. If we were living in the 17th century, there is no doubt but what Mr. Gandy's suggestion would be the next natural step, that we should say to the American people, "We have tried to be reasonable, decent citizens, and to meet all of the rather difficulturequirements that have beenput upon us, and we have been unable to satisfy you. Now we are going off to try to be by ourselves and to satisfy ourselves. Today, however, the very fact that such a solution is suggested makes it evident how far many of our best minds are from realizing just the situation in this world. The organized industry of the world today, the organized finance and commerce will not let any small group of people, or for that matter, any large group, migrate beyond its power. I have just been studying the extraordinary developments in Liberia under the domination of the National City Bank and the Firestone interests. Liberia tried to borrow $500,000 in 1870. She got $100,000 andhad to pay back practically the whole 500,000 with interest. She tried again in 1906 to borrow $500,000, and all she got out of it was a small rubber forest. She tried in our day to borrow a million dollars of the Firestone interests in return for this rubber forest, and other rubber land, and today she is paying nearly 75 per cent of her total income simply as service charges and salaries on this debt. She is financially ruined and politically defunct unless the American Negro vote can stop the power of the Firestones. In the same way in Haiti, every claim or shadow of a claim against that state has been capitalized at its peak, and the state has been saddled with a debt

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far beyond its power to pay, and the United States Army and Navy stand ready to enforce its demands. If the 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States should leave this country and find space where they could suffer and reasonably resources for development, they might find themselves under the power of the banking interests of this or some other country backed by military power and unable to make any direct appeal to the sovereign rulers of the country.

I admit freely the difficulties of the frying pan, but I am not attracted by the fire. We must thoroughly recognize the facts of the case. We are the victims of a caste system in the United States whose main lines we have been unable to break. We are here at the beginning of a vast change in the organization of industry here and in the world, and the question is, "What part are we going to take during this change, and how are we going to prepare for a place in the world that comes after?"

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It is rather curious that those very people who put special stress upon spiritual values do not usually, when it comes to practical refor, take anyo account of the spirit. But the change that is coming into the world has got to take account of it. Primarily what is happening, and what must be accomplished whether it takes place next year or a dozen years hence, is that we are going to stop the organization of work for private profit and substitute work for public welfare. And the essential thing about this is going to be not a change of law or a facist regime, but a change of spirit. The average American is going to give up the idea that the chief end of man is to be a millionaire. How this is a tremendous change. Only the other day a friend o mine was talking to a young banker. The young banker said, "My opinion is that no is the time when the foundations of the great fortunes of the future are going to be laid." In other words, in a day when we are suffering all the disaster that has come from this foundation of great fortunes, the idea of this young man was that such as soon as we got over this crisis, we were going right back to doing the

same thing, and unless we suffer a spiritual revolution by which men are going to envisage small incomes and limited resourcesand endless work for the larger goals of life, unless we have this, nothing is going to save civilization.

Now it happens that the colored people in the United States are the group that has gone least forward on this program of the exploitation of the many for the benefit of the few. It has not been our fault. Rather we have blamed our selves for this lack of "economic progress," as it is called. We are rather ashamed that we have not developed more millionaires and more big business. But I venture to say that this will be our greatest cause for pride in some future day, because after all, we have had the temptation and we have made terrific effort: we have tried just as far as possible, to divide the American Negro into economic classes with th professional and investing classes at the top and the mass or partially unlettered laborers at the bottom,and it has only been the impenetrability of American purchase that has made our advance in these lines so small, But today the task that I have been setting myself is to ward o f the wedges which the Communist party is driving into our group, and I do this not because of any enmity or essential disagreement with the Communists. If I were in Russia, I should be an enthusiastic Communist. If the Communist party in the United States had the leadership and the knowledge which the situation here calls for, I certainly should join with it, but they are today trying to emphasize the fact that the natural leaders of the colored people, the educated and trained classes have goals and interests which are different from the mass of Negroes. There is a partial truth in this, and a partial falsehood. American race prejudice has so pounded the mass of Negroed together that they have not separated into these economic classes, but on the other hand they undoubtedly have had the ideology and if they had been free we would havehad within our race the same exploiting set up that we see around about us. Now, however, in the tremendous change which sooner or later is bound to come in the world, we have a chance to be the first to make the change and make it with the least internal catastrophy.

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... [illegible] ... for the following steps:

1. The no profit idea. That is the idea of carrying on business not for profit but for service, the pay being not the surplus value which is made out of the hiring of labor of the monopoly of machines, but a reasonable and even meagre salary scale. That change, as I said before, has got to be spiritual. Just as long as we have within the Negro race young men of education and power who believe that they ought to have the right to spend $100,000 a year, just so long we are facing toward those seas of disaster upon which already the world has met shipwreck.

2. Our work has got to be primarily for service. I know that this word has been overworked, but let me give a concrete example of what I mean. We have among American Negroes ____ lawyers. On the other hand, in every state in the United States when the average Negroes is arrested on a policeman's charge, the chances are that he is going to be started on a criminal career simply because he has no proper legal defence. The NAACP has done some legal defence work in exceptional cases, to establish some great principle of law. We have not had, and we could not expect to have, the money necessary for carrying on legal defence on the scale it ought to be. Every single city, every single county in the United States where there are any number of Negroes ought to have a Negro lawyer of ability working on small and regular salary, standing ready to defend these people when they need defence. Moreover, we have a part of the machinery to do this. We have an extraordinary number of ministers and churches, and the real criticism of the church which I and others have voiced from time to time is not a criticism of belief. It is not my business what anybody believes as long as it is sincere. It is not a criticism of organization because some of them are marvelous organizations, but it is a criticism of the effective work for which they are organized. There is no reason in the world why everyone of the 23,000 Negro churches should not furnish the salary for a lawyer to defend Negroes who

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need it, even if once in a while they cannot pay the minister's salary. The same kind of socialized medicine could be used. In the three

In the third place, we have got to take thought concerning the Negro family. As it is today, we are making no plans for the marriage of our children when they ought to be married: we are not keeping in mind that the marriage of young people is as much a matter of careful planning and forethought as any other object of civilized life. And finally, there comes the matter of work, and here it is extraordinary how the patterns of the present set-up of business have completely captured our imagination. Practically this conference has come to the conclusion that we have got to make abeisance to big industry and ask it please to allow us to be exploited on the same terms that white people are; on the contrary I am firmly convinced that in the methods and objectives of big industry there is absolutely no hope for the American Negro. The American Negro will only be admitted to organized industry as his labor returns a profit, a bigger profit than white labor does, and upon the wage thus received no civilization or culture can possibly be built. As long, therefore, as big industry is dominated by these ideas, we are facing something worse than a blank wall.

On the other hand what can the government do for us? The impasse of government today is the fact that it has no intelligent democracy upon which it can depend. We are turning to dictators because of the stupidity and ignorance of the average voter. If we give Mr.Roosevelt the right to meddle with the dollar, if we give Herr Hitler the right to expell the Jew if we give to Mussolini the right to tell the Italians what to think, we do this because we know nothing on the subject ourselves. We are ignorant of the function and meaning of money, and we are looking around rather

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cooperative group can come into its own. The Muscle Shoals development is going to make it possible to have village after village of people supporting themselves by house industry, and there ought to be village after village of colored people doing that same sort of thing.

Again we are not at all clear as to how we are going to use the votes and that we have, they will be large in number, for our economic uplift. We have used them for certain phrases in law, for electing to office people who have spoken pleasantly before election and sometimes after, but we havenot used our vote for certain clear things which we might accomplish - enforced publicity for business, the right to criticize business without being put in jail, the right to say that one of the great and popular drinks sold all over the United States contains cocain, the right to make clear the wretched methods of present business activity. We could use our vote continually to refuse to give monopolistic privileges to certain kinds of business so as to increase the tremendous organization of industry. All this is a part that the consumer can do. And finally, he can cooperate not only in consumption, but in manufacture. I know how much this proposition is criticized, but I say again, as I have said before, twelve million people in the United States can work for themselves and feed themselves, can pay themselves and organize their own industry unless they are incurably stupid. For a great mass of people to sit up and actually starve to death in the midst of plenty is to prove not only to the world but to themselves that they are going to be of no real use in the ultimate reorganization of industry.

In other words, I propose as the next step which the American Negro can give to the world, a new and unique gift. We have tried song and laughter; we have given the world work, and it is now our business to give the world an example of intelligent economic cooperation so that when the new

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industrial commonwealth comes we can go into it as experienced people and not be left on the outside as mere beggars; and the thing that finally I want to impress upon you, that new industrial commonwealth is coming. You can be scared about it if you want to, you can shudder when Russia and Communism are mentioned, but the reorganization of industry in this world is as sure to come as the sun is to rise. It may not come next year, it may not come in the next decade, but if there is any foundation to our belief in human intelligence, it has got to come.

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37-7-46

THE FIELD AND FUNCTION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO COLLEGE

Once upon a time some four thousand miles east of this place, I saw the functioning of what was left of a perfect system of education. It was in West Africa. There under the Yorubas and other Sudanese and Bantu tribes, the education of the child began almost before it could walk. It went about with mother and father in their daily tasks; it learned the art of sewing and reaping; it absorbed the wise-saws and folk lore; it knew the lay of land and river. Then before the age of puberty it went into the Bush and there for a season the boys were taught the secrets of sex and the methods of hunting, and the girls learned of motherhood and marriage. They came out of the Bush with a ceremony of graduation, and immediately were given and taken in marriage. Even after that their education went on. They sat in council with their elders and learned the history and science and art of the tribe and practiced all in their daily life. Thus education was completely integrated with life. There could be no uneducated people. There could be no education that was not at once for use in earning a living and for use in living a life. Nothing more perfect has been invented than this system of training youth among primitive African tribes. And one sees it in the beautiful courtesy of black children; in the modesty and frankness of womanhood, and in the dignity and courage of manhood.

If a group, a nation, or a whole world had a fairly stable culture which moved, if we could so conceive it, on one general level, here would be the ideal of our school and university. But, of course, this can never be achieved by human beings on any wide stage. Inequalities arise; inequalities of gift, of privilege, of opportunity. The functions of human beings and their relation to the state differentiates and varies. And soon we have not one education but several co-existing

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

systems of education for different classes of men. And the higher training is conserved for the more powerful and more privileged, so that the university becomes a system of culture for the cultured. With this kind of university, we are most familiar. It reached perhaps its greatest development in England in the Victorial era. Eton and Harrow, Oxford and Cambridge, were for the education of gentlemen. Those people who inherited by contact and early training a body of manners and a knowledge of life which placed them among the well-bred, were taken up and further trained for the particular sort of life which they were to live. A life which pre-supposed a large income, travel, and activity in politics, art, and gradually in the higher lines of industrial organization. This type of university training has greatly impressed the world. It is a foundation for a legend preserved in vision and essay. And there are many people who quite instinctly turn in mind with this sort of thing when they speak of a university. And out of this ideal rose one even more exotic and apart. It conceived of culture, exquisite and fragile as a thing in itself, disimbodied from flesh and action. And this culture existed for its own sake. It was a sort of earthly heaven into which the elect of wealth and privilege, with a few ch nce neophytes from the common run of men, entered and lived above and apart. One gets from this the ideal of cloistered ease, of science and beauty, partaken of by those who sit far from the noise and fury, clamor and dust of the world as the world's artists and scholars.

And yet the argument against such an ideal of a university is more an argument of fact than logic. For just as soon as such a system of training is established or as men seek to establish it, it dies. It dies like a plant without room, withering into fantastic forms, that bring ridicule or hate. Or it becomes so completely

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

disassociated with life that men forget it and the world passes on as though it was not for and had not been. Thus the university cut off from its roots and from its stocks from the mass of men becomes a university of the air and does not establish and does not hold the ideal of universal culture which was always in its earlier days its great guiding thought.

How is it now that failure to reach this often if not always kills the university? The reasons to me seem clear. You have in the progress of human culture not simply a development that produces different classes of men, because in that case the classes may harmonize more or less and represent the peasant, the artisan and the merchant may exist a leisured aristocracy and for this leisured class a universal culture may be built. But the difficulty goes further than this. You may have dislocations in the elements of these classes. Their relations to each other may change and break, and the foundations upon which the cultured class has been built may crumble, and in this case your system of human training becomes not only a system for the supposed benefit of the privileged few, it cannot, indeed, carry out its function even for them. And its system of learning does not apply to the mass of men more to the relations of its constituents to that mass. One can see examples of this the world over.

In Kenya, which used to be German East Africa, there are millions of black natives and a small minority of white Englishmen who have seized and monopolized the land. By physical or economic compulsion, the natives work this land. On the recent discovery of gold, the natives were dispossessed in favor of white miners. What kind of university will suit Kenya? The minority of landed aristocracy will be taught by tuitors in Africa and then go to the great English schools and universities. The middle-class of immigrant

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(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)
Indian merchants will learn to read and white and count. The great mass of the black millions will be taught something of the art of agriculture, something of the work of artisans, some ability to read and write, although whether this should be in English or the native tongues is a question. But on this cangrow in Kenya no national university of education because there are there no national ideals. And the university, if it is to be firm, must hark back to their original ideal of the Bush school. It must train the children of a nation for living and making a living. And if it does that, and insofar as it does it, it becomes the perfect expression of its desire and the center of the intellectual and cultural leadership of its age.

I have seen in my life three expressions of such an ideal; all of them imperfect and yet tending toward a vast and singularly beautiful expression of universal education. My first sight of it was here at Fisk University in the fall of 1885 when I arrived as a boy of seventeen. The buildings were few, the cost of tuition, study, residence and costs was less than $200 a year, and the college numbered about twenty-five. And yet the scheme of education as it existed in our minds, in the class room, in the teaching of professors, in the attitude of students, was a singularly perfect and enthusiastic thing. We were a small group of young men and women who were going to transform the world by giving proof of our mental ability, by teaching our less fortunate fellows, and by proclaiming to the world our belief in American democracy and a place which Negroes deserve in it. In none of these propositions did there exist in our minds any hesitation or doubt. There was no question as to improvement and perfectly proper improvement to the ends which we had in view after graduation. There was no question but that if our work was done well,

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

we would stay to finish it. And the whole institution, beaten with a singularly unified pulse of high effort.

I saw the same thing a few years later in Harvard University at the end of the 19th Century. Harvard had stretched its earlier ideals. It was no longer simply a place where rich and learned New England gave the accolade to its sons. It had broken its shell and stretched out to the West and to the South, to yellow and to black students, and sought to make Harvard an expression of the United States. And to do this by means of men who were unshackled in thought and custom and who were beating back the bars of ignorance and of prejudice. There was William James and Josiah Royce, Nathaniel Shaler and William Elliott Norton, and also George Santyana and President Elliott. There were at least a dozen men, rebels against convention, unorthodox in religion, poor in money, and rich in brains, who for a moment held in their hands the culture of the United States and pushed it a vast step forward. Harvard was in 1890 a perfect expression of the United States or the place where the average American would have found training for his life work. But it perhaps came nearer to high imminence than any other American institution had before or has since.

Again, I saw the University of Berlin a few years later, and it represented at once a definite and analogous ideal. It did not grow up into at once the culture of Germany. Every great professor of that land, with few exceptions, had the ambition to be called to a hair in the feverish Fredrichwilhelm's Universitaet zu Berlin. I sat beneath the voice of a man who perhaps more than any singule individual welded German youth into a great aggressive fist to preach Deutsch uper Alles. I who remember Heinrich bon Treitschke. With flying words that whispered a stuttering tongue, hammering in the young men who sat breathless beneath his voice, the doctrine of the superiority of the

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of the German people. And out and around that university tens of millions of people shared in that ideal. They sang their national songs and attended their national festivals with enthusiasm that brought tears to the onlooker. And it made you realize the ideal of a single united nation.

Now with these things in mind, let us turn back to America and to the American Negro. It has been said many times that a Negro university was nothing more and nothing less than a university. One of the great leaders of education in the United States, Abram Flexner, said something of that sort not long ago concerning Howard. As President of the Board of Trustees, he was seeking to build not a Negro university but a university. And by those words he broughtagain beofre our eyes the ideal of a great institution of learning which becomes a center of a sort of universal culture. And at the same time, we bring the doubt that I have placed before you, as to how far it is possible for a university to do this and what the grounds of that possibility are?

In the first place, we have got to remember that here in America, in the year 1933, we have a situation which cannot be ignored. There was a time when it seemed as thought we might best attack the Negro problem by ignoring its most unpleasant features. It was not and is not in good taste to speak generally about certain facts which characterize our situation in America. We are politically ham-strung. We have the greatest difficulty in getting renumerative work. Our education is more and more being confined not simply to our own schools but to our own schools with limited endowment and curtailed opportunity, and above all, and this we like least to mention, we suffer a kind of social ostracism which is so deadening and disturbing that we are compelled either to make desperate efforts to forget it or to turn to

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)
the red flag of revolution. It consists of the kind of studied and repeated and emphasized insult which during all the long history of the world have led men to kill or be killed. And in the forefront of any claim which many black men may pick out for himself stands this flaming sword of doctrine which at least will distract his effort and energy and which must lead him to spiritual suicide.

Now manifestly with all that can be said, pro and con, and in extenuation, and by way of excuse and hope, this is the situation and we know it. And there is no human way by which these facts can be ignored. We can sing a song of write a book or carry on a university and act as though these things were not. If this is true, then no matter how much we may dislike the statement, the Negro problem is the center of the Negro university. It has got to be. You are teaching Negroes. There is no use pretending that you are teaching Chinese or that you are teaching white Americans or that you are teaching South Africans. You are teaching American Negroes in 1933, and they are the members of a caste system in the Republic of the United States of America and their life problem is this problem of caste. Upon these foundations, therefore, your university must start and build. Nor is the thing entirely unusual or unheard of. A Spanish university is not simply a university. It is a Spanish university. It is a university located in Spain. It uses the Spanish language. It starts with Spanish history and makes conditions in Spain the foundation of its beginning. Its education is for Spaniards. Not as their university shall be or going to be, but as they are with their present problems and disadvantages and opportunities. In other words, the Spanish university is founded and grounded in Spain, just as surely as a French university is French. There are some people who have difficulty in apprehending this very clear truth. They assume that the French university is universal

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

and is based on a comprehension and inclusion of all mankind and of their problems. But it is not. A French University is founded in France; usesthe French language and assumes a knowledge of French history. The problems of the French people are its major problem and it becomes universal only so far as other peoples of the world comprehend and are as one with France in its mighty and beautiful history. In the same way, a Negro university in the United States ofaAmerica begins with Negroes. It uses that variety of the English language which they understand, and above all, it is founded or it should be founded in a knowledge of their history in the United States and their present condition without white-washing or translating wish into fact. It begins with that, and then it asks how shall these young men and women be trained to earn a living and live a life under the circumstances in which they find themselves or with such changing of those circumstances as time and work will permit.

Is this statement of the field of a Negro university a denial of aspiration or a change from older ideals? I do not think it is, although I admit in my own mind some change of thought and modification of method. Usually the system of learning which bases its appf upon the actual condition of certain classes and groups of human beings starts out with the proposal that the knowledge given and the methods pursued in the institutions of learning shall be for the definite object of perpectualing present conditions or of leaving their amelioration in the hands of other forces and other folk. This was the great criticism that those who studied for higher education thirty years ago brought against the industrial school. The industrial school founded itself in the actual situation of American Negroes and said:

"What can be done to change this situation?" And its answer was: "Training in technique and method such as would incorporate the dis-

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

advantaged group in the industrial organization of the country, and then with the rise of the white laborer would come the rise of the black laborer. And it still seemed to many simple minds in those days as though the problem of labor in its relation to capital was by way of solution. In opposition to that, the proponents of college training in those earlier years said: "What black men need is the broader and most universal training so that they can apply the general principles of knowledge to the particular circumstances of their condition."

As I said a few years ago at Howard University, both these positions had something of truth and right. Because of the peculiar economic situation in our country the program of the industrial school came to grief first, and has practically been given up. Starting even though we may with the actual condition of the Negro peasant and artisan, we cannot ameliorate his condition simply by learning the transient technique of a passing era. More vision and knowledge is needed than that. But on the other hand, while the Negro college of a generation ago set down a defensible and true program and unfortunately did not carry it out, and it did not carry it out because the one thing that the industrial philosophy gave to education the Negro college did not take and that was the university of black men in the United States must be grounded in the condition and words of those black men.

On the other hand, it would be of course idiotic to say as the former industrial school almost said: "That so far as black men are concerned education must stop there." No, facing the conditions and using the facts and the knowledge of the present situation of American Negroes, the Negro university expands toward the possession and the conquests of all knowledge. It seeks from a beginning of the history of the Negro in America and in Africa to interpret all history from a

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(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

beginning of social development among Negro slave and freedmen in America and Negro tribes and kingdoms in Africa, to interpret and understand the social development of all mankind in all ages. It seeks to reach modern science of matter and life from the surroundings and and appitudes of American Negroes and thus lead up to understanding of life and matter in the world. And this is a different program than a similar function would be in a white university or in a Russian university of in an African university. It is a matter of beginnings and integrations which sweeps indistinctive knowledge and inheritance and current reactions into a world of science, sociology and art. In no other way can the American Negro function in his widest human environment. Why was it that the Renaissance of literature which began among Negroes ten years ago has never taken real root? It was because it was a transplanted and exotic thing. It was a literature written for the benefit of white people and at the behest of white readers. It never had a real Negro constituency and it did not grow out of the heart and experinences of Negroes, and on such an artificial basis no real Negro literature can grow.

On the other hand, if starting in a great Negro university you have knowledge, beginning with the particular, and going out to universal comprehension and unhampered expression, you are going to begin to realize for the American Negro the full life which is denied him now. And then after that, a part of this universal culture must again come down and apply itself to the individual life and individual conditions of living Negroes. The university must become not simply a center of knowledge but a guide of action. And this is all the more necessary now since we easily see that planned action and especially economic life, growing to be the watchword of civilization. And this planning is not for us unless we do it. Unless the American Negro today, led by trained university men of broad vision, sits down to

work out by economics and mathematics, by physics and chemistry, exactly how and where he is to earn a decent living and how he is to make a reasonable life business in the United States or elsewhere. Unless this is done, the university has missed its field and function and the American Negro is doomed to be a suppressed and inferior caste in the United States for incalcuable time.

Here, then, is a job for the American Negro university. It cannot be successfully ignored or dogged without the growing menane of disaster. I lay the problem before you as one which you must not ignore. It carries out of this plan, two things and only two things are necessary. Teachers and students, buildings and endowments may help, but they are not necessary. It is necessary first to have teachers to comprehend this program and know how to make it live among their students. This is calling for a good deal because it asks that teachers teach that which they have learned in no American school and which they never will learn until we have a Negro university of the sort that I am visioning. No teacher, black or white, who comes to a university like Fisk filled simply with general ideas of human culture or general knowledge of disimbodied science, is going to make a university of this school. Because a university is made of human beings, learning of the things that concern themselves and especially those things in their lives. And secondly, we must have students and they must be chosen for ability. There is always the temptation to assume that the children of privileged classes, the rich, the noble, the white, are those who can best take education. One has but to express this to realize its utter futility. But perhaps the most dangerous thing among us is for us to assume that we can choose students at Fisk because of the amount of money which their parents have happened to get hold of. That basis of selection is going to give us an extraordinary aggregation of fools. We want by the nicest methods

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

possible to seek out the talented and the gifted among our constituency, quite regardless of their wealth or position, and to fill this university and similar institutions with persons who have got brains to take advantage of what the university offers. There is no other way. With teachers who know what they are teaching and whom they are teaching, and the life that surrounds both the knowledge and the knower, and with students who have the capacity and the will to absorb this knowledge, we can build the sort of Negro university which will emancipate not simply the black folk of the United States, but those white folk who in their effort to suppress Negroes have killed democracy and art and religion.

Du Bois

THE FIELD AND FUNCTION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO COLLEGE

Once upon a time some four thousand miles east of this place, I saw the functioning of a perfect system of education. It was in West Africa beside a broad river, and beneath the palms bronze girls were dancing before the President of Liberia and the native chiefs to celebrate the end of the Bush and their arrival at marriageable age. There under the Yorubas and other Sudanese and Bantu tribes, the education of the child began almost before it could walk. It went about with mother and father in their daily tasks; it learned the art of sowing and reaping and hunting; it absorbed the wisdom and folk lore of the tribe; it knew the lay of land and river. Then at the age of puberty it went into the Bush and there for a season the boys were taught the secrets of sex and the girls in another school learned of motherhood and marriage. They came out of the Bush with a ceremony of graduation, and immediately were given and taken in marriage.

Even after that their education went on. They sat in council with their elders and learned the history and science and art of the tribe and practiced all in their daily life. Thus education was completely integrated with life. There could be no uneducated people. There could be no education that was not at once for use in earning a living and for use in living a life. Out of this education and out of the life it typified came as perfect expressions song and dance and saga ethics and religion.

Nothing more perfect has been invented than this system of training youth among primitive African tribes. And one sees it in the beautiful courtesy of black children; in the modesty and frankness of womanhood, and in the dignity and courage of manhood, and in the dignity and courage of manhood; and too, in African music and art with its world-wide influence.

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

If a group has a stable culture which moves, if we could so conceive it, on one general level, here would be the ideal of our school and university. But, of course, this can never be achieved by human beings on any wide stage.

First and most disconcerting, men progress which means that they change their home, their work, their division of wealth, their philosophy. And how shall men teach children that which they themselves do not know or transmit a philosophy or religion that is already partly disbelieved and partly untrue. This is a primal and baffling problem of education and we have never wholly solved it. Or in other words, education of youth in a changing world is a puzzling problem with every temptation for lying and propaganda. But this is but the beginning of trouble. Within the group and nation significant differentiations and dislocations appear so that education of youth becomes a preparation not for one common national life but for the life of a particular class or group; and yet the tendency is to regard as real national education only the training for this group which assumes to represent the nation because of its power and privilege and despite the fact that it is usually a small numerical minority in the nation. Manifestly in such case if a member of one of the suppressed groups receives the national education in such a land, he must become a member of the privileged aristocracy or be educated for a life which he cannot follow and compelled to live a life which he does not know or which he deeply dispises.

This is the problem of education with which the world is most familiar and it tends to two ends: It makes the mass of men dissatisfied with life and it makes the university a system of culture for the cultured.

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

With this kind of university, we are most familiar. It reached perhaps its greatest development in England in the Victorian era. Eton and Harrow, Oxford and Cambridge, were for the education of gentlemen,--those people who inherited wealth and who by contact and early training acquired a body of manners and a knowledge of life and even an accent of English which placed them among the well-bred; these were taken up and further trained for the particular sort of life which they were to life; a life which pre-supposed a large income, travel, cultivated society; and activity in politics, art, and the higher lines of industrial organization.

~~With~~ This type of university training has deeply impressed the world. It is foundation for a tenacious legend preserved in fiction, poetry and essay. There are still many people who quite instinctly turn in mind with this sort of thing when they speak of a university. An out of this ideal rose one even more exotic and apart. Instead of the universitygrowingdown and seeking to comprehend in its curriculum the life and experience, the thought and expression of lower classes; it almost invariably to grow up and narrow itself to a sublimated elite of mankind.

It conceived of culture, exquisite and fragile, as a thing in itself, disimbodied from flesh and action; and this culture as existing for its own sake. It was a sort of earthly heaven into which the elect of wealth and privilege and courtly address, with a few chance neophytes from the common run of men, entered and lived in a region above and apart. One gets from this that ideal of cloistered ease, for Science and Beauty, partaken of by those who sit far from the noise and fury, clamor and dust of the world, as the world's aristocrats, artists and scholars.

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

scholars.

And yet the argument against such an ideal of a university is more an argument of fact than logic. For just as soon as such a system of training is established or as men seek to establish it, it dies. It dies like a plant without room, withering into fantastic forms, that bring ridicule or hate. Or it becomes so completely disassociated with the main currents of real life that men forget it and the world passes on as though it was not for it and had not been. Thus the university cut off from its national roots and from the mass of men becomes a university of the air and does not establish and does not hold the ideal of universal cultu e which it sought in its earlier days to make its great guiding thought.

How is it now that failure to reach this often if not always kills the university? The reasons to me seem clear. Human culture in its broadest and finest sense can never bewholly the product of the few. There is no natural aristocracy of man, either within a nation or among the races of the world, which unless fed copiously from without can build up and maintain and diversify a broad human culture. A system, therefore, of natu al education which tries to confine its benefits to preparing the few for the life of the few, dies of starvation. And this every aristocracy which the world has ever seen can prove a thousand times. There are two ways in which this can be remedied: The aristocracy may be recruited from the masses still leaving the aim of education as the preparation of men for the life of this priv leged class. This has been the desperate effort of England and in this way English aristocracy has kept its privilege and its wealth more successfully than any modern or ancient land. But even here the method fails because the life of the English aristocrat is after all not the broadest and fullest life. It is

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

It is only, therefore, as the university lives up to its name and reaches down to the mass of universal men and makes the life of normal men the object of its training, it is only in this way that the marvelous talent and diversity and emotion of mankind pours up through this method of human training and establishes a national culture and a national art.

Thus in the progress of human culture you have not simply a development that produces different classes of men, because classes may harmonize more or less and above the peasant, the artisan and the merchant may exist a leisured aristocracy and on this leisured class a class culture may be built which may flourish long and wide. But the difficulty goes further than the narrowness and sterility of this plan. Dislocations come within these classes. Their relations to each other may change and break and the foundations upon which the cultured class have been built may crumble. In this case your system of human training becomes not only a system for the supposed benefit of the privileged few, but cannot, indeed, carry out its function even for them. Its system of learning does not fit the mass of men nor the relations of its constituents to that mass.

One can see examples of this the world over. In Kenya, which used to be German East Africa, there are millions of black natives and a small minority of white Englishmen who have seized and monopolized the best land, leaving the natives scarcely enough poor land for subsistence. By physical slavery, economic compulsion or legal sanction, the natives work the land of the whites. On the recent discovery of gold, the natives were dispossessed of their own land in favor of white miners.

What kind of university will suit Kenya? The minority of landed

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)
aristocracy will be taught by tutors in Africa and then go to the great English schools and universities. The middle-class of immigrant Indian merchants will learn to read and write and count at home or in elementary schools. The great mass of the black millions will be taught something of the art of agriculture, something of the work of artisans, perhaps some ability to read and write, although whether this should be in English or merely in the native tongue is a question. But on this foundation there can grow in Kenya no national university of education because there are there no national ideals. No culture, either African or European, can be built on any such economic foundation. Education in Kenya is a misnomer.

Thus the university, if it is to be first, must hark back to the original ideal of the Bush school. It must train the children of a nation for Life and for making a living. And if it does that, and insofar as it does it, it becomes the perfect expression of the desire and the center of the intellectual and cultural expression of its age.

I have seen in my life three expressions of such an ideal; all of them imperfect, all of them partial, and yet each tending toward a broad and singularly beautiful expression of universal education. My first sight of it was here at Fisk University in the fall of 1885 when I arrived as a boy of seventeen. The buildings were few, the cost of tuition, board, room and clothes were less than $200 a year; and the college numbered less than twenty-five. And yet the scheme of education as it existed in our minds, in the class room, in the teaching of professors, in the attitude of students, was a thing of breadth and enthusiasm with an unusuality of aim. We were a small group of young men and women who were going to transform the world by giving proof of our own mental ability, by teaching our less fortunate fellows so that they could follow the same by proclaiming to the world

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)
our belief in American democracy and in the place which Negroes would surely take in it. In one of these propositions did there exist in our minds any hesitation or doubt. There was no question as to employment and perfectly proper employment for graduates for the ends which we had in view. There was no question of our remaining in school for no good or earnest student ever left.

Above all, to our unblinking gaze, the gates of the World would open--were opening. We never for a moment contemplated the possibility that seven millions of Americans who proved their physical and mental worth could be excluded from the national democracy of a common American culture. We came already bringing gifts. The song we sang was fresh from the lips that threw it round the world. We saw and heard the voices that charmed an emperor and a queen. We believed in the supreme power of the ballot in the hands of the masses to transform the world. Already the North was breaking the Color Line and for the South we were willing to wait.

I saw the same thing a few years later in Harvard University at the end of the 19th Century. Harvard had broadened its earlier ideals. It was no longer simply a place where rich and learned New England gave the accolade to social élite. It had broken its shell and stretched out to the West and to the South, to yellow students and to black. I had for the mere asking been granted a fellowship of $300--a sum so vast to my experiences that I was surprised when it did not pay my first year's expenses. Men sought to make Harvard an expression of the United States, and to do this by means of leaders unshackled in thought and custom who were beating back bars of ignorance and particularism and prejudice. There were William James and Josiah Royce; Nathaniel Shaler and William Elliott Norton; George Santyana and President Eliott himself. There were at least a dozen men,—

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)
rebels against convention, unorthodox in religion, poor in money, who for a moment held in their hands the culture of the United States, typified it, expressed it, and pushed it a vast step forward. Harvard was not in 1890 a perfect expression of the American soul or the place where the average American would have found training for his life work. But perhaps it came nearer that high emminence than any other American institution had before or has since.

Again a few years later, I saw the University of Berlin. It represented in 1892 a definite and unified ideal. It did not comprehend at once the culture of all Germany, but I do not believe that ever in modern days and certainly not either at Fisk or Harvard did a great university come so near expressing a national ideal. It was as though I had beeen stepping up from a little group college with a national vision to a provincial university with a universal outlook to a national institution which came near gathering to itself the thought and culture of forty million human beings. Every great professor of Germany, with few exceptions, had the life ambition to be called to a Chair in the Friedrich Wilhelm Universitaet zu Berlin. I sat beneath the voice of a man who perhaps more than any single individual embodied the German ideal and welded German youth into that great aggressive fist which put Deutschland ueber Alles! I remember Heinrich von Treitschke. With swift flying words that had a painfully stuttering tongue, he hammered into the young men who sat motionless and breathless beneath his voice, the doctrine of the unborn superiority of the German race. He told us few foreigners to our faces that we felt and acknowledged our inferiority. And out and around that university for thousands of miles, millions of people shared in its ideal teaching, and did this inspite of cast by birth and poverty, jostling wealth because they believed in any ultimate unity which

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)
Bismarkian state socialism promised. They sang their national songs and joined in national festivals with enthusiasm that brought tears to the onlooker. And it made you realize the ideal of a single united nation. It was expressed in matchless poetry, daring science and undying music. Yet in each of these cases, the ultimate ideal of a national much less a universal university was a vision never wholly attained, and in the very nature of the case it could not be. Fisk had to be a Negro university because it was teaching and they were a class with their own history and problems. Harvard was still a New England provincial institution and Berlin was sharply and determinely German. Their common characteristic was that starting where they did and must they aimed and moved toward universal culture.

Now with these things in mind, let us turn back to America and to the American Negro. It has been said many times that a Negro university was nothing more and nothing less than a university. Quite recently one of the great leaders of education in the United States, Abraham Flexner, said something of that sort concerning Howard. As President of the Board of Trustees, he said he was seeking to build not a Negro university but a University. And by those words he brought again before our eyes the ideal of a great institution of learning which becomes a center of universal culture.

It is the object of this paper to insist that there can be no college for Negroes which is not a Negro college and that while a American Negro university, just like a German or a Swiss university may rightly aspire to a universal culture unpampered by limitationsof race and culture, yet they must start on the earth where they sit and not in the skies whither they aspire. May I develop this thought.

In the first place, we have got to remember that here in America, in the year 1933, we have a situation which cannot be ignored. There

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

There was a time when it seemed as thought we might best attack the Negro problem by ignoring its most unpleasant features. It was not and is not in good taste to speak generally about certain facts which characterize our situation in America. We are politically hamstrung. We have the greatest difficulty in getting remunerative work. Our educaton is more and more not only being confined to our own schools but to a segregated public school system far below the average of the nation with one-third of our children continually out of school, and above all, and this we like least to mention, we suffer a social ostracism which is so deadening and discouraging that we are compelled either to lie about it or to turn our faces toward the red flag of revolution. It consists of the kind of studied and repeated and emphasized public insult of the sort which during all the long history of the world have led men to kill or be killed. And in the full face of any effort which any black men may make to escape this ostracism for himself, stands this flaming sword of doctrine which will distract his effort and energy if it does not lead him to spiritual suicide.

We boast and have right to boast of our accomplishment between the days that I studied here and this 45th Anniversayy. It is a claim appreciation of fact to say that the history of modern civilization cannot surpass if it can parallel the advance of American Negroes and in every essential line of culture. And yet when we have said this we must have the common courage honestly to admit that every step we have made forward has been greeted by two steps backward on the part of the American public in caste intoleration, mob law and racial hatred.

I need but remind you that when I graduated from Fisk there was no "Jim Crow Car" in Tennessee and I saw C. O. Hunter once push a brakeman aside at the Union Station and escort a crowd of students

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)
into first-class seats. There was no disfranchisement and a black Fiskite sat in the Legislature , and while the Chancellor of Vanderbilt University had annually to be re-introduced to the President of Fisk, yet Vanderbilt never presumed to plan the internal social life of this institution.

Now manifestly with all that can be said, pro and con, and in extenuation, and by way of excuse and hope, this is the situation and we know it. And there is no human way by which these facts can be ignored. We cannot sing a song or write a book or carry on a university and act as though these things were not.

If this is true, then no matter how much we may dislike the statement, the American Negro problem is and must be the center of the Negro American university. It has got to be. You are teaching Negroes. There is no use pretending that you are teaching Chinese or that you are teaching white Americans or that you are teaching South Africans. You are teaching American Negroes in 1933, and they are the members of a caste system in the Republic of the United States of America and their life problem is primarily this problem of caste.

Upon these foundations, therefore, your university must start and build. Nor is the thing so entirely unusual or unheard of as it sounds. A university in Spain is not simply a university. It is a Spanish university. It is a university located in Spain. It uses the Spanish language. It starts with Spanish history and makes conditions in Spain the starting point of its teaching. Its education is for Spaniards,—not for them as they may be or ought to be, but as they are with their present problems and disadvantages and opportunities.

In other words, the Spanish university is founded and grounded in Spain, just as surely as a French university is French. There are some people who have difficulty in apprehending this very clear

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

truth. They assume, for instance, that the French university is in a singular universal, and is based on a comprehension and inclusion of all mankind and of their problems. But it is not, and the assumption that it is arises simply because so much of French culture has been built into university civilization. A French university is founded in France; it uses the French language and assumes a knowledge of French history. The present problems of the French people are its major problem and it becomes universal only so far as other peoples of the world comprehend and are at one with France in its mighty and beautiful history.

Inthe same way, a Negro university in the United States of America begins with Negroes. It uses that variety of the English language which they understand; and above all, it is founded or it should be founded on a knowledge of the history of their people in Africa and in the United States, and their present condition; without white-washing or translating wish into fact. It begins with that, and then it asks how shall these young men and women be trained to earn a living and live a life under the circumstances in which they find themselves or with such changing of those circumstances as time and work will permit.

Is this statement of the field of a Negro university a denial of aspiration or a change from older ideals? I do not think it is, although I admit in my own mind some change of thought and modification of method. Usually the system of learning which bases itself upon the actual condition of certain classes and groups of human beings, suppresses a minor promise of fatal menace. It proposes that the knowledge given and the methods pursued in such institutions of learning shall be for the definite object of perpetuating present conditions or of leaving their amelioration in the hands of and at the initiative of other forces and other folk. This was the great criticism that those of us who

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)
fought for higher education of Negroes thirty years ago, brought against the industrial school.

The industrial school founded itself and rightly upon the actual situation of American Negroes and said: "What can be done to change this situation?" And its answer was: "A training in technique and method such as would incorporate the disadvantaged group into the industrial organization of the country, and in that organization the leaders of Negro industrialhad perfect . Since that day the industrial machine has cracked and groaned. Its technique has changed faster than any school could teach; the relations of capital and labor have increased in complication and it has become so clear that Negro poverty is not primarily caused by ignorance of technical knowledge, that the industrial school has almost surrendered its program.

In opposition to that, the proponents of college training in those earlier years said: "What black men need is the broader and more universal training so that they can apply the general principles of knowledge to the particular circumstances of their condition."

Here again was indubitable truth but incomplete truth. The cultural problem lay in the method of reaching this broader and more universal truth and here just as in the united program, we must start where we are and not where we wish to be.

As I said a few years ago at Howard University both these positions had something of truth and right. Because of the peculiar economic situation in our country the program of the industrial school came to grief first and has practically been given up. Starting even though we may with the actual condition of the Negro peasant and artisan, we cannot ameliorate his condition simply by learning the transient technique of a passing era. More vision and knowledge is needed than that. But on the other hand, while the Negro college of a generation

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)
ago set down a defensible and true program of applying knowledge and facts, it unfortunately could not completely carry out, and it did not carry it out, because the one thing that the industrial philosophy gave to education, the Negro college did not take and that was that the university education of black men in the United States must be grounded in the condition and work of those black men.

On the other hand, it would be of course idiotic to say as the former industrial philosophy almost said that so far as most black men are concerned education must stop with work. No, starting with present conditions and using the facts and the knowledge of the present situation of American Negroes, the Negro university expands toward the possession and the conquest of all knowledge. It seeks from a beginning of the history of the Negro in America and in Africa to interpret all history from a beginning of social development among Negro slave and freedmen in America and Negro tribes and kingdoms in Africa, to interpret and understand the social development of all mankind in all ages. It seeks to reach modern science of matter and life from the surroundings and habits and aptitudes of American Negroes and thus lead up to understanding of life and matter in the universe. And this is a different program than a similar function would be in a white university or in a Russian university or in an African university. It is a matter of beginnings and integrations which sweep instinctive knowledge and inheritance and current reactions into a world of science, sociology and art. In no other way can the American Negro function in his widest human environment.

Why was it that the Renaissance of literature which began among Negroes ten years ago has never taken real root? It was because it was a transplanted and exotic thing. It was a literature written for the benefit of white people and at the behest of white readers, and

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)
readers, and starting out humanly from the white pint of view. It never had a real Negro constituency and it did not grow out of the heart and experienceof Negroes, and on such an artificial basis no real Negro literature can grow.

On the other hand, if starting in a great Negro university you have knowledge, beginning with the particular, and going out to universal comprehension and unhampered expression, you are going to begin to realize for the American Negro the full life which is denied him now. And then after that comes a realization of the older object of our college—to bring this universal culture down and apply it to the individual life and individual conditions of living Negroes. The university must become not simply a center of knowledge but a guide of action. And this is all the more necessary now since we easily see that planned action and especially economic life, growing to be the watchword of civilization.

We are on the threshold of a new era. Let us not deceive ourselves with outworn ideals of wealth and servants and luxuries, reared on a foundation of ignorance, starvation and want. Instinctly, we have absorbed these ideals from our twisted white American environment. This new economic planning is not for us unless we do it. Unless the American Negro today, led by trained university men of broad vision, sits down to work out by economics and mathematics, by physics and chemistry, by history and sociology, exactly how and where he is to earn a living and how he is to establish a reasonable Life in the United States or elsewhere—unless this is done, the university has missed its field and function and the American Negro is doomed to be a suppressed and inferior caste in the United States for incalculable time.

Here, then, is a job for the American Negro university. It cannot

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)
be successfully ignored or dodged without the growing menace of disaster. I lay the problem before you as one which you must not ignore.

To carry out this plan, two things and only two things are necessary,--teachers and students. Buildings and endowments may help, but they are not necessary. It is necessary first to have teachers who comprehend this program and know how to make it live among their students. This is calling for a good deal, because it asks that teachers teach that which they have learned in no American school and which they never will learn until we have a Negro university of the sort that I am visioning. No teacher, black or white, who comes to a university like Fisk filled simply with general ideas of human culture or general knowledge of disimbodied science, is going to make a university of this school. Because a university is made of human beings, learning of the things they do not know from things they know in their own lives. And secondly, we must have students. They must be chosen for ability to learn. There is always the temptation to assume that the children of privileged classes, the rich, the noble, the white, are those who can best take education. One has but to express this to realize its utter futility. But perhaps the most dangerous thing among us is for us without thought to imitate our white world and assume that we can choose students at Fisk because of the amount of money which their parents have happened to get hold of. That basis of selection is going to give us an extraordinary aggregation of fools. We want by the nicest methods possible to seek out the talented and the gifted among our constituency, quite regardless of their wealth or position, and to fill this university and similar institutions with persons who have got brains enough to take fullest advantage of what the university offers. There is no other way. With teachers who know what they are teaching and with whom they are

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)
teaching, and the life that surrounds both the knowledge and the knower, and with students who have the capacity and the will to absorb this knowledge, we can build the sort of Negro university which will emancipate not simply the black folk of the United States, but those white folk who in their effort to suppress Negroes have killed democracy and art and religion.

Men who in their desperate effort to replace equality with caste and to build inordinate wealth on a foundation of abject poverty have succeeded in killing democracy, art and religion.

Only a universal system of learning, rooted in the will and condition of the masses and blossoming from that manure up toward the stars is worth the name. Once builded it can only grow as it brings down sunlight and star and impregnates the mud.

The chief obstacle in this rich land endowed with every national resource and with the abilities of one hundred different peoples, the chief and only obstacle to the coming of that kingdom of economic equality which is the only logical end of work, is the determination of the white world to keep the black world poor and themselves rich. But the disaster which this selfish and short-sighted policy has brought lies at the bottom of this present depression, and too, its cure lies beside it. Your clear vision of a world without wealth, of capital without profit, of income based on work alone, is the path out not only for you but for all men.

The Negro College

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

W. E. B. Du Bois

This is part of an address on the "The Field and Function of a Negro College", delivered at the annual alumni reunion during Commencement week at Fisk University last June. The complete address will be issued in pamphlet form later.

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It has been said many times that a Negro

THE FIELD AND FUNCTION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO COLLEGE

Once upon a time some four thousand miles east of this place, I saw the functioning of a perfect system of education. It was in West Africa, beside a broad river, and beneath the palms, bronze girls were dancing before the President of Liberia and the native chiefs, to celebrate the end of the Bush, and their arrival at marriageable age. There under the Yorubas and other Sudanese and Bantu tribes, the education of the child began almost before it could walk. It went about with mother and father in their daily tasks; it learned the art of sowing and reaping and hunting; it absorbed the wisdom and folk lore of the tribe; it knew the lay of land and river. Then at the age of puberty it went into the Bush and there for a season the boys were taught the secrets of sex and the girls in another school learned of motherhood and marriage. They came out of the Bush with a ceremony of graduation, and immediately were given and taken in marriage.

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Even after that, their education went on. They sat in council with their elders and learned the history and science and art of the tribe and practiced all in their daily life. Thus education was completely integrated with life. There could be no uneducated people. There could be no education that was not at once for use in earning a living and for use in living a life. Out of this education and out of the life it typified, came, as perfect expressions, song and dance and saga, ethics and religion.

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Nothing more perfect has been invented than this system of training youth, among primitive African tribes. And one sees it in the beautiful courtesy of black children; in the modesty and frankness of womanhood, ~~and in the dignity and courage of manhood~~, and in the dignity and courage of manhood; and too, in African music and art with its world-wide influence.

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(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

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If a group has a stable culture which moves, if we could so conceive it, on one general level, here would be the ideal of our school and university. But, of course, this can never be achieved by human beings on any wide stage.

First and most disconcerting, men progress, which means that they change their home, their work, their division of wealth, their philosophy. And how shall men teach children that which they themselves do not know or transmit a philosophy or religion that is already partly disbelieved and partly untrue? This is a primal and baffling problem of education and we have never wholly solved it. Or in other words, education of youth in a changing world is a puzzling problem with every temptation for lying and propaganda. But this is but the beginning of trouble. Within the group and nation significant differentiations and dislocations appear, so that education of youth becomes a preparation not for one common national life but for the life of a particular class or group; and yet the tendency is to regard as real national education only the training for this group which assumes to represent the nation because of its power and privilege, and despite the fact that it is usually a small numerical minority in the nation. Manifestly in such case if a member of one of the suppressed groups receives the national education in such a land, he must become a member of the privileged aristocracy or be educated for a life which he cannot follow and be compelled to live a life which he does not like or which he deeply dispises.

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This is the problem of education with which the world is most familiar and it tends to two ends: It makes the mass of men dissatisfied with life and it makes the university a system of culture for the cultured.

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(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

With this kind of university, we are most familiar. It reached in our day perhaps its greatest development in England in the Victorian era. Eton and Harrow, Oxford and Cambridge, were for the education of gentlemen,--those people who inherited wealth and who by contact and early training acquired a body of manners and a knowledge of life and even an accent of English which placed them among the well-bred; these were taken up and further trained for the particular sort of life which they were to live; a life which pre-supposed a large income, travel, cultivated society; and activity in politics, art, and ~~the higher lines of industrial organization.~~ imperial Industry

This type of university training has deeply impressed the world. It is foundation for a tenacious legend preserved in fiction, poetry and essay. There are still many people who quite instinctively turn ~~in mind with~~ to this sort of thing when they speak of a university.

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An out of this ideal rose one even more exotic and apart. Instead of the university growing down and seeking to comprehend in its curriculum the life and experience, the thought and expression of lower classes; it almost invariably tended to grow up and narrow itself to a sublimated élite of mankind.

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It conceived of culture, exquisite and fragile, as a thing in itself, disembodied from flesh and action; and this culture as existing for its own sake. It was a sort of earthly heaven into which the elect of wealth and privilege and courtly address, with a few chance neophytes from the common run of men, entered and lived in a region above and apart. One gets from this that ideal of cloistered ease, for Science and Beauty, partaken of by those who sit far from the noise and fury, clamor and dust of the world, as the world's aristocrats, artists and scholars.

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

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scholars.

And yet, the argument against such an ideal of a university is more an argument of fact than logic. For just as soon as such a system of training is established or as men seek to establish it, it dies. It dies like a plant without room, withering into fantastic forms, that bring ridicule or hate. Or it becomes so completely disassociated with the main currents of real life that men forget it and the world passes on as though it was not, for it had not been. Thus the university cut off from its national roots and from the mass of men becomes a university of the air and does not establish and does not hold the ideal of universal culture which it sought, in its earlier days, to make its great guiding thought. End

How is it now that failure to reach this, often if not always, kills the university? The reasons to me seem clear. Human culture in its broadest and finest sense can never be wholly the product of the few. There is no natural aristocracy of man, either within a nation or among the races of the world, which unless fed copiously from without, can build up and maintain and diversify a broad human culture. A system, therefore, of national education which tries to confine its benefits to preparing the few for the life of the few, dies of starvation. And this every aristocracy which the world has ever seen can prove a thousand times. There are two ways in which this can be remedied: The aristocracy may be recruited from the masses, still leaving the aim of education as the preparation of men for the life of this privileged class. This has been the desperate effort of England and in this way English aristocracy has kept its privilege and its wealth more successfully than any modern or ancient land. But even here the method fails because the life of the English aristocrat is after all not the broadest and fullest life.

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~~(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)~~

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It is only, therefore, as the university lives up to its name and reaches down to the mass of universal men and makes the life of normal men the object of its training, it is only in this way that the marvelous talent and diversity and emotion of all mankind pours up through this method of human training and establishes a national culture and a national art. Herein lies the eternal logic of Democracy.

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Thus in the progress of human culture you have not simply a development that produces different classes of men, because classes may harmonize more or less and above the peasant, the artisan and the merchant, may exist a leisured aristocracy and on this leisured class a class culture may be built which may flourish long and wide. But the difficulty goes further than the narrowness and ultimate sterility of this plan. Dislocations come within these classes. Their relations to each other may change and break and the foundations upon which the cultured class has been built, may crumble. In this case your system of human training becomes not only a system for the supposed benefit of the privileged few, but cannot, indeed, carry out its function even for them. Its system of learning does not fit the mass of men nor the relations of its constituents to that mass.

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One can see examples of this the world over. In Kenya, which used to be German East Africa, there are millions of black natives and a ~~small minority~~ few thousand of white Englishmen who have seized and monopolized the best land, leaving the natives scarcely enough poor land for subsistence. By physical slavery, economic compulsion or legal sanction, the natives work the land of the whites. On the recent discovery of gold, the natives were dispossessed of their own land in favor of white miners.

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What kind of ~~university~~ education will suit Kenya? The minority of landed

(6. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

aristocracy will be taught by tutors in Africa, and then go to the great English schools and universities. The middle-class of immigrant Indian merchants will learn to read and write and count at home or in elementary schools. The great mass of the black millions will be taught something of the art of agriculture, something of the work of artisans, perhaps some ability to read and write, (although whether this should be in English or merely in the native tongue is a question.) But on this foundation there can grow in Kenya no national university of education, because there are there no national ideals. No culture, either African or European, can be built on any such economic foundation. Education in Kenya is a misnomer.

Thus the university, if it is to be firm, must hark back to the original ideal of the Bush school. It must train the children of a nation for Life and for making a living. And if it does that, and insofar as it does it, it becomes the perfect expression of the ~~desire~~ life and the center of the intellectual and cultural expression of its age.

I have seen in my life three expressions of such an ideal; all of them imperfect, all of them partial, and yet each tending toward a broad and singularly beautiful expression of universal education. My first sight of it was here at Fisk University in the fall of 1885 when I arrived as a boy of seventeen. The buildings were few, the cost of tuition, board, room and clothes ~~was~~ less than $200 a year; and the college numbered less than twenty-five. And yet the scheme of education as it existed in our minds, in the class room, in the teaching of professors, in the attitude of students, was a thing of breadth and enthusiasm with an unusual unity of aim. We were a small group of young men and women who were going to transform the world by giving proof of our own ~~mental~~ ability, by teaching our less fortunate fellows so that they could follow the same path, by proclaiming to the world

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

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our belief in American democracy, and the place which Negroes would surely take in it. In none of these propositions did there exist in our minds any hesitation or doubt. There was no question as to employment and perfectly proper employment for graduates, for the ends which we had in view. There was no question of our remaining in school for no good or earnest student ever left.

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Above all, to our unblinking gaze, the gates of the World would open—were opening. We never for a moment contemplated the possibility that seven millions of Americans who proved their physical and mental worth could be excluded from the national democracy of a common American culture. We came already bringing gifts. The song we sang was fresh from the lips that threw it round the world. We saw and heard the voices that charmed an emperor and a queen. We believed in the supreme power of the ballot in the hands of the masses to transform the world. Already the North was breaking the Color Line and for the South we were willing to wait.

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I saw the same thing a few years later in Harvard University at the end of the 19th Century. Harvard had broadened its earlier ideals. It was no longer simply a place where rich and learned New England gave the accolade to the social elite. It had broken its shell and stretched out to the West and to the South, to yellow students and to black. I had for the mere asking, been granted a fellowship of $300—a sum so vast to my experience that I was surprised when it did not pay my first year's expenses. Men sought to make Harvard an expression of the United States, and to do this by means of leaders unshackled in thought and custom who were beating back bars of ignorance and particularism and prejudice. There were William James and Josiah Royce; Nathaniel Shaler and Charles Eliot Norton; George Santayana, A.B. Hart, and President Eliot himself. There were at least a dozen men,—

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(Cont. ~~The Field and Function of the American Negro College.~~) (15)

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rebels against convention, unorthodox in religion, poor in money, who for a moment held in their hands the culture of the United States, typified it, expressed it, and pushed it a vast step forward. Harvard was not in ~~1800~~ 1888 a perfect expression of the American soul, or the place where the average American would have found adequate training for his life work. But perhaps it came nearer that high emminence than any other American institution had before or has since.

Again a few years later, I saw the University of Berlin. It represented in 1892 a definite and unified ideal. It did not comprehend at once the culture of all Germany, but I do not believe that ever in modern days and certainly not ~~either~~ at Fisk or Harvard did a great university come so near expressing a national ideal. It was as though I had beeen stepping up from a little group college with a national vision to a provincial university with a more than national outlook to a national institution which came near gathering to itself the thought and culture of forty million human beings. (16) Every great professor of Germany, with few exceptions, had the life ambition to be called to a Chair in the Friedrich Wilhelms Universitaet zu Berlin. I sat beneath the voice of a man who perhaps more than any single individual embodied the German ideal and welded German youth into that great aggressive fist which intensely put Deutschland ~~e~~ Ueber Alles! I remember well Heinrich von Treitschke. With swift flying words that hid a painfully stuttering tongue, he hammered into the young men who sat motionless and breathless beneath his voice, the doctrine of the inborn superiority of the German race. He told us few foreigners to our faces, that we felt and acknowledged our inferiority. And out and around that university for a thousands of miles, millions of people shared in its ideal teaching, and did this inspite of caste of birth and poverty, josling wealth because they believed in an ultimate unity which

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(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

Bismarkian state socialism promised. They sang their national songs and joined in national festivals with enthusiasm that brought tears to the onlooker. And it made you realize the ideal of a single united nation, ~~It was~~ expressed in matchless poetry, daring science and undying music. Yet in each of these cases, the ultimate ideal of a national much less a universal university was a vision never wholly attained, and in the very nature of the case it could not be. Fisk had to be a Negro university because it was teaching Negroes, and they were a ~~class~~ caste with their own history and problems. Harvard was still a New England provincial institution and Berlin was sharply and determinedly German. Their common characteristic was that starting where they did and must, they aimed and moved toward universal culture.

Now with these things in mind, let us turn back to America and to the American Negro. It has been said many times that a Negro university ~~was~~ is nothing more and nothing less than a university. Quite recently one of the great leaders of education in the United States, Abraham Flexner, said something of that sort concerning Howard. As President of the Board of Trustees, he said he was seeking to build not a Negro university but a University. And by those words he brought again before our eyes the ideal of a great institution of learning which becomes a center of universal culture. With all good will toward them that say such words - It is the object of this paper to insist that there can be no college for Negroes which is not a Negro college and that while an American Negro university, just like a German or a Swiss university may rightly aspire to a universal culture unhampered by limitations of race and culture, yet ~~they~~ it must start on the earth where ~~they~~ we sit and not in the skies whither ~~they~~ we aspire. May I develop this thought.

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In the first place, we have got to remember that here in America, in the year 1933, we have a situation which cannot be ignored. ~~There~~

~~(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College)~~

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There was a time when it seemed as though we might best attack the Negro problem by ignoring its most unpleasant features. It was not and is not yet in good taste to speak generally about certain facts which characterize our situation in America. We are politically hamstrung. We have the greatest difficulty in getting suitable remunerative work. Our educaton is more and more not only being confined to our own schools but to a segregated public school system far below the average of the nation with one-third of our children continually cruelly out of school. And above all, and this we like least to mention, we suffer a social ostracism which is so deadening and discouraging that we are compelled either to lie about it or to turn our faces toward the red flag of revolution. It consists of the kind of studied and repeated and emphasized public insult of the sort which during all the long history of the world has led men to kill or be killed. And in the full face of any effort which any black men may make to escape this ostracism for himself, stands this flaming sword of racial doctrine which will distract his effort and energy if it does not lead him to spiritual suicide.

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We boast and have right to boast of our accomplishment between the days that I studied here and this 45th Anniversary of my graduation. It is a calm ~~appreciation~~ raised of fact to say that the history of modern civilization cannot surpass if it can parallel the advance of American Negroes in every essential line of culture in these years. And yet when we have said this we must have the common courage honestly to admit that every step we have made forward has been greeted by a two steps backward on the part of the American public in caste intolerance, mob law and racial hatred.

I need but remind you that when I graduated from Fisk there was no "Jim Crow" car in Tennessee and I saw ~~G. W.~~ Hunter in 1889 once ~~push a~~ wrench a brakeman aside at the Union Station and escort a crowd of Fisk students

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(Cont. ~~The Field and Functions of the American Negro College.~~)

into the first-class seats for white Southerners and Northerners. There was no legal disfranchisement and a black Fiskite sat in the Legislature; and while the Chancellor of Vanderbilt University had annually to be re-introduced to the President of Fisk, yet no white Southern group presumed to dictate the internal social life of this institution.

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Manifestly with all that can be said, pro and con, and in extenuation, and by way of excuse and hope, this is the situation and we know it. ~~and~~ there is no human way by which these facts can be ignored. We cannot do our daily work sing a song or write a book or carry on a university and act as though these things were not.

If this is true, then no matter how much we may dislike the statement, the American Negro problem is and must be the center of the Negro American university. It has got to be. You are teaching Negroes. There is no use pretending that you are teaching Chinese or that you are teaching white Americans or that you are teaching ~~South Africans~~. You are teaching American Negroes in 1933, and they are the outcasts of a caste system in the Republic of the United States of America and their life problem is primarily this problem of caste.

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citizens of the world

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Upon these foundations, therefore, your university must start and build. Nor is the thing so entirely unusual or unheard of as it sounds. A university in Spain is not simply a university. It is a Spanish university. It is a university located in Spain. It uses the Spanish language. It starts with Spanish history and makes conditions in Spain the starting point of its teaching. Its education is for Spaniards,—not for them as they may be or ought to be, but as they are with their present problems and disadvantages and opportunities.

In other words, the Spanish university is founded and grounded in Spain, just as surely as a French university is French. There are some people who have difficulty in apprehending this very clear

(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

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truth. They assume, for instance, that the French university is in a singular sense universal, and is based on a comprehension and inclusion of all mankind and of their problems. But it is not, and the assumption that it is, arises simply because so much of French culture has been built into universal civilization. A French university is founded in France; it uses the French language and assumes a knowledge of French history. The present problems of the French people are its major problems and it becomes universal only so far as other peoples of the world comprehend and are at one with France in its mighty and beautiful history.

Inthe same way, a Negro university in the United States of America begins with Negroes. It uses that variety of the English ~~language~~ idiom which they understand; and above all, it is founded or it should be founded on a knowledge of the history of their people in Africa and in the United States, and their present conditions. Without white-washing or translating wish into fact, it begins with that; and then it asks how shall these young men and women be trained to earn a living and live a life under the circumstances in which they find themselves or with such changing of those circumstances as time and work will permit.

Is this statement of the field of a Negro university a denial of aspiration or a change from older ideals? I do not think it is, although I admit in my own mind some change of thought and modification of method. ~~Usually~~ The system of learning which bases itself upon the actual condition of certain classes and groups of human beings, suppressed or compelled a minor promise of fatal menace. It proposes that the knowledge given and the methods pursued in such institutions of learning shall be for the definite object of perpetuating present conditions or of leaving their amelioration in the hands of and at the initiative of other forces and other folk. This was the great criticism that those of us who

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(Continue The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

fought for higher education of Negroes thirty years ago, brought against the industrial school.

The industrial school founded itself and rightly upon the actual situation of American Negroes and said: "What can be done to change this situation?" And its answer was: "A training in technique and method such as would incorporate the disadvantaged group into the industrial organization of the country, and in that organization the leaders of the Negro ~~industrial~~ had perfect faith. Since that day the industrial machine has cracked and groaned. Its technique has changed faster than any school could teach; the relations of capital and labor have increased in complication and it has become so clear that Negro poverty is not primarily caused by ignorance of technical knowledge, that the industrial school has almost surrendered its program.

37-7-114

In opposition to that, the proponents of college training in those earlier years said: "What black men need is the broader and more universal training so that they can apply the general principles of knowledge to the particular circumstances of their condition."

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Here again was indubitable truth but incomplete truth. The ~~cultural~~ technical problem lay in the method of teaching this broader and more universal truth and here just as in the ~~united~~ industrial program, we must start where we are and not where we wish to be.

37-7-115

As I said a few years ago at Howard University both these positions had something of truth and right. Because of the peculiar economic situation in our country the program of the industrial school came to grief first and has practically been given up. Starting even though we may with the actual condition of the Negro peasant and artisan, we cannot ameliorate his condition simply by learning ~~this~~ a trade which is like transient technique of a passing era. More vision and knowledge is needed than that. But on the other hand, while the Negro college of a generation

(25)

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(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

ago set down a defensible and true program of applying knowledge to and facts, it unfortunately could not completely carry it out, and it did not carry it out, because the one thing that the industrial philosophy gave to education, the Negro college did not take and that was that the university education of black men in the United States must be grounded in the condition and work of those black men.

On the other hand, it would be of course idiotic to say, as the former industrial philosophy almost said, that so far as most black men are concerned education must stop with this work. No, starting with present conditions and using the facts and the knowledge of the present situation of American Negroes, the Negro university expands toward the possession and the conquest of all knowledge. It seeks from a beginning of the history of the Negro in America and in Africa to interpret all history; from a beginning of social development among Negro slaves and freedmen in America and Negro tribes and kingdoms in Africa, to interpret and understand the social development of all mankind in all ages. It seeks to reach modern science of matter and life from the surroundings and habits and aptitudes of American Negroes and thus lead up to understanding of life and matter in the universe. And this is a different program than a similar function would be in a white university or in a Russian university or in an English university, because it stands from a different point, of one ground

(26)

37-7-117

It is a matter of beginnings and integrations which sweep instinctive knowledge and inheritance and current reactions into a universal world of science, sociology and art. In no other way can the American Negro College function. ~~in his wider human environment~~ It cannot begin with history & Negro Biology. It cannot start with Sociology & end with Negro Sociology

Why was it that the Renaissance of literature which began among Negroes ten years ago has never taken real and lasting root? It was because it was a transplanted and exotic thing. It was a literature written for the benefit of white people and at the behest of white readers, and

re[illegible], and starting out humanly from the white point of view. It never had a real Negro constituency and it did not grow out of the inmost heart and frank experience of Negroes; [illegible] on such an artificial basis no real [illegible] literature can grow.

On the other hand, if starting in a great Negro university you have knowledge, beginning with the particular, and going out to universal comprehension and unhampered expression, you are going to begin to realize for the American Negro the full life which is denied him now. And then after that comes a realization of the older object of our college—to bring this universal culture down and apply it to the individual life and individual conditions of living Negroes. The university must become not simply a center of knowledge but a center of applied knowledge + a guide of action. And this is all the more necessary now since we easily see that planned action and especially in economic life, is going to be the watchword of civilization.

811-7-13

37-7-119

If the college does not thus root itself in the group life and afterward apply its knowledge and culture to actual living, other social organs must replace the college in this function. A strong, intelligent family life may adjust the student to higher culture; and too a social class may receive the graduate and induct him into life. This has happened & is happening among a minority of knowledge

people. But it costs Society a fatal price.
It tends to hinder progress & hamper change
— it makes Education, propaganda for
things as they are. It leaves the mass
of those without family name & without
social standing — misfits and rebels
who despise their education [i.e. uneducated
in its meaning and application. The only
college which stands for the progress of all — mass
as well as aristocracy] functions in root and blossom [as
well as in the overshadowing and heaven-filling tree

37-7-120

No system of learning — no university can be universal before it is German — French — Negro.
Grounded in inexorable fact and condition,
in Poland, Italy, or elsewhere, it may seek the Universal
& haply it may find it — and finding
it bring it down to earth and us

37-7-121

37-7-122

We have imbibed from the surrounding white world a childish idea of Progress. Progress means bigger + better vessels always and forever. But there is no such rule of life. 9m 6000 years of human culture, the losses and retrogressions have been enormous. We have no assurance that 20th century civilization will survive. We do not know that American Negroes will survive. There are sinister signs about us, antecedent to + unconnected with the Great Depression.

The organized might of industry North & South is relegating the Negro & the edge of unrest and easy, him a labor reservoir on starvation wage. No decent professional class, no science, literature nor art comes on such a sub-soil. It is an insistent beseech-throated cry for rescue, guidance & organized advance that greets the black leader & day & the college that trains him has got to let him know at least as much about the great Black Miners strike in Alabama as about the Age of Pericles

37-7-123

37-7-137

By singular accident — almost by compelling fate, & drove by | as I came here yesterday | — the region where I taught a country school over 40 years ago. There is no Progress there. There is only space, loneliness & death | beside the same eternal hills. | There where first I heard the Sirens Songs are the graves of men & women and children who had the making of a fine intelligent upstanding Germany. There remains but the half starved farmer the casual laborer, the unpaid servant. Why | in a land rich with wealth, arms & colleges?

To the New Englander of wealth and family Harvard and Yale are halls & only halls of a broad training within the New England home begins and a Stile Sheet or Wall Street business ends. How fine & yet how fatal! Here lies root and reason for the [illegible] World War & Great Depression. To the American Negro / culture must adjust itself to a different family history & apply itself to a new system of Social caste & in this adjustment comes new opportunity / of making education and progress possible & not antagonistic

We are on the threshold of a new era. Let us not deceive ourselves with outworn ideals of wealth and servants and luxuries, reared on a foundation of ignorance, starvation and want. Instinctly, we have absorbed these ideals from our twisted white American environment. This new economic planning is not for us unless we do it. Unless the American Negro today, led by trained university men of broad vision, sits down to work out by economics and mathematics, by physics and chemistry, by history and sociology, exactly how and where he is to earn a living and how he is to establish a reasonable Life in the United States or elsewhere—unless this is done, the university has missed its field and function and the American Negro is doomed to be a suppressed and inferior caste in the United States for incalculable time.

37-7-124

Here, then, is a job for the American Negro university. It cannot

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(Cont. The Field and Function of the American Negro College.)

be successfully ignored or dodged without the growing menace of disaster. I lay the problem before you as one which you must not ignore.

To carry out this plan, two things and only two things are necessary,—teachers and students. Buildings and endowments may help, but they are not indispensable necessary. It is necessary first to have teachers who comprehend this program and know how to make it live among their students. This is calling for a good deal, because it asks that teachers teach that which they have learned in no American school and which they never will learn until we have a Negro university of the sort that I am visioning. No teacher, black or white, who comes to a university like Fisk, filled simply with general ideas of human culture or general knowledge of disembodied science, is going to make a university of this school. Because a university is made of human beings, learning of the things they do not know from things they do know in their own lives. And secondly, we must have students. They must be chosen for ability to learn. There is always the temptation to assume that the children of privileged classes, the rich, the noble, the white, are those who can best take education. One has but to express this to realize its utter futility. But perhaps the most dangerous thing among us is for us, without thought to imitate our the white world and assume that we can choose students at Fisk because of the amount of money which their parents have happened to get hold of. That basis of selection is going to give us an extraordinary aggregation of fools. We want, by the nicest methods possible, to seek out the talented and the gifted among our constituency, quite regardless of their wealth or position, and to fill this university and similar institutions with persons who have got brains enough to take fullest advantage of what the university offers. There is no other way. With teachers who know what they are teaching and whom they are

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(Cont. ~~The Field and Function of the American Negro College.~~)

teaching, and the life that surrounds both the knowledge and the knower, and with students who have the capacity and the will to absorb this knowledge, we can build the sort of Negro university which will emancipate not simply the black folk of the United States, but those white folk who in their effort to suppress Negroes have killed ~~democracy and art and religion.~~ their own culture —

37-7-127

~~Men~~ who in their desperate effort to replace equality with caste and to build inordinate wealth on a foundation of abject poverty have succeeded in killing democracy, art and religion.

Only a universal system of learning, rooted in the will and condition of the masses and blossoming from that manure up toward the stars is worth the name. Once builded it can only grow as it brings down sunlight and star shine and impregnates the mud.

The chief obstacle in this rich land endowed with every national resource and with the abilities of ~~one~~ a hundred different peoples, —

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the chief and only obstacle to the coming of that kingdom of economic equality which is the only logical end of work, is the determination of the white world to keep the black world poor and make themselves rich. ~~And~~ The disaster which this selfish and short-sighted policy has brought, lies at the bottom of this present depression, and too, its cure lies beside it. Your clear vision of a world without wealth, of capital without profit, of income based on work alone, is the path out not only for you but for all men.

37-7-128

37-7-129

Is not this a program of segregation, emphasis of race and particularism as against national unity and universal humanity? It is and it is not by choice but by force; you do not get humanity by wishing it nor do you become American citizens simply because you want to. A Negro university from its high ground of unfaltering facing of the Truth, from its unblinking stare at hard facts does not advocate segregation by race, it simply accepts the bald fact that we are segregated, apart, hammered into a separate unity by spiritual intolerance and legal sanction backed by mob law, and that this separation is growing in strength and fixation; that it is worse today than a half century ago and that no character, address, culture or desert is going to change it in our day or for centuries to come. Recognizing this brute fact, groups of cultured, trained and devoted men gathering in great institutions of learning proceed to ask: What

37-7-130

are we going to do about it? It is silly to ignore and gloss the truth; it is idiotic to proceed as though we were white or yellow, English or Russian. Here we stand. We are American Negroes. It is beside the point to ask whether we form a real race. Biologically we are mingled of all conceivable elements, but race is psychology, not biology; and psychologically we are a unified race with one history, one red memory and one revolt. It is not ours to argue whether we will be segregated or whether we ought to be a caste. We are segregated; we are a caste. This is our given and at present unalterable fact. Our problem is: How far and in what way can we consciously and scientifically guide our future so as to insure our physical survival, our spiritual freedom and our social growth? Either we do this or we die. There is no alternative. If America proposes the murder of this group, its moral descent into imbecility and crime and its utter loss of manhood, self-assertion and courage, the sooner we realize this the better. By that great line of McKay:

"If we must die, let it not be like hogs"

But the alternative of not dying like hogs is not that of dying or killing like snarling dogs. It is rather conquering this world by thought and brain and plan; by expression and organized cultural ideals. Therefore

37-7-131

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~~"If we must die, let it not be like hogs."~~

37-7-132

~~Neither~~ not let us beat our futile wings in impotent frenzy, but carefully plan and guide our segregated life, organize in industry and politics to protect it and expand it and above all to give it unhampered spiritual expression in art and literature. It is the council of fear and cowardice to say ~~it~~ this cannot be done. What must be can ~~should~~ be and it is only a question of Science and Sacrifice to bring the great consumation. What that will be, none knows. It may be a great physical segregation of the world along the Color Line; it may be an economic rebirth which ensures spiritual and group integrity amid physical diversity. It may be utter annihilation of class and race and color barriers in one ultimate mankind, differentiated by talent, susceptibility and gift—but any of these ends are matters of long centuries and not years. We live in years, swift flying, transient years;. We hold the possible future in our hands but not by wish and will, only by thought, plan, knowledge and organization. If the college can pour into the coming age an American Negro who knows himself and his plight and how to protect himself and fight race prejudice, then the world of our dream will come and not otherwise.

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37-7-133

The golden days are gone. Why do we wait
So long upon the marble steps, blood
Falling from our open wounds? and why
Do our black faces search the empty sky?
Is there something we have forgotten? some precious thing
We have lost, wandering in strange lands?

O still green water in a stagnant pool!
Love abandoned you and me alike.
There was a day you held a rich full moon
Upon your heart and listened to the words
Of men now dead and saw the angels fly.

37-7-138

What we have lost is the Courage of Independent Self assertion. We have had as our goal — American full citizenship, nationally recognized. This has failed — flatly & decisively failed. Very well. We're not dead yet We are not going to die. If we use our brains and strength there is no way to stop our ultimate triumph as creators of Modern Culture — if we use our strength & brains

And what may stop us — but our dumb Caution — our fear — our very sanity. Let us then be insane with courage.

37-7-139

Like a mad man's dream, there came
One fair, swift flash to me
Of distances, of sheets aflame,
With joy and agony
And further yet, a moon-lit sea
Foaming across its bars
And further yet, the infinity
Of wheeling suns and stars

Alaska — balance sent
Miss Burton for cataloging

ALS, DS

37-7-134

[REVISION OF PAGES 40 ff OF THE NEGRO COLLEGE]

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Tallahassee
1934

THE NEGRO COLLEGE AND THE NEGRO VOTER

At Howard University, sometime ago, I tried to speak of the general relation between Education and Work, especially with regard to the American Negro. At Fisk University, last commencement, I spoke of the Scope and Function of the Negro university. My address, today, is the third in this series, and I am seeking to begin a survey of the relation of the Negro college to the community.

I am speaking, therefore, on "The Negro College and the Negro Voter".

First, a word as to our current political thought. I note that more and more, not only in America, but in Europe, we are assuming a certain fatalistic attitude toward the future, and openly saying that, for salvation, modern governments must embrace either Fascismo or Communism. In this choice, we are apparently not thinking so much of the ultimate objects of these system of government, but rather of the method by which any object of government must be attained. And we are asserting, in effect, that either to a dictator or the rule of the mob, the world must look for guidance.

37-8-2

It seems to me that we are forgetting here the basic object which any change of government must have. Today, that basic object has got to be greater economic justice for mankind, a more reasoned plan of production and distribution of income. The attainment of such an object is so difficult, and meets and will meet such organized and determined opposition, that we assume that only extraordinary methods of government will bring it about.

I am not disputing the truth of this assumption, but I am saying that if this change is brought about, and whether it's brought about by a single despot or the dictatorship of the proletariat, back of it, ultimately, must stand the last court of ultimate appeal; the will of the people. From this ultimate authority, we can never escape. It is true that it may be difficult, on account of ignorance or force, to know this will, or to have it intelligently expressed. But, nevertheless, so far as it can gain free expression, it must be the ultimate

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

source of authority; and this is the inescapable and eternal argument for democracy.

We have gone through many arguments and phases of argument as to the possibility of obtaining effective expression of public opinion. The New England town meeting put great stress on direct experience and personal knowledge, on learning by doing. I have seen the pure democracy of a New England village function, and obtain an expression of the public will, which usually, and in the long run, was forceful and effective. It was not free from the domination of property, and it was backed by a public school system with compulsory attendance. For a long time, we stressed popular education for the whole country, saying that whatever shortcomings democracy might have, and how difficult the public will found self expression, nevertheless, universal education would, in the long run, correct that.

37-8-3

Lately, we have either changed our minds, or education does not appeal to us as really efficacious. We do not place today the dependence upon universal education which we used to, and we do not do this chiefly because the experiment of the universal training of the people in intelligence has not been as sincerely or widely tried in this land as we used to plan. The thing that astonishes us today is the crass stupidity of the mass of people, even in culture lands.

Recognizing this, we have in our day begun some experiments in the education of adults, realizing that the few years which lie between teaching children to read, write and count; and sending them into active life, is not enough to give them a sufficient acquaintance with the world; and that their education must go on through life if they are to be intelligent citizens, who can comprehend the great body of knowledge which the world is inaugurating.

I saw, recently, in Des Moines, Iowa, what is probably the finest experiment in adult education that this country knows; where one-third of the population of a city had been reached by actual and intelligent tutelage. But this is hardly a drop in the bucket. It is but one experiment, with one group of a 100,000 out of 120,000,000 of people.

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

Back of all this, and more or less confidently, we have been depending upon the colleges to guide public opinion by injecting in to our citizenship, continual doses of liberally educated men. The effect of this has been felt, but here again not as widely as we had hoped. Because the broad culture program of the colleges has been narrowed by the demandsof vocational training, particularly in its professional branches; and because the college has been so dominated by property interests and class ideals, that its objects have often become the building of an aristocracy of intelligence or wealth, whose aims and ideals are not in accord with and have not the best interests of the great masses of men.

37-8-4

All this, then; democracy by experience, universal public school education, adult education and college training, has left a wide gap, which as nations, like America, have grown in responsibilities and intricacies of their social problems, have had recourse to what we have grown to call "propaganda".

We mean by propaganda, an artificial stirring up of public opinion, in rapid tempo, for the accomplishment of certain specific ends, for bringing sudden and overwhelming decisions. The great example of this, the use of it which still leaves us cold with astonishment, was the propaganda which put the United States into the World War, just at the time when with wide enthusiasm, we had elected a man President, because he had "kept us out of war."!

The reason that a thing like this disturbs us, is because we recognize that whoever is, at any particular time, master of the instruments of propaganda, may be master of the nation, and this, of course, may be either for good or for evil. It has in our day raised to power simultaneously Stalin and Mussilini; Hitler and Franklin Roosevelt; MacDonald and Dumergue.

The instruments of propaganda, especially in a great country, are today tremendous and costly, and involve a control of capital and power which is impossiblefor small groups, for new thinkers, for essential minorities. The great newspapers, the radio, the moving picture, the telegraph and cable system, all make it practically impossible that the unknown prophet with a new thought and a great

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

idea can obtain hearing; nor can the ordinary minority become a majority unless the nation practically commits suicide.

Turning, now, more specifically to the United States. This is a country, more than any in the world, that based its very existence on democracy; on the theory that the governed must have voice in their own government. I think we have almost forgotten how radical and even dangerous an experiment that was, and how little faith even leading Americans had in the possibility of its accomplishment. Nor did we fail to say, even in earlier times, that mere political democracy was not enough. We held, what I have called, the great American Assumption; namely, that every American who was willing to work, and had the sacrifice to save, could achieve a sufficient income to satisfy his legitimate wants and possible ambitions. This American Assumption was curiously justified by the facts in the case of thousands, and even millions of native-born Americans and of immigrants, and its truth made the guardian dictatorship of wealth seem natural and justifiable. But it was crassly contradicted by the plight of the black slave; and perhaps we have not stressed enough the cold logic that was back of abolition, which possibly in the long run had more weight than either sentiment or politics.

Certainly, we do not realize just what, in economic phrase, the emancipation and enfranchisement of the Negro meant. It has often been called a revolution, but an unsuccessful revolution; and the very fact that it was called unsuccessful, means that people are speaking mainly of its political and sentimental aspects, and not of its economic truth.

What we did in nine years, from 1867-1876, was to seek to put in power in the South, a dictatorship of labor, and mainly of black labor, and to enable that labor, with a backing of military force, to start an economic revolution in the South, with regard to land, with regard to education, with regard to civil and social uplift. It was an extraordinary undertaking; and its racial aspects were only important as they affected the economic struggle, and enabled this struggle to be obscured behind theories of biology.

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

The result of this attempt was a large success in public education; some little success in the distribution of land, and less success in social uplift. It ended in a counter-attack of property, which overthrew the dictatorship of labor, and made dominate in the South after the war, as before the war, the interests of Property. Only, because of war, the holders of property began to change from the planters to former poor whites; and property gained new objectives and new methods through alliance with Northern capitalism.

37-8-6

All this, as I have said, was obscured by a frantic racial propaganda, so that the poor whites saw social and economic salvation in cutting themselves off from the labor dictatorship, helping to destroy their own voting power, and allying themselves with the new capitalism.

It was just at this point, and in the year 1895, there came to distinct expression of a new position in the relation of the American Negro to the American government. It was voiced by Booker T. Washington at Atlanta, but it had been preparing for nearly twenty years; and it was in effect, that American Negroes should give up all attempts to gain their desires through voting; while on the other hand, Northern and Southern capital should guarantee them employment, according to their ability and training, in the new industrial organization. It was a proposal which demanded deep and conscientious examination. Here was a mass of folk, but a generation removed from slavery, with little technical skill, without social organization, and bowed under widespread ignorance. Yet, they lived in a country whose unexampled industrial advance was foreshadowed by a post-war development which has been the astonishment of the world.

In this new organization, Negroes were promised a secure economic foothold, on condition that they should not attempt to use their political power in order to govern the land or any part of it. With this proposal went a less explicit but just as important treaty with white labor, in which the field of labor, particularly in the South, was divided in white and colored areas; there were wide fields of over-lapping, and competition; nevertheless, in general, the Negro was to be the

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

common and semi-skilled laborer, and the white man, the skilled laborer, and white-collar worker. Competition between races in the field of skilled labor would grow, but the advantage would go, theoretically, to the better skilled man, and practically, to the man who could work for lower wages.

This situation and this general theory, with increased protests on the part of Negroes, continued up into the time of the world war, when unusual demand for labor, and unusual demand for soldiers, opened the way for a great influx of black labor into the North and a new alignment. There ensued the Great Depression, when the bargain of 1895 was broken, and had to be broken. Not only could there be no guarantee of employment for Negroes, but none for white men. Not only could there be no division of work into white men's and colored men's jobs, but all along the line there began a life and death struggle for any job at any wage.

37-8-7

Through all this change and turmoil, what has been the attitude of the Negro college? Certainly, it has assumed no leadership. In the earlier years, from 1895 down through the first decade of the 20th Century, the attitude was "Hands off!" The Negro colleges, officially, and in their courses of study, simply did not touch the political problem. They taught, in effect, so far as they taught anything on the subject, that Reconstruction had been a failure; and that politics was not a career for educated Negroes. A generation of educated colored men grew up, therefore, who not only knew nothing practically about government and voting, but who taught tens of thousands of their pupils that no knowledge and participation in politics was necessary for success.

Since that time, and in our own day, what is the Negro college doing to guide the Negro voter, and what should it do?

For the purposes of this paper, I have sent out a very short questionnaire to twenty of the Negro colleges. Wilberforce and Hampton, after a repeated request, have declined to answer. Of the other eighteen colleges, not a single one had a course entirely devoted to Negro citizenship and enfranchisement.

Most of the colleges touched the matter, more or less incidentally.

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, says: "The subject is fully treated in the course on race relations." It could not be fully treated in a course on race relations, unless the course touched on very little else.

Fisk University has a one-term course on the Negro in America, and another course on government. These give incidental treatment.

Morgan College has a course in Negro History every alternate year, "including special aspects of the franchise." It also has a course on American Government.

37-8-8

Talladega treats the matter incidentally in two history courses, and one course in Social Science.

West Virginia State, in three courses, places "much emphasis on the rights and duties of Negroes in politics."

Knoxville College treats the matter incidentally in two history courses, and one course in American Government.

Shaw University gives incidental treatment in the courses in American Government and American History.

Howard University, in courses on Political Science, Government and Political Parties, seeks "to relate the peculiar problems effecting the Negro to the broad problemsof government."

Livingston College has courses on Political Science, Social Science, and American Race Problems, which treat the ballot incidentally.

Virginia State College has an introductory course in American Gowernment, which places "considerable emphasis on Negro citizenship and voting."

Johnson C. Smith University, in el ven courses in Government, History, Psychology and Literature, treats the Negro vote incidentally.

Straight College has three courses in History and Government, with incidental treatment.

Virginia Union University has three courses in Political Science and Sociology and Negro History, with incidental treatment.

Wiley College has incidental treatment in several courses, although her pro-

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

fessor on Political Science is on study leave for the year.

Spelman College has incidental treatment in the courses in government and Negro History.

Tuskegee, in the course on American Government and Politics, lays "a great deal of stress upon citizenship and voting, and the necessity of the Negroes exercising the franchise." There is incidental treatment in other courses, and in the elementary school, a model village with a charter, and elected officials designed for training in citizenship.

In Bishop College, there is incidental treatment in two courses.

Morehouse College puts specific stress on citizenship and voting in a course in Negro History. Incidental treatment comes in three other courses.

37-8-9

In general, we may say, that in the Negro colleges of the United States, not a single college has a specific course on Negro citizenship and voting, including, as such a course should, the history of the Negro citizen and the franchise in early colonial days; the treatment of the matter of citizenship and civil rights by the state and Federal Courts; the history of the Reconstruction Acts of 1867, and the adoption of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments; the history of the Negro's participation in government during Reconstruction times; the theory and practice of disfranchisement; the present requirements for voting, and the extent and duty of voting.

Manifestly, here is material enough for a year's regular course in any college. To treat it in a single semester, would be a large accomplishment; and to try to treat it with anything like clarity and fullness, as the incidental work of a course in Negro History or in American Government, would be simply impossible.

The reason for this attitude, is, naturally, clear. It is a hang-over from the past. It is the remains of the idea that politics is disgraceful business, at any rate, for Negroes; and that idea has been industriously spread by those who do not believe in democracy in America for either white people or colored.

And then, of course, there has come the tremendous propaganda since 1895,

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

which has made many educated Negroes ashamed of even wanting to vote. The time has come when this must all be changed. If the government of America, and the governments of the world, are to be reconstructed after the Depression on a new basis, there is only one guarantee that the new government is going to envisage the rights and needs of all classes; and that guarantee is the insuring that all classes have the opportunity intelligently to express themselves. With the present state of the public schools in America, not to mention the Negro public schools, such chance for intelligent expression on the part of the mass, is very small. We are, therefore, thrown back upon learning government by actually participating in it, upon adult education, and upon the colleges.

37-8-10

The insistent duty before the Negro college is to see to it that no man is graduated who does not have a clear idea of the fundamental doctrine of democratic government. In addition to this, he should know how this government is carried on; and not simply how the national government is carriedon, or what the political theory is of the state and local governments. He should know the actual condition of state, county, city and township government in the Southern states, and particularly in the state where the college is situated. No such knowledge is today available in the average Southern college, white or black. The plight of local government, and the ignorance about it, is astonishing. It can never be reformed or be made reasonably decent, until there is a concerted attempt to know its actual condition.

And finally, college-bred men, who know the facts concerning Negro citizenship, and the right to vote, must be put in charge, and put themselves in charge of that propaganda which is directing the part that Negroes take in American government. Nothing is more important than this. That intelligent leadership can not be surrendered to enthusiastic young Communists, who do not know and cannot know, the history and plight of the American Negro. They may be, and they often are, honest, enthusiastic, and well-meaning people. But they have got to listen to the wisdom and experience of American Negroes before they can attack the Negro's problem.

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

Out problem is not the classic set-up of the European laboring class; it is not analogous to the Jewish problem in Russia; it has no remote resemblance to labor problemsin France, and it differs by a world from Asia and Africa.

On the other hand, those trained Negroes who propose to solve this problem, cannot settle back into reaction under leadship dominated by capitalistic ideals. They have got to get it through their heads that the present organization of industry is not only going to be changed,—that it is already changing; that there is no automatic way by which the Negro is going to find and take a part in this change; that this change is not a matter outside of government—that it is in the very core of the new governmental organization; that economic and social emancipation is bound up with government, and government depends upon the will of the people.

37-8-11

There is no denial of that ultimate authority, when the people will that their desires be executed by a single man. There is no denial of democracy, when they delegate their power to a group or even a class. But there is denial of democracy when these elected representatives of a people do what that people do not want done.

It has been our mistake in the theory of government in the past, to suppose with the thinkers of a simpler age, that anybody can do anything; that any chance fool can be elected Senator, Governor or President, and accomplish well the work of those most difficult offices. More and more in the future, we are going to choose the trained executive, not for his hand-shaking power, and friendly smile, but for his ability and knowledge; and in this new method and object of government, if the Negro, through the college, is not trained to take an important and decisive part, then the Negro college is missing one of its greatest opportunities, and one of its most important functions.

1934

THE NEGRO COLLEGE AND THE NEGRO VOTER

At Howard University, sometime ago, I tried to speak of the general relation between Education and Work, especially with regard to the American Negro. At Fisk University, last commencement, I spoke of the Scope and Function of the Negro university. My address, today, is the third in this series, and I am seeking to begin a survey of the relation of the Negro college to the community.

I am speaking, therefore, on "The Negro College and the Negro Voter", which is a more specific phrasing of the general subject --"America and the Negro citizen".

First, a word as to our current political thought. I note that more and more, not only in America, but in Europe, we are assuming a certain fatalistic attitude toward the future; and openly saying that, for salvation, modern governments must embrace either Fascismo or Cummunism. In this choice, we are apparently not thinking so much of the ultimate objects of these systems of government, but rather of the method by which any object of government must be attained. And we are asserting, in effect, that either to a dictator or the rule of the mob, the world must look for guidance.

47-8-53

It seems to me that we are forgetting here that the kernel of the matter here is the basic object of change and not the method. Today, that basic object has got to be, greater economic justice for mankind; a more reasoned plan of production and distribution of income. The attainment of such an object is so difficult, and meets and will meet such organized traditional and determined opposition, that we therefore assume that only extraordinary methods of government will bring it about.

I am not disputing the truth of this assumption, but I am saying that if this change is brought about, and whether its' brought about by a single despot or the dictatorship of the proletariat, back of it, ultimately, must stand

the last court of ultimate appeal; the will of the people. From this ultimate authority, we can never escape. It is true that it may be difficult, on account of ignorance or force, to know this will; or to have it intelligently expressed. But, nevertheless, its expression, must be the ultimate source of authority; and this is the inescapable and eternal argument for democracy.

We have gone through many arguments and phases of argument as to the possibility of obtaining effective expression of intelligent public opinion. The New England town meeting put great stress on direct experience and personal knowledge, on learning by doing. I have seen the pure democracy of a New England village function, and obtain an expression of the public will, which usually, and in the long run, was forceful and effective. It was not free from the domination of property, but it was backed by a public school system with compulsory attendance. For a long time, we saw here ultimate solution and we stressed popular education for the whole country, saying that whatever shortcomings democracy might have, and however difficult the public will found expression, nevertheless, universal education would, in the long run, correct all that.

47-8-25

Lately, we have either changed our minds, or education does not appeal to us as really efficacious. We do not place today the dependence upon universal education which we used to, and we do not do this cheifly because the experiment of the universal training of the people in intelligence has not been as sincerely or widely tried in this land as we used to plan. The thing that astonishes us today is the crass stupidity of the mass of people, even in culture lands.

Recognizing this, we have in our day begun some experiments in the education of adults, realizing that the few years which lie between children to read, write and count; and sending them into active life, are not enough to give them a sufficient acquaintance with the world; and that their education must

go on through life, if they are to be intelligent citizens, who can comprehend the great body of knowledge which the world is accumulating.

I saw, recently, in Des Moines, Iowa, what is probably the finest experiment in adult education that this country knows; where one-third of the population of a city had been reached by actual and intelligent tutelage. But this is hardly a drop in the bucket. It is but one experiment, with one group of a 100,000 out of 120,000,000 of people.

Back of all this, and more or less confidently, we have been depending upon the colleges to guide public opinion by injecting into our citizenship, continual doses of liberally educated men. The effect of this has been felt, but here again not as widely as we had hoped, because the broad culture program of the colleges has been narrowed by the demands of vocational training, particularly in its professional branches; and because the college has been so dominated by property interests and class ideals, that its objects have often become the building of an aristocracy of intelligence or wealth, whose aims and ideals are not in accord with and have not the best interests of the great masses of men.

47-8-67

All this, then; democracy by experience, universal public school education, adult education and college training, have left a wide gap, which, as nations, have grown in responsibilities and intricacies of their social problems, have induced us to have recourse to what we call "propaganda".

We mean by propaganda, an artificial stirring up of public opinion, in rapid tempo, for the accomplishment of certain specific ends, for bringing sudden and overwhelming decisions. The great example of this, the use of it which still leaves us cold with astonishment, was the propaganda which put the United States into the World War, just at the time when, with wide enthusiasm, we had elected a man President, specifically because he had "kept us out of war!"

An experience like this disturbs us, becuase we recognize that whoever is, at any particular time, master of the instruments of propaganda, may be master of the nation, and this, of course, may be either for good or for evil. It has in our day raised to power simultaneously Stalin and Mussolini; Hitler, Franklin Roosevelt; and MacDonald.

The instruments of propaganda, especially in a great country, are today tremendous and costly, and involve a control of capital and power which is impossible for small groups, for new thinkers, for essential minorities. The great newspapers, the special correspondents, the radio, the moving picture, the telegraph and cable system, all make it practically impossible that the unknown prophet with a new thought and a great idea can obtain hearing; nor can the ordinary minority become a majority unless the nation practically commits suicide.

Turning, now, more specifically to the United States. This is a country, more than any in the world, that based its very existence on democracy; on the theory that the governed must have voice in their own governemtn. I think we have almost forgotten how radical and even dangerous an experiment this was in the 18th century and how little faith even certain leading Americans had in the possibility of its accomplishment.

47-8-58

Yet we did not fail to say, even in earlier times, that mere political democracy choosing officials and settling broad objectives now and then was enough. We held, beyond this, what I have called, the great American Assumption; namely, that every American who was willing to work, and had the sacrifice to save, could achieve a sufficient income to satisfy his legitimate wants and possible ambitions. Thus anarchical but anatomatically beneficient economic forces were to complete and fulfill democracy. This American Assumption was curiously justified by the facts in the case of thousands, and even millions of native-born Americans and of immigrants before the Civil War,

and its truth made the evident guardian dictatorship of wealth in politics seem natural and justifiable since all free Americans might become rich. But it was crassly contradicted by the plight of the black slave; and perhaps we have not stressed enough hitherto the cold logic that was back of abolition, which possibly in the long run had more weight than either sentiment or politics.

The Negro must be free in order to justify and prove American Democracy. If with freedom and the vote, he nevertheless sank to the bottom, this was at once proof of the perfection of our political system and demonstrative of the inferiority of the Negro.

The suppressed minor premise here was that the American Assumption of possible wealth for thrifty labor would apply automatically to the freed slave and also that it applied to the white worker after the Civil War.

Emancipation and enfranchisement of the Negro have frequently been called a political revolution which was unsuccessful; but in the same breath it has been viewed as a successful economic revolution, just as though these two realms were mutually exclusive and separate. They were in truth aspects of the same vast social change and no economic triumph could result from complete political failure, any more than the new methods of government could succeed without new methods of work and dividion of income.

47-8-59

Certainly, we do not realize just what, in economic phrase, the emancipation and enfranchisement of the Negro meant. It has often been called a revolution, but an unsuccessful revolution; and the very fact that it was called unsuccessful, means that people are speaking mainly of its political and sentimental aspects, and not of its economic truth.

What we did in nine years, from 1867-1876, was to put in power in the South, a dictatorship of labor, and mainly of black labor, and to enable that labor, with a backing of military force, to start an economic revolution in

the South, with regard to land, with regard to education, with regard to civil and social uplift. It was an extraordinary undertaking; and its racial aspects were only important as they affected the economic struggle, and enabled this struggle to be obscured and widely misapprehended behind theories of biology.

The result of this attempt was a large success in public education; some success in the distribution of land, and less success in social uplift. It ended in a counter-attack of property, which overthrew the dictatorship of labor, and made dominant in the South after the war, as before the war, the interests of Property without the traditional American corrective of political democracy and free opportunity for thrift. Also, because of war, the holders of property began to change from the planters to former poor whites; and property gained new objectives and new methods through alliance with triumphant Northern capitalism.

All this, as I have said, was obscured by a frantic racial propaganda, so that the porr whites saw social and economic salvation in cutting themselves off from the interests of the labor class and helping to destroy its voting power; and by allying themselves with the new capitalism as its serfs and voting tools.

47-8-20

This new situation had to be brought into apparent and legal agreement with American democracy and American economic life. This transformation took the form of disfranchisement and not simply, as Americans assume and colleges teach, the disfranchisement of Negroes but of the laboring class in America and the establishment in the nation of a dictatorship of corporate wealth, so vast and complete that its power from 1880 to our day has never been successfully challenged. The revolution now on us is an attempt to see if this rule of property can be dislodged in America.

The methods of establishing the Dictatorship of Wealth in the north has

been studied under the subjects of trusts and monopolies, consolidation of corporations, the growing role of banking and finance, international trade and international capital; and, coincident with this, the growth of poverty, the labor movement, unions and strikes, charity and relief.

But the part of this same movement as it affects the Negro has been artificially isolated and treated as a peculiar "race problem." In truth, the history of the Negro from the time he was driven from the polls by force in 1876, and the speech of Booker T. Washington in Atlanta twenty years later, was the careful building of a situation by which black labor in America was compelled by law, custom and prejudice, to choose between any attempt to exercize political rights, and a chance to earn a living by either under-bidding white labor or at least keeping American labor from violently raising its wage.

White labor cut off its own nose by refusing to let black labor raise its wage to normal standards through unionzation. While black labor consented first through force and brank and then by voluntary treaty, to giving up its own political power and placing it in the hands of Southern capital and land monopoly. But Southern capital was dominated by Northern capital and thus the rule of wealth in the nation was made unassailable by the 131 electoral votes of the Solid South.

4/7-8-01

The first open acceptance of this new alignment came in the year 1895, in a distinct expression of a new position in the relation of the American Negro to the American government. It was voiced by Booker T. Washington at Atlanta, but it had been preparing for twenty years; and it was in effect, that American Negroes should give up all attempts to gain their desires through voting; while on the other hand, Capital should guarantee them employment, according to their ability and training, in the new industrial organization. It was a proposal which demanded deep and conscientious examination. Here was a mass of folk, but a generation removed from slavery, with little technical skill, without social organization, and bowed under widespread ignorance.

Yet, they lived in a country whose unexampled industrial advance was foreshadowed by a post-war development which has been the astonishment of the world.

In this new organization, Negroes were promised a secure economic foothold, on condition that they should not attempt to use their political power in order to govern the land or any part of it. With this proposal went a less explicit but just as important treaty with white labor, in which the field of labor, particularly in the South, was divided in white and colored areas; there were wide fields of over-lapping, and competition; nevertheless, in general, the Negro was to be the common and semi-skilled laborer, and the white man, the skilled laborer, and white-collar worker. Competitition between races in the field of skilled labor would grow, but the advantage would go, theoretically, to the better skilled man, and practically, to the man who could work for lower wages.

This situation and this general theory, with increased protests on the part of Negroes, continued up into the time of the world war, when unusual demand for labor, and unusual demand for soldiers, opened the way for a great influx of black labor into the North, and a sudden challenge to the compromise of 1895. In the North the Negro began to vote, but with no clear objectives or obvious reasons, being just as muddled and unguided as white labor. Organised white skilled labor stuck to capital and voted with it and with it exploited common labor white and black, until radical revolt began the present undermining and re-allignment of the labor movements.

While in the South there continued the suppression of the Negro vote, the nullification of the white labor vote and the solid bloc of 131 electoral votes at the disposal of capital came now the Great Depression, when the bargain of 1895 was broken, and had to be broken. Not only could there be no guarantee of employment for Negroes, but none for white men. Not only could there be no division of work into white men's and colored men's jobs, but all

47-8-92

along the line there began a life and death struggle for any job at any wage.

Through all this change and turmoil, what has been the attitude of the Negro college? Certainly, it has assumed no leadership. In the earlier years, from 1895, down through the first decade of the 20th Century, the attitude was "Hands off!" The Negro colleges, officially, and in their courses of study, simply did not touch the political problem nor the essential labor problem. They taught, in effect, so far as they taught anything on the subject, that Reconstruction had been a complete failure; that politics was not a career for educated and honest Negroes. A generation of cultured colored leaders grew up, therefore, who not only knew nothing practically about government and voting, but who taught tens of thousands of their pupils that no knowledge and participation in politics was necessary for success or affected economic development.

Since that time, and in our own day, what is the Negro college doing to guide the Negro voter, and what should it do?

47-8-63

For the purposes of this paper, I have sent out a very short questionnaire to twenty of the Negro colleges. Wilberforece and Hampton, after repeated request, have declined to answer. Of the other eighteen colleges, not a single one had a course of an entire semester devoted to Negro citizenship and enfranchisement.

Most of the colleges touched the matter, more or less incidentally.

Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, says: "The subject is fully treated in the course on race relations." It could not be fully treated in a course on race relations, unless the course touched on very little else.

Fisk University has a one-term course on the Negro in America, and another course on government. These give incidental treatment.

Morgan College has a course in Negro History every alternate year, "including special aspects of the franchise." It also has a course on American Government.

Talladega treats the matter incidentally in two history courses, and one course in Social Science.

West Virginia State, in three courses, places "much emphasis on the rights and duties of Negroes in politics."

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Straight College has three courses in History and Government, with incidental treatment.

Virginia Union University has three courses in Political Science and Sociology and Negro History, with incidental treatment.

Wiley College has incidental treatmant in several courses, although her professor of Political Science is on study-leave for the year.

At Spelman, Morehouse, Morris Brown and Clark, in the course of Negro History, one week is devoted to a discussion of the political disabilities from which Negroes suffer, particularly in the South, and what remedies may be adopted in order to gain for them fuller participation in voting.

47-80-64

Tuskegee, in the course on American Government and Politics, lays "a great deal of stress upon citizenship and voting, and the necessity of the Negroes exercising the franchise." There is incidental treatmant in other courses, and in the elementary school, a model village with a charter, and elected officials designed for training in citizenship.

In Bishop College, there is incidental treatment in two courses.

In general, we may say, that in the Negro colleges of the United States, not a single college has a specific course on Negro citizenship and voting.

To prove this, let us consider what a course of this sort should cover; and outlining this course I am giving a specific instance of what I mean by Negro education as contrasted with white American education; of the function of a Negro University as differing from that of an American university.

A course on the "Negro citizen and Voter" should begin with the legal status of the Negro in America in the 15th century, stressing the fact that all Negroes were not slaves and all slaves were not Negroes and that black freemen were recognized as freement in every country of the New World and every colony among the 13 which formed the United States.

Secondly, in colonial history during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries the civil voting rights of Negroes in each colony and in the British West Indies and in English law should be traced, together with a glance at French and Spanish and Dutch law as it affected the United States. The exercise of the right to vote in all the colonies should be stressed, the ownership of property and the conditions of black labor.

Thirdly, the abolition and free soil controversy should be traced through the activities of black citizens and voters and the white labor vote.

Fourthly, voting and citizenship of Negroes during the civil war should be followed.

Fifthly, above all the current distortions and falsifications of known

47-8-65

facts during Reconstruction deserve a whole semester of work. In every single slave state there should be a study of the conventions and constitutions and the new legislation, 1865-1870; the Negro voters and leaders, the Social and economic changes; in the Border states this matter is equally interesting and forgotten; in the North the Negro vote and officials, the state and national conventions, the great Negro labor movement, the civil rights and suffrage laws, the history of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments - all should occupy a considerable space of time.

Lastly, from 1876 to 1914 should come a study of disfranchisement by states and of legal and practical efforts to maintain the right of Negroes to vote and of the duty to vote not simply as Negroes but as saviors of Democracy in America.

Manifestly here is no"incidental" work. No single week nor single semester of study will cover it. Of course much here outlined is treated more or less fully in courses in History, Government, Economics and Sociology. But enough of this matter ought to be segregated by every Negro college in a course of two semesters concentrating and emphasizing Negro citizenship and the right to vote as a fundamental problem of democracy.

Here is material enough for a year's regular course in any college. To treat it in a single semester, would be a large accomplishment; and to try to treat it with anything like clarity and fullness, as the incidently work of a course in Negro History or in American Government, would be simply impossible.

The past reasons for this attitude of neglect are, naturally, clear. It is a hang-over from the past. It is the remains of the idea that politics is disgraceful business, at any rate, for Negroes; and that idea has been industriously spread by those who do not believe in democracy in America for either white people or colored.

And then, of course, there has come the tremendous propaganda since 1895, which has made many educated Negroes ashamed of even wanting to vote. The time

47-8-46

has come when this must all be changed. If the government of America, and the governments of the world, are to be reconstructed after the Depression on a new basis, there is only one guarantee that the new government is going to envisage the rights and needs of all classes; and that guarantee is the insuring that all classes have the opportunity intelligently to express themselves and evaluate their needs. With the present state of public schools in America, not to mention the Negro public schools, such chance for intelligent knowledge and expression on the part of the mass, is very small. We are, therefore, thrown back upon learning government by actually participating in it, upon adult education, and upon the colleges.

The insistent duty before the Negro college is to see to it that no man is graduated who does not have a clear idea of the fundamental doctrine of democratic government. In addition to this, he should know howthis government is carried on; and not simply how the national government is carried on, or what the political theory is of the state and local governments. He should know the actual condition of state, county, city and township government in the Southern states, and particularly in the state where the college is situated. No such knowledge is today available in the average Southern college, white or black. The plight of local government, and the ignorance about it, is astonishing. It can never be reformed or be made reasonably decent, until there is a concerted attempt to know its actual condition.

4-7-8-47

And finally, college-bred men, who know the facts concerning Negro citizenship, and the right to vote, must be put in charge, and put themselves in charge of that propaganda which is directing the part that Negroes take in American government. Nothing is more important than this. That intelligent leadership can not be surrendered to enthusiastic young Communists, who do not know and cannot know, the history and plight of the American Negro. They may,be, and they often are, honest, enthusiastic, and well-meaning people. But they have

got to listen to the wisdom and experience of American Negroes before they can attack the Negro's problem.

Our problem is not the classic set-up of the European laboring class; it is not analagous to the Jewish problem in Russia and the Balkans; it has only remote resemblances to labor problems in France and England, and it differs by a world from Asia and Africa.

On the other hand, those trained Negroes who propose to solve this problem, cannot settle back into reaction under leadership dominated by capitalistic ideals. They have got to get it through their heads that the present organization of industry is not only going to be changed, - that it is already changing; that there is no automatic way by which the Negro is going to find and take a part in this change; that this change is not a matter outside of government - that it is in the very essence and care of the new governmental organization; that economic and social emancipation is bound up with government, and that government ultimately depends upon the will of the people.

There is no denial of that ultimate authority, when the people will, that their desires shall be executed by a single man. There is no denial of democracy when they delegate their power to a group or even a class. But there is a denial of democracy when elected representatives of a people do what that people do not want done and do not need.

It has been our mistake in the theory of government in the past, to suppose with the thinkers of a simpler age, that anybody can do anything; that any chance fool can be elected Senator, Governor or President, and accomplish well the work of those most difficult offices. More and more in the future, we are going to choose the trained executive, not for his hand-shaking power, and friendly smile, but for his ability and knowledge; and in this new method and object of government, if the Negro, through the college, is not trained to take an important and decisive part, then the Negro college is missing one of its greatest opportunities, and one of its most important functions.

Finally, there is one obvious criticism of this paper and that is where are the available text books upon which the course of study which I advocate may be based? The answer is obvious: there are none. The course must be taught at first from prepared manuscript material and library research and assignments

Interchange of matter between colored colleges and a modest standard collection of books, together with a few cheap reprints would easily furnish forth a good college course. Much of the space in our various college periodicals now devoted to stuff of doubtful value, could be used for printing necessary leaflets and even text books.

This is what I mean by Negro education in Negro colleges; I admit it may easily go the way of all the earth and flounder in the morass of cheap self glorification and lies to keep our courage up -- but with the example of the world before us, surely we have terrible and sufficient warning.

47-8-69

Talladega Speech 1934 Du Bois

37-8-89

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I am speaking, therefore, on "The Negro College and the Negro Voter", which is a more specific phrasing of the general subject - America & the Negro citizen

First, a word as to our current political thought. I note that more and more, not only in America, but in Europe, we are assuming a certain fatalistic attitude toward the future; and openly saying that, for salvation, modern governments must embrace either Fascismo or Communism. In this choice, we are apparently not thinking so much of the ultimate objects of these system of government, but rather of the method by which any object of government must be attained. And we are asserting, in effect, that either to a dictator or the rule of the mob, the world must look for guidance.

It seems to me that we are forgetting here, the basic object ~~which any~~ (that the kernel of the matter here is) of change must the method ~~of government must have~~. Today, that basic object has got to be, greater economic justice for mankind; a more reasoned plan of production and distribution of income. The attainment of such an object is so difficult, and meets and will meet such traditional organized and determined opposition, that we therefore assume that only extraordinary methods of government will bring it about.

I am not disputing the truth of this assumption, but I am saying that if this change is brought about, and whether it's brought about by a single despot or the dictatorship of the proletariat, back of it, ultimately, must stand the last court of ultimate appeal; the will of the people. From this ultimate authority, we can never escape. It is true that it may be difficult, on account of ignorance or force, to know this will; or to have it intelligently expressed. But, nevertheless, ~~so far as it can gain free~~ its expression, must be the ultimate

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

source of authority; and this is the inescapable and eternal argument for democracy.

We have gone through many arguments and phases of argument as to the possibility of obtaining effective expression of intelligent public opinion. The New England town meeting put great stress on direct experience and personal knowledge, on learning by doing. I have seen the pure democracy of a New England village function and obtain an expression of the public will, which usually, and in the long run, was forceful and effective. It was not free from the domination of property, and but it was backed by a public school system with compulsory attendance. For a long time, (saw here ultimate solution + we) we stressed popular education for the whole country, saying that whatever shortcomings democracy might have, and how difficult the public will found self expression, nevertheless, universal education would, in the long run, correct all that.

Lately, we have either changed our minds, or education does not appeal to us as really efficacious. We do not place today the dependence upon universal education which we used to, and we do not do this chiefly because the experiment of the universal training of the people in intelligence has not been as sincerely or widely tried in this land as we used to plan. The thing that astonishes us today is the crass stupidity of the mass of people, even in culture lands.

Recognizing this, we have in our day begun some experiments in the education of adults, realizing that the few years which lie between teaching children to read, write and count; and sending them into active life, are not enough to give them a sufficient acquaintance with the world; and that their education must go on through life, if they are to be intelligent citizens, who can comprehend the great body of knowledge which the world is ~~inaugurating~~ accumulating.

I saw, recently, in Des Moines, Iowa, what is probably the finest experiment in adult education that this country knows; where one-third of the population of a city had been reached by actual and intelligent tutelage. But this is hardly a drop in the bucket. It is but one experiment, with one group of a 100,000 out of 120,000,000 of people.

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

Back of all this, and more or less confidently, we have been depending upon the colleges to guide public opinion by injecting in to our citizenship, continual doses of liberally educated men. The effect of this has been felt, but here again not as widely as we had hoped, because the broad culture program of the colleges has been narrowed by the demands of vocational training, particularly in its professional branches; and because the college has been so dominated by property interests and class ideals, that its objects have often become the building of an aristocracy of intelligence or wealth, whose aims and ideals are not in accord with and have not the best interests of the great masses of men.

All this, then; democracy by experience, universal public school education, adult education and college training, ~~has~~ have left a wide gap, which as nations, ~~like America,~~ have grown in responsibilities and intricacies of their social problems, have, induced us to have recourse to what we ~~have grown to~~ call "propaganda".

We mean by propaganda, an artificial stirring up of public opinion, in rapid tempo, for the accomplishment of certain specific ends, for bringing sudden and overwhelming decisions. The great example of this, the use of it which still leaves us cold with astonishment, was the propaganda which put the United States into the World War, just at the time when, with wide enthusiasm, we had elected a man President, specifically because he had "kept us out of war."!

~~The reason that a thing~~ An experience like this disturbs us, because we recognize that whoever is, at any particular time, master of the instruments of propaganda, may be master of the nation, and this, of course, may be either for good or for evil. It has in our day raised to power simultaneously Stalin and Mussolini; Hitler, and Franklin Roosevelt; and MacDonald ~~and Dumergue.~~

The instruments of propaganda, especially in a great country, are today tremendous and costly, and involve a control of capital and power which is impossible for small groups, for new thinkers, for essential minorities. The great newspapers, the special correspondents, the radio, the moving picture, the telegraph and cable system, all make it practically impossible that the unknown prophet with a new thought and a great

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

idea can obtain hearing; nor can the ordinary minority become a majority unless the nation practically commits suicide.

37-1-92

Turning, now, more specifically to the United States. This is a country, more than any in the world, that based its very existence on democracy; on the theory that the governed must have voice in their own government. I think we have almost forgotten how radical and even dangerous an experiment this (with 18th century) was, and how little faith certain leading Americans had in the possibility of its accomplishment. Yet we did not fail to say, even in earlier times, that mere political democracy (choosing officials + settling broad objectives now & then) was not enough. We held, what I have called, the great American Assumption; namely, (beyond this)

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that every American who was willing to work, and had the sacrifice to save, could achieve a sufficient income to satisfy his legitimate wants and possible ambitions. Thus anarchical but automatically beneficent economic forces were to complete + fulfil democracy. This American Assumption was curiously justified by the facts in the case of thousands, and even millions of native-born Americans and of immigrants, (before the Civil War) and its truth made the evident guardian dictatorship of wealth (to politics) seem natural and justifiable, (since all free Americans might become rich.) But it was crassly contradicted by the plight of the black slave; and perhaps we have not stressed enough (fully) the cold logic that was back of abolition, which possibly in the long run had more weight than either sentiment or politics.

The Negro must be free in order to justify and prove American Democracy. If such freedom and the vote, he forever thereon sank to the bottom, this was at once proof of the perfection of our political system + and demonstration of the inferiority of the Negro.

The suppressed minor premise here was that the American Assumption of possible wealth for thrifty labor would apply automatically to the freed slave and also that it applied to the white worker after the Civil war

4½

Emancipation & enfranchisement of the Negro have frequently been called a political revolution which was unsuccessful; but in the same breath it has been viewed as a successful economic revolution, just as though these two realms were mutually exclusive and separate. They were in truth aspects of the same vast social change and no economic triumph could result from complete political failure, any more than the new methods of government could succeed without new methods of work and income.

37-83

Certainly, we do not realize just what, in economic phrase, the emancipation and enfranchisement of the Negro meant. It has often been called a revolution, but an unsuccessful revolution; and the very fact that it was called unsuccessful, means that people are speaking mainly of its political and sentimental aspects, and not of its economic truth.

What we did in nine years, from 1867-1876, was to put in power in the South, a dictatorship of labor, and mainly of black labor, and to enable that labor, with a backing of military force, to start an economic revolution in the South, with regard to land, with regard to education, with regard to civil and social uplift. It was an extfaordinary undertaking; and its racial aspects were only important as they affected the economic struggle, and enabled this struggle to be obscured behind theories of biology.

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

The result of this attempt was a large success in public education; some ~~little~~ success in the distribution of land, and less success in social uplift. It ended in a counter-attack of property, which overthrew the dictatorship of labor, and made dominate in the South after the war, as before the war, the interests of Property, ~~Only~~ Also, because of war, the holders of property began to change from the planters to former poor whites; and property gained new objectives and new methods through alliance with Northern capitalism.

All this, as I have said, was obscured by a frantic racial propaganda, so that the poor whites saw social and economic salvation in cutting themselves off from the interests of the labor class and ~~dictatorship~~, helping to destroy ~~their own~~ its voting power, and by allying themselves with the new capitalism as its serfs & ruling tools.

This new situation had to be brought into apparent and legal agreement with American democracy & American economic life. This transformation took the form of disfranchisement & not simply, as Americans assume & colleges teach, the disfranchisement of Negroes and of the laboring class in America & the establishment in the nation of a dictatorship of Corporate Wealth, so vast & complete that its power from 1880 to our day has never been successfully challenged. The revolution now on us is an attempt to see if this rule of property can be dislodged in America.

The methods of establishing the Dictatorship of Wealth in the United has been studied under the subjects of Trusts and monopolies, Consolidation of Corporations, the growing

46-8-27 Without the traditional American Conception of political democracy & free opportunity for things

role of banking and finance, international trade & international capital; & concurrent with this, the growth of poverty, the labor movement, unions & strikes, charity & relief

37-8-95

But this part of this same movement as it affects the Negro has been artificially isolated and treated as a peculiar "race problem." In fact, the history of the Negro from the time he was driven from the polls by force in 1876, & the speech of Booker T. Washington in Atlanta twenty years later, was the careful shaping of a situation by which Black labor in America was compelled by law, custom & prejudice, to choose between any attempt to exercise political rights, & a chance to earn a living by either under-bidding white labor or at least keeping American labor from violently raising its wage while labor cut off its own nose by refusing to let Black labor raise its wage & normal standards through unionization. While Black labor conceded first this force & fraud & then by voluntary treaty, & gave up its own political power & placed it in the hands of Southern Capital & land monopoly. But Southern Capital was dominated by Northern Capital & thus the rule of wealth in the nation was made unassailable by the 131 electoral votes of the Solid South.

The first open acceptance of this new alignment came

It ~~was just at this point, and~~ in the year 1895, ~~there came to~~ a distinct expression of a new position in the relation of the American Negro to the American government. It was voiced by Booker T. Washington at Atlanta, but it had been preparing for ~~nearly~~ twenty years; and it was in effect, that American Negroes should give up all attempts to gain their desires through voting; while on the other hand, ~~Northern and Southern~~ Capital should guarantee them employment, according to their ability and training, in the new industrial organization. It was a proposal which demanded deep and conscientious examination. Here was a mass of folk, but a generation removed from slavery, with little technical skill, without social organization, and bowed under widespread ignorance. Yet, they lived in a country whose unexampled industrial advance was foreshadowed by a post-war development which has been the astonishment of the world.

37-8-96

In this new organization, Negroes were promised a secure economic foothold, on condition that they should not attempt to use their political power in order to govern the land or any part of it. With this proposal went a less explicit but just as important treaty with white labor, in which the field of labor, particularly in the South, was divided in white and colored areas; there were wide fields of over-lapping, and competition; nevertheless, in general, the Negro was to be the

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

common and semi-skilled laborer, and the white man, the skilled laborer, and white-collar worker. Competition between races in the field of skilled labor would grow, but the advantage would go, theoretically, to the better skilled man, and practically, to the man who could work for lower wages.

37-8-97

This situation and this general theory, with increased protests on the part of Negroes, continued up into the time of the world war, when unusual demand for labor, and unusual demand for soldiers, opened the way for a great influx of black labor into the North and ~~a new alignment~~.

a sudden challenge & the compromise of 1895. & in the North the Negro began to vote, but with no clear objectives or obvious reasons, being just as unskilled & unguided as white labor. Organized white skilled labor struck & Capital and voted with it and with it exploited common labor white and black, until radical revolt began the present undermining & re-alignment of the Labor movement. & while in the South there continued the suppression of the Negro vote, the multiplication of the white labor vote and the solid bloc of 131 electoral votes at the disposal of Capital

Come now.

There ensued the Great Depression, when the bargain of 1895 was broken, and had to be broken. Not only could there be no guarantee of employment for Negroes, but none for white men. Not only could there be no division of work into white men's and colored men's jobs, but all along the line there began a life and death struggle for any job at any wage.

Through all this change and turmoil, what has been the attitude of the Negro college? Certainly, it has assumed no leadership. In the earlier years, from 1895, down through the first decade of the 20th Century, the attitude was "Hands off!" The Negro colleges, officially, and in their courses of study, simply did not touch the political problem, nor the essential labor problem. They taught, in effect, so far as they taught anything on the subject, that Reconstruction had been a complete failure; and that politics was not a career for honest educated Negroes. A generation of educated colored cultured leaders grew up, therefore, who not only knew nothing practically about government and voting, but who taught tens of thousands of their pupils that no knowledge and participation in politics was necessary for success or effective economic development.

37-8-98

Since that time, and in our own day, what is the Negro college doing to guide the Negro voter, and what should it do?

For the purposes of this paper, I have sent out a very short questionnaire to twenty of the Negro colleges. Wilberforce and Hampton, after a repeated request, have declined to answer. Of the other eighteen colleges, not a single one had a course of an entire semester entirely devoted to Negro citizenship and enfranchisement.

Most of the colleges touched the matter, more or less incidentally.

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, says: "The subject is fully treated in the course on race relations." It could not be fully treated in a course on race relations, unless the course touched on very little else.

37-8-99

Fisk University has a one-term course on the Negro in America, and another course on government. These give incidental treatment.

Morgan College has a course in Negro History every alternate year, "including special aspects of the franchise." It also has a course on American Government.

Talladega treats the matter incidentally in two history courses, and one course in Social Science.

West Virginia State, in three courses, places "much emphasis on the rights and duties of Negroes in politics."

Knoxville College treats the matter incidentally in two history courses, and one course in American Government.

Shaw University gives incidental treatment in the courses in American Government and American History.

Howard University, in courses on Political Science, Government and Political Parties, seeks "to relate the peculiar problems effecting the Negro to the broad problems of government."

Livingston College has courses on Political Science, Social Science, and American Race Problems, which treat the ballot incidentally.

Virginia State College has an introductory course in American Gowernment, which places "considerable emphasis on Negro citizenship and voting."

Johnson C. Smith University, in ~~eleven~~ several courses in Government, History, Psychology and Literature, treats the Negro vote incidentally.

Straight College has three courses in History and Government, with incidental treatment.

Virginia Union University has three courses in Political Science and Sociology and Negro History, with incidental treatment.

Wiley College has incidental treatment in several courses, although her pro-

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

fessor of Political Science is on study-leave for the year.

At Spelman, Morehouse, Morris Brown and Clark, in the course of Negro History, one week is devoted to a discussion of the political disabilities from which Negroes suffer, particularly in the South, and what remedies may be adopted in order to gain for them fuller participation in voting. ~~Bewinson's "Race, Class and Party" will be ready by~~

37-8-100

Tuskegee, in the course on American Government and Politics, lays "a great deal of stress upon citizenship and voting, and the necessity of the Negroes exercising the franchise." There is incidental treatment in other courses, and in the elementary school, a model village with a charter, and elected officials designed for training in citizenship.

In Bishop College, there is incidental treatment in two courses.

~~Morehouse College~~ puts specific stress on citizenship and voting in a course in ~~Negro History. Incidental treatment~~ comes in three other courses.

In general, we may say, that in the Negro colleges of the United States, not a single college has a specific course on Negro citizenship and voting, [illegible]

To know this, let us consider what a course of this sort should cover; and in outlining this course I am giving a specific instance of what I mean by Negro education as contrasted with White American education; of the function of a Negro university as differing from that of an American university.

A course on the Negro citizen & voter should begin with the legal status of the Negro in America in the 15th century, showing the fact that all Negroes were not slaves & all slaves were not Negroes & that black freemen were recog-

used as freemen in every country of the New World & every colony among the 13 which formed the U.S.

32-8-101

Secondly in colonial history during the 16th, 17th & 18th centuries the civil & voting rights of Negroes in each colony & in the British West Indies & the English laws should be traced, together with a glance at French & Spanish & Dutch laws as it affected the United States. The exercise of the right & vote in all the colonies should be shewn, the ownership of property & the condition of black labor

Thirdly The abolition & free soil controversy should be traced through the activities of black citizens, voters & ~~labor~~ the whole labor vote

Fourthly voting and ~~labor~~ citizenship of Negroes during the civil wars should be followed

Fifthly above all the current distortions & falsifications of known facts during Reconstruction deserve a whole semester of work. In every single slave state there should be a study (1865-1870) of the conventions & constitutions, the new legislation, the Negro voters & leaders, the social & economic changes; in the Border states, this matter is equally interesting & forgotten; in the

37-8-102

World the Negro vote & offices, the state & national conventions, the great Negro Labor movement, the Civil rights & suffrage laws, the treaties of the 13th 14th & 15th amendments — all showed occupying a considerable share of time

Lastly from 1876 to 1914 came a slowly, & disfranchisement by states and of legal and practical efforts to maintain the right of Negroes to vote and of the duty & vote not simply as Negroes but as saviors of Democracy in America

Unfortunately there is also incidental work. No single research nor single remedy will cover it. Of course much here outlined is treated more or less fully in books on History, Government & Economics & Sociology. But enough of this smaller angle & be segregated by every Negro college in a course of 2 semesters Concentrated & emphatic on Negro citizenship & the right & vote as a fundamental problem of democracy

~~The reason this has not been done~~

~~Manifestly,~~ here is material enough for a year's regular course in any college. To treat it in a single semester, would be a large accomplishment; and to try to treat it with anything like clarity and fullness, as the incidental work of a course in Negro History or in American Government, would be simply impossible.

37-8-103

The past reasons for neglect are, ~~The reason for~~ this attitude, naturally, clear. It is a hang-over from the past. It is the remains of the idea that politics is disgraceful business, at any rate, for Negroes; and that idea has been industriously spread by those who do not believe in democracy in America for either white people or colored.

And then, of course, there has come the tremendous propaganda since 1895,

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

which has made many educated Negroes ashamed of even wanting to vote. The time has come when this must all be changed. If the government of America, and the governments of the world, are to be reconstructed after the Depression on a new basis, there is only one guarantee that the new government is going to envisage the rights and needs of all classes; and that guarantee is the insuring that all classes have the opportunity intelligently to express themselves. With the present state of the public schools in America, not to mention the Negro public schools, such chance for intelligent expression on the part of the mass, is very small. We are, therefore, thrown back upon learning government by actually participating in it, upon adult education, and upon the colleges.

The insistent duty before the Negro college is to see to it that no man is graduated who does not have a clear idea of the fundamental doctrine of democratic government. In addition to this, he should know how this government is carried on; and not simply how the national government is carriedon, or what the political theory is of the state and local governments. He should know the actual condition of state, county, city and township government in the Southern states, and particularly in the state where the college is situated. No such knowledge is today available in the average Southern college, white or black. The plight of local government, and the ignorance about it, is astonishing. It can never be reformed or be made reasonably decent, until there is a concerted attempt to know its actual condition.

And finally, college-bred men, who know the facts concerning Negro citizenship, and the right to vote, must be put in charge, and put themselves in charge of that propaganda which is directing the part that Negroes take in American government. Nothing is more important than this. That intelligent leadership can not be surrendered to enthusiastic young Communists, who do not know and cannot know, the history and plight of the American Negro. They may be, and they often are, honest, enthusiastic, and well-meaning people. But they have got to listen to the wisdom and experience of American Negroes before they can attack the Negro's problem.

(Cont. The Negro College and the Negro Voter.)

Our problem is not the classic set-up of the European laboring class; it is not analogous to the Jewish problem in Russia; it has no remote resemblance to labor problems in France, and it differs by a world from Asia and Africa.

On the other hand, those trained Negroes who propose to solve this problem, cannot settle back into reaction under leadship dominated by capitalistic ideals. They have got to get it through their heads that the present organization of industry is not only going to be changed,—that it is already changing; that there is no automatic way by which the Negro is going to find and take a part in this change; that this change is not a matter outside of government—that it is in the very core of the new governmental organization; that economic and social emancipation is bound up with government, and government depends upon the will of the people.

There is no denial of that ultimate authority, when the people will, that their desires be executed by a single man. There is no denial of democracy, when they delegate their power to a group or even a class. But there is denial of democracy when the elected representatives of a people do what that people do not want done.

It has been our mistake in the theory of government in the past, to suppose with the thinkers of a simpler age, that anybody can do anything; that any chance fool can be elected Senator, Governor or President, and accomplish well the work of those most difficult offices. More and more in the future, we are going to choose the trained executive, not for his hand-shaking power, and friendly smile, but for his ability and knowledge; and in this new method and object of government, if the Negro, through the college, is not trained to take an important and decisive part, then the Negro college is missing one of its greatest opportunities, and one of its most important functions.

Finally, there is one obvious criticism of this paper and that is where are the available text books upon which the course of study which I advocate may be based? The answer is obvious: there are none. The course must be taught at first from mimeographed material & library research and assignment // & interchange of matter between colored colleges and a modest standard collection of books, together with a few cheap reprints would easily furnish forth a good college course. Much of the space in our various college periodicals now devoted to stuff of doubtful value, could be used for printing necessary leaflets & even text books. This is what I mean by Negro education in Negro colleges. I admit it may easily go the way of all the earth and flounder in the morass of cheap self glorification & lies & keep our corner in — but with the example of the world before us, surely we have terrible & sufficient warning

37-8-106

Delivered: May 20 1935
Washington D.C.

SOCIAL PLANNING FOR THE NEGRO, PAST AND PRESENT.

From the day of the Negro's landing in the United States down to the present, there have been 4 well-defined plans of emancipation and social uplift. The first plan was naturally that of violence; the individual and organized resistance to slavery. The extent of this is usually misapprehended in the United States because the plan began in Africa and the West Indies and only its last efforts were extended to the mainland. Henry M. Stanley estimates that in the African slave raids for every slave captured at least 4 persons were left dead in the villages; and where the cause of Negro slavery was inter-tribal war, the toll of death was even greater. On the middle passage to America there were repeated efforts at mutiny in the 18th and 19th Centuries, down to the celebrated cases of the "Amistad" and the "Creole".

The Negroes once landed in the Western world were for many years a cause of turmoil. Ovando solicited that no Negro slaves be sent to Haiti for they "fled among the Indians and taught them bad customs and could never be captured." The story of the fugitive Maroons in South America and Jamaica is one of the sagas of modern history. They fought the English government for a hundred years; they resisted the Spanish and Portuguese and they achieved freedom which continues to our day in Haiti and Guiana.

The fear of slave violence on the American mainland is sufficiently proven by the legislation. The laws of South Carolina in 1712 were defended as necessary "to restrain the disorders, rapines and inhumanity to which they are naturally prone and inclined." The law of 1740 declared that "many late, horrible and barbarous massacres have actually been committed and many more designed on the white inhabitants of this province by Negro slaves." Harsh and pitiless legislation based on these premises continued during slavery and especially was revived and increased after the attempts of Vesey and Nat Turner.

We must not forget that the last effective act of violence which the slaves used was their mass movement during the Civil War which aided 200,000 soldiers and even larger numbers of servants and laborers to the Union Army. It was this actual adherence of slaves to the Union cause and the threat that it would be extended in-

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definitely that made the Civil War hopeless for the South and led to its sudden cessation.

The third plan which acted as the safety valve for slavery was that of the fugitive slave; it was by far the most successful attack on slavery and began a real social re-organization for the Negro. In a comparatively empty country, the individual slave who could not and would not endure the system would not have to wait until he got the assent and support of a large number of his fellows. He could steal away to the swamps of Florida and Virginia and along the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi Valley into the North. This running away of slaves was first an individual enterprise; then it became organized and systematized under Negro leaders and finally gained the co-operation and active help of whites during the era of the Underground Railroad.

The Underground Railroad led to the Civil War. It meant that the capital invested in slaves was continually suffering losses and the slave owners demanded more and more perempterily the enactment of severe fugitive slave laws. The last one which they secured on the eve of the Civil War, not only interfered with individual rights, but state rights. It led to retaliatory nullification in the North, intensified the bitterness between the sections and eventually resulted in Civil War.

It is difficult to say how many slaves escaped, but the black population of the North increased from 130,000 in 1820 to 345,000 in 1860; this is a considerably larger increase than that of the total Negro population and if we remember that this Northern group was composed of poor emigrants with broken family life and insecure economic basis suddenly transferred from city to town, it seems certain that at least 100,000 of them were fugitives from slavery and represented a loss of at least $25,000,000 in invested capital and perhaps much more than that. It was this economic loss that spurred secession.

Meantime there were especial centers of runaway slaves. There were the fugitive slaves at the time of the Revolutionary War who not only took part in the hostilities, but caused infinite difficulties in peace negotiations. There were the 1,000 Negroes, who in 1815 manned a former British port in Georgia and resisted the power of the United States and finally there were the so-called Seminole wars which were simply slave raids for runaway property.

E5-91-64

Social Planning for the Negroes, Past and Present.

Beside these efforts, there were more far-reaching efforts to settle the Negro problem by mass migration. A proposal to leave this country for Africa seemed logical in the 18th Century when so many Negroes were newly come to the country. This plan was not simply a plan of white folk. Paul Cuffe was actually the first person who successfully transported emigrants, taking 38 Negroes to Africa at his own expense. Later, came the American Colonization Society, but their plan for wholesale migration was spoiled by the effort of the radical South to turn this migration into an attempt to bolster slavery by getting rid of free Negroes. Nevertheless, out of that effort, together with the attempt to enforce the slave trade laws, came the settlement at Liberia.

Among the free Negroes of the North, plans for social amelioration began about 1830 when the Nat Turner insurrection in the South and the new foreign immigration to the North, made the economic situation of the free Negroes difficult. Riots and discriminatory laws in Ohio and Pennsylvania led to the Conventions of 1830 and 1831 and to a well thought-out plan of migration. The British Government was approached and offered asylum, at first in Canada and later, after the West Indian emancipation, in the West Indies. The Canadian migration was financed by Negroes themselves and large numbers went to Ontario where they built up successful settlements. Their influence on American Negroes has been great. They were headquarters of the Underground Railroad. It was here than John Brown went to perfect his plans for the Harper Ferry raids; and it was here that Richard B. Harrison was born.

49-16-53

Between 1830 and 1860, the situation of American Negroes became increasingly difficult because of the spread of the abolition centroversy and the rise of the cotton kingdom. An increasing number of Negroes in the 50's began to consider that wholesale migration was the only escape. They saw no chance of emancipation in the United States. Even Frederick Douglass placed his whole hope on war and bleed, but, nevertheless, steadfastly opposed migration.

In 1854, a remarkable convention met in Cleveland, Ohio. They made 3 proposals: Martin R. Delaney proposed migration to the Niger Valley of Africa, James M. Whitfield proposed to go to Central America and Theodore Holly to Haiti. They not only made these propositions, but they actually made the necessary investigation and

at the next colonization convention in Canada in 1856, Holly made a report which resulted, eventually, in 2,000 Negro emigrants going to Haiti. Delaney concluded 8 treaties with African kings and brought evidences of land concessions and welcome. Whitfield did not actually get to Central America before the Civil War broke out.

The war stopped migration schemes, until black fugitives began to pour into the Union armies. For a while, Lincoln did not realize the significance of this tremendous secession of power to the North and withdrawal of labor force from the South. The first problem and an irri ating problem it was, was what as going to be done to get rid of the Negroes? If some plan of mass migration could be devised there was the possibility not simply of withdrawing these slaves from work in the South, but of inducing the Border States to give up slavery. Lincoln had long been an advocate of colonization. He said frankly that he could not conceive Negroes and white people living together in the United States as equals. He, therefore, secured in 1861 an appropriation of $100,000 from Congress and a further appropriation of $500,000 in 1862. He consulted delegations of Negroes and made contacts with foreign countries, but before he went further, he suddenly saw just what the significance of Negro soldiers and laborers was.

He saw that without their help, the war against the South could not be won, while with their help and the threat of increased secessions from the slaves, the opposition in the South was doomed. Moreover, he became convinced that mass migration of the Negroes could not be carried on with their consent nor at a price which the United States was willing to pay. His one venture with 500 Negro settlers on a little island near Haiti was a disastrous failure and nearly half the victims died of disease and were cheated outrageously by their white manager.

Then came the era of Reconstruction and with the thrill of political power in the minds of the Negro and his friends, social Reconstruction by migration was practically given up, except that Negroes moved in considerable groups from place to place in the South in order to find free land and better working conditions. When, however, the revolution of 1876 came and the Negro by force and fraud was disfranchised, a great migration movement to the West was conceived by Henry Adams in Louisiana and

49-16-54

Social Planning for the Negroes, Past and Present.

Benjamin Singleton in Tennessee. Some 50,000 Negroes actually migrated to Kansas and the West and it took conciliation and violence in the South to stop the stream. Its more effectual stoppage, however, was due to poverty and cold welcome in the West. Nevertheless, Negro population was planted in Kansas and its descendants remain there. Later, Bishop Turner and Congressman Morgan of Alabama, tried to revive the project of migration to Africa, but its only result was 1 shiplead of 200 Negroes in 1885.

On the other hand, the migration of Negroes from South to North has gone on continuously since the Civil War. Between 1880 and 1900, some 10,000 to 20,000 a year went into the North, while from 1910 to 1930, between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 moved in one of the great mass movements of the history of migration.

Meantime, the fourth great plan for the social emancipation of Negroes began with the Reconstruction efforts in the Civil War. From 1867-1876, the Negroes placed their whole hope of full emancipation and economic security upon their vote and this forms one of the most interesting episodes in American history. It was not simply the enfranchisement of black folk, it was the attempt to reconstruct the basis of American democracy and to put the political power in the hands of the lowest working group. The bottom economic rail was put on top. If this group had had leadership and a greater chance for industrial development, there might have ensued in the South a dictatorship of the proletariat which might have led the modern world. But, of course, no such rapid transition from feudal slavery to industrial democracy could be expected. These laborers were themselves under the direction and ideology of a capitalistic form of industry. Their idea of emancipation was the rise of an exploiting class of black capitalists. Nevertheless, their realistic grasp of the situation led them to preliminary efforts not to exploit labor but to make the situation of the emancipated workers as advantageous as possible. They tried co-operative farming in Louisiana and state division of large plantations in South Carolina. They advocated and made actual free public school education in every Southern state. They gave opportunity for the poor man, not only to vote, but to represent his class in the legislature and the greatest charge against Reconstruction that the legislature was filled by people who did not pay taxes, was really its greatest glory. The non-tax-paying laborer was the man who for a long time dominated the legislature with both white and black representatives.

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Social Planning for the Negroes, Past and Present.

There were, however, 2 unconquerable centers of opposition: one was the white landholder, who despite the fortunes of war, was unabled to continue his monopoly of the land through the determination of Andrew Johnson. It was one of the ironies of fate that the poor white who was the author of the legislation which distributed free land to the peasants of Europe and the North, was also the man who succeeded in keeping the emancipated Negroes of the South as landless serfs.

The second unconquerable center of opposition was the new capitalism of the North which was rising to tremendous and ruthless power. This new capitalism looked upon the South not as a center of a new democracy, but as a center of exploitation. So long as the Southern land monopolist threatened the power and career of the Northern industrialists, he was perfectly willing to let black and white labor have its way in the South. But when Southern labor began to increase its demands and power, and on the other hand, the Southern landholder showed himself willing to unite with the Northern capitalists in new exploitation, the bargain of 1876 was made and the laborers, white and black, were disfranchised. What ensued in the South after emancipation was not at all the classical bourgeois revolution but something far more complicated and reactionary.

However, the plan for Negro emancipation by political means did not end in 1876. The Negro held on to vestiges of his political power, first, by black congressmen, up until the beginning of the 20th Century, by a few members of Southern legislatures and especially by their power inside the Republican Party. This latter power was gradually undermined by the fact that it had back of it less and less of real democratic control and, therefore, could more easily be seduced by bribery and manipulation.

Appointments of Negroes to Federal office also became less in number, as Reconstruction receded. Nevertheless there were certain compensations in the North. Negroes appeared in the legislature of 11 or 12 Northern states and sometimes played a conspicuous part. They were elevated to the judicial bench in the District of Columbia and 3 other states, and in cities, particularly like Chicago and New York, they occupied from time to time positions of real power.

The result of this political influence can be shown in many ways. Between 1884 and 1897, 25 civil rights laws, in addition to the national civil rights law,

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were passed in 16 Northern states. Many of them, including the national law, were emasculated by judicial interpretation, but others, like the Massachusetts and New York laws, are effective today. Federal appropriations for Negro education in the case of Howard University and the land grant colleges have been secured. On the other hand, further discriminatory legislation has been held up. Jim-Crow cars have been kept out of Delaware, West Virginia and Missouri and partially out of Maryland. A flood of anti-racial inter-marriage laws introduced in 1913 in Congress and 12 different states were defeated in every instance but one.

On the other hand, in the South, "Jim-Crow" legislation and disfranchisement laws between 1881 and 1910 swept through with little opposition.

It became clearer and clearer as the plan of political power to emancipate the American Negro was followed, that something was lacking; that the poverty and inexperience of the Negro made it impossible for him to exercise his political power in full and that as a minority, even then he could not succeed unless he could make some alliance with the majority. There ensued, therefore, two plans which both explain and supplement the plan of political power from 1867-1930.

One of these movements came in 1896-1920 and it sought firmly to integrate the American Negro into American industry as a farmer, laborer, skilled artisan and capitalist. The other movement, sought by agitation and legal defense, to clear away race discrimination and allow untrammeled advancement of black folk according to ability. These 2 latter movements fell into bitter controversy. The economic movement ended with the World War and the anti-discrimination movement declined with the depression.

The plan of social Reconstruction advocated by Booker T. Washington was not simply a plan for the uplift of labor as is so often assumed; and it can be only understood as we consider its immediate background. The late William H. Baldwin, President of the Long Island Railroad and slated to be President of the Pennsylvania, was a young man trained in Southern industry and he was one of the first to conceive of the training of black laborers who should share work with white laborers and at the same time keep the white labor movement from too strong and insistent demands in its fight with capital.

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Social Planning for the Negroes, Past and Present.

This idea began in the day when the "one big union" of the Knights of Labor had changed to the craft unionism of the American Federation of Labor. The strength of the labor movement was growing but almost without exception it excluded black skilled labor. However, black skilled labor was valuable and could be trained in the South. It was the idea of Mr. Baldwin and gradually of many others that you would not only do a service to and open opportunity for black folk, but you would in this same way serve capital and hold white labor in check.

About this time, Booker T. Washington took charge of Tuskegee in Alabama. He was an opportunist with high ideals. He believed in political rights for people who could exercise them, but in the case of Southern Negroes, he knew that they could not exercise them without the consent of the white South. He took the position, therefore, that the Negro must gain an economic status before he could use his political rights and in this he was undoubtedly right; but on the other hand, his idea of the economic status which Negroes must gain was based unquestionably on the capitalistic organization of the United States.

Mr. Washington's program included a temporary acquiescence in giving up Negro political rights and agitation for civil rights and insistence upon training young Negroes for farming and industry up from a thrifty solid class of black landlords and artisans, Washington expected a class of Negro capitalists to arise and employ Negro workers. The plan was launched by the Atlanta Speech in 1896 and was triumphant from that date until about 1910. It included alliance with white capital and was rewarded by large contributions toward Negro education, especially such schools as conformed to the Hampton-Tuskegee type.

As a first step toward this new Negro capitalism, Mr. Washington especially stressed landholding, widespread peasant proprietorship and even large farms among Negroes; and then a training of Negro laborers and artisans for use in industry at a wage if necessary less than that demanded by union labor. The result of this compromise was new understanding between leading elements, North and South, with regard to the Negro. The Negro college, while not entirely discouraged, was looked upon with some suspicion and positions for Negro college graduates became difficult. To some extent, appointments and opportunities for young Negroes were carefully censored and

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referred for approval to Tuskegee over a very wide extent of country. Negro newspapers were brought in line by judicious advertising and other means of control. This was really regarded as clever and far-sighted compromise, which if it did not solve would at least peacefully postpone the solution of a baffling, intricate problem of race contact until more favorable times. Between 1900-1910, Mr. Washington became one of the most popular men in America, in constant demand North and South as a speaker, adviser and referee.

As the current opinion of the land became unified, Mr. Washington's program began to become increasingly suspicious in the eyes of Negroes. A wave of Jim-Crow legislation and disfranchising bills swept over the South and the Border States. Already separation of the races in travel had been made compulsory in 8 Southern states before 1891, but had paused. Now a new wave of legislation began in 1898 and covered South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and Oklahoma. Determined and repeated efforts were made in Missouri, West Virginia and Delaware. Disfranchising laws swept over the South and Border States, from 1890-1910, at the very time when Negro political power and agitation had been lulled to its lowest by the Washington compromise. This triumph of the radical, anti-Negro South and the continued prevalence of lynching which went on at the rate of 1 to 2 a week during most of Mr. Washington's career, greatly embarrassed him. He hated caste and lawlessness as much as any man. He wanted the best for his people, but he implicitly believed that once his economic program could be put through all else would follow and he made the fatal mistake of trying to forestall criticism from Negroes and of acquiescing in the neglect if not the suppression of Negro colleges.

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The result was the outburst of wrath and criticism led by the younger college-bred Negro group, an outburst which eventually split the Negro group in twain. But it was not that criticism that doomed the Washington program. It was the plain failure of the economic re-building which I emphasized. This is shown by the trend of Negro employment, despite the effort of both Hampton and Tuskegee to train farmers and servants, both of these decreased in number. Farmers, instead of forming 57% of the workers, as in 1890, now formed 37%. Servants have decreased from 31% in 1890 to 22% in 1920. Since then, they have increased to 29%. Manifestly, then, there were forces at work to drive

the Negroes off the farm and out of the servant quarters. On the other hand, the number of Negroes in commerce and transportation and in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, increased largely from 10% in 1890 to 29% in 1930, but it was not all the kind of increase that Mr. Washington had in mind. The newcomers were mainly laborers. They made some headway into the semi-skilled and skilled industries, but were kept out by the trade unions and the trade unions held against them as an excuse the fact that they had been trained and that the plan had been to train them as strikebreakers and low-cost laborers. The caste system in the South increased the whole idiology of caste throughout the United States until labering men felt themselves degraded to work with black men. Moreover, the attempt of Negroes to enter the employing class as merchants and landholders was made impossible by severe competition and monopoly. The attempt to teach Negroes the skill of modern industry was also frustrated by the changing of skill, the mass production, the use of machinery. While, therefore, land ownership among Negroess and the accumulation of property increased until 1910, it then began to decrease and the increase in Negro property, while a credi able index of thrift, was dwarfted by the immense piling up of capital in the hands of whites. Without doubt, the Washington program improved the economic status of the Negro, but on the other hand, and just as surely, it did not show a way out because it fasten the change of exploitation on Negro labor and increased labor antagonism in the labering classes.

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This was particularly shown in the new development in the South where white labor used its political and social influence to replace black labor and eliminate the so-called Negro jobs. At the time of the depression, therefore, the status of Negro labor, both North and South, was precarious, Through the opposition of unions and the discrimination of employers in the North and the competition of poor white labor in the South.

The next plan for social re-organization was that of agitation of legal defense. It was at first a part of the plan for political power and not a demand for fixing the unconstitutionality of disfranchisement legislation and the enforcing of war amendments. One of the earliest group movements to agitate for this was the National League formed in Boston in 1885. It was local in its membership but had some influence.

In 1887, T. Thomas Fortune, editor of what is now the NEW YORK AGE, issued

an appeal for a national organization and repeated this in 1889. The so-called Afro-American League, afterward changed to Afro-American Council, met in Chicago with 21 states represented in January, 1890. J. C. Price was President and Mr. Fortune, Secretary. The League held another meeting in Tennessee and then died until Bishop Walters revived it in 1898. It met that year in September at Rochester and later in November in Washington. The object of the organization was to investigate lynching, to test the constitutionality of discriminatory laws, to secure civil rights legislation, to promote migration from the South and to encourage organization. It met for several years and practically died with a final meeting in St. Paul, Minnesota about 1900. Its weakness was that it consisted simply of an annual meeting without a continuous working organization. The result was that it did little more than meet, organize and pass resolutions. In the year 1905, a new aspect came over the plans for American Negroes for social Reconstruction.

The new disfranchisement laws and the wave of discriminatory legislation, coupled with Mr. Washington's concessions, alarmed the colored people. Particularly the young colored college man began to fear the dictatorship of the Tuskegee machine and the difficulty of expressing even legitimate criticism. This opposition was crystalized by the jailing of Monroe Trotter in Boston for trying to heckle Mr. Washington during a speech of the colored church. It seems to me that this was going too far and that while Trotter was much more bitter and outspoken than was necessary, yet he did have a right to talk even though he criticized Mr. Washington. The result was that a call was issued in June, 1905, signed by 59 men from 17 states. In July, 1905, 29 of these men, representing 14 states, met at Niagara Falls and formed the Niagara movement. The movement grew and in 1906 held a significant meeting at Harpers Ferry. The Manifesto which it sent out was plain and bitter.

> "The men of the Niagara movement coming from the toil of the year's hard work and pausing a moment from the earning of their daily bread turn toward the nation and again ask in the name of ten million the privilege of a hearing. In the past year the work of the Negro hater has flourished in the land. Step by step the defenders of the rights of American citizens have

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retreated. The work of stealing the black man's ballot has progressed and the fifty and more representatives of stolen votes still sit in the nation's capital. Discrimination in travel and public accommodation has so spread that some of our weaker brethren are actually afraid to thunder against color discrimination as such and are simply whisperin for ordinary decencies.

"Against this the Niagara Movement eternally protests. We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals, lest this, our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of the thief and the home of the Slave--a by-word and a hissing among the nations for its sounding pretentions and pitiful accomplishment.

"Never before in the modern age has a great and civilized folk threatened to adopt so cowardly a creed in the treatment of its fellow-citizens born and bred on its soil. Stripped of verbiage and subterfuge and in its naked nastiness the new American creed says: Fear to let black men even try to rise lest they become the equals of the whites And this is the land that professes to follow Jesus Christ. The blasphemy of such a course is only matched by its cowardice.

"In detail our demands are clear and unequivocal. First, we would vote; with the right to vote goes everything: freedom, manhood, the honor of your wives, the chastity of your daughters, the right to work, and the chance to rise, and let no man listen to these who deny this.

"We want full manhood suffrage, and we want it now, henceforth and forever.

"Second. We want discrimination in public accommodation to cease. Separation in railway and street cars, based simply on race and color, is un-American, undemocratic, and silly. We protest against all such discrimination.

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"Third. We claim the right of freemen to walk, talk, and be with them that wish to be with us. No man has a right to choose another man's friends, and to attempt to do so is an impudent interference with the most fundamental human privilege.

"Fourth. We want the laws enforced against rich as well as poor; against Capitalist as well as Laborer; against white as well as black. We are not more lawless than the white race, we are more often arrested, convicted and mobbed. We want justice even for criminals and outlaws. We want the Constitution of the country enforced. We want Congress to take charge of Congressional elections. We want the Fourteenth amendment carried out to the letter and every State disfranchised in Congress which attempts to disfranchise its rightful voters. We want the Fifteenth amendment enforced and No state allowed to base its franchise simply on color.

"The failure of the Republican Party in Congress at the session just closed to redeem its pledge of 1904 with reference to suffrage conditions at the South seems a plain, deliberate, and premeditated breach of promise, and stamps that party as guilty of obtaining votes under false pretense.

"Fifth. We want our children educated. The school system in the country districts of the South is a disgrace and in few towns and cities are the Negro schools what they ought to be. We want the national government to step in and wipe out illiteracy in the South. Either the United States will destroy ignorance or ignorance will destroy the United States.

"And when we call for education we mean real education. We believe in work. We ourselves are workers, but work is not necessarily education. Education is the development of power and ideal. We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be, and we will fight for all time against any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings, or simply for the use of other people. They have a right to know, to think, to aspire.

"These are some of the chief things which we want. How shall we get them? By voting where we may vote, by persistent, unceasing agitation;

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by hammering at the truth by sacrifice and work.

"We do not believe in violence, neither in the despised violence of the raid nor the lauded violence of the soldier, nor the barbarous violence of the mob, but we do believe in John Brown, in that incarnate spirit of justice, that hatred of a lie, that willingness to sacrifice money, reputation, and life itself on the altar of right. And here on the scene of John Brown's martyrdom we reconsecrate ourselves, our honor, our property to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free."

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People seeks to uplift the colored men and women of this country by securing to them the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens, justice in all courts, and equality of opportunity everywhere. It favors and aims to aid, every kind ofeducation among them save that which teaches special privileges or prerogative, class or caste. It recognizes the national character of the Negro problem and no sectionalism. It believes in the holding of the Constitution of the United States and its amendments, in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. It upholds the doctrine of "all men up and no man down." It abhors Negro crime, but still more the conditions which breed crime, and most of all the crimes committed by mobs in the mockery of the law, by individuals in the name of the law.

"It believes that the scientific truths of the Negro problem must be available before the country can see its way wholly clear to right existing wrongs. It has no other belief than that the best way to uplift the colored man and the best way to aid the white man to peace is social content; it has no other desire than exacting justice, and no other motive than patriotism." (First Annual Report, January 1, 1911. N. A. A. C. P.)

The Niagara movement, however, had certain inherent difficulties. First, it was a racial movement of men entirely unknown outside their group and with no means of contact by which they could easily reach influential persons in the white group. And secondly, Mr. Trotter, who owned and edited the one organization journal, was not an organization man. He was an extreme individualist. When, therefore, in 1909 there was held a conference in New York with practically the same program that

the Niagara movement had, practically all of the leading members of the Niagara movement went into the N. A. A. C. P., 7 of them going upon its Board of Directors and thus to a large measure the work of the Niagara movement became merged with that of the N. A. A. C. P.

The work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is too well-known to call for review here. I need only point out that its greatest triumph was in the matter of legal defense. Practically, it made the Supreme Court for the first time in the history of the country affirm the validity of the 15th Amendment, outlaw the Grandfather Clauses and curtail the segregation ordinances. It also secured some protection for accused Negroes from mob violence and made the most effective anti-lynching campaign in the history of the country.

The first sign of change that faced the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was falling off of its income and the decrease in the circulation of THE CRISIS. This was not due to the fact that the American Negro did not want to fight discrimination and lynching and was not willing to pursue cases in legal defense which should build up the foundation of the whole caste system in marriage, in travel and in education. But it did come from the fact that the colored people, economically, were unable to stand the expense. It had been the proud boast of the N.A.A.C.P. that beginning as a quasi philanthropic institution, expecting to rely upon funds furnished mainly by rich white friends, it had become during its best years supported in the main by the mass of colored workers and that THE CRIS had been made financially independent by the same kind of support. The amounts of money which it received from rich white people were small and their withdrawal would have made no particular difference in its program. The falling off now of this income meant that the colored people were financially unable to sustain this program and especially to back its expansion. We realized this before the depression and the causes lay in a new industrial development, North and South. In the South, the Negro was losing the monopoly of certain jobs which he had had. The machine was displacing semi-skilled and skilled labor among both Negroes and whites. A new monopoly of capital and materials was so changing the face of industry that the Negro was becoming a reservoir of casual labor and the general causes of the collapse of agriculture throughout the world were at

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work in increased degree among Negro farmers.

The mass migration of Negroes North alleviated but did not change the basic trouble. They found themselves in the midst of difficulties connected with housing, difficulties connected with unions, difficulties connected with the casual character of their labor and the low wage for which they were obliged to work. This should have taught the Negroes of the United States that a change of tactic was absolutely necessary. Agitation and legal defense must be kept up so far as possible but that possibility at present had its limitations. Before them and of more importance and of fundamental influence even to the campaign against race discrimination itself was a new plan of social security.

I began to advocate, therefore, for the N. A. A. C. P. a new social program as early as 1928. I was by no means clear in my own thinking, but was groping for light and for that reason had visited Russia, had begun the study of Karl Marx and had voted the Socialist ticket since 1912. My efforts brought little reaction; no particular opposition and at the same time no emphasis of agreement until the wave of depression overwhelmed us. Then, suddenly, there came to the fore, a peculiar situation made by the fact that the problem of race discrimination always cuts across and hinders the settlement of other problems, and we are repeatedly forced to give up direct attack upon it in order to save our very lives.

It happened in the Civil War; in the midst of a fight for physical freedom, civil and political rights, the Negro was suddenly faced with the problem of fighting when the outcome was by no means clear nor was it altogether certain just where his interest lay. He was compelled for a time to lay aside his racial demands to become Union soldiers and laborers and afterward was rewarded by receiving a greater measure of political power and civil rights than he had dreamed of. The same kind of dilemma came at the time of the World War.

We had no choice between war and peace--the nation was rushing headlong. We had no allies save a small group of thinkers who for the most part were not interested in Negroes. Labor was near unanimous for war and so were most socialists here and abroad. We were in a raging flood and our only real choice was to fight swimming with the current or to be drowned in impotent opposition. I said then and

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under similar circumstances would say again, close ranks and fight for our own liberty while the world was committing suicide.

The victim of mob violence, lynching and residential segregation for a time had to concentrate his efforts toward securing decent treatment of his segregated regiments, an opportunity for men to become officers even if they were black and permission to fight at the front instead of work blindly in the rear. After the World War, the Negro was able to return to his attack upon prejudice with increased power and efficiency. The years from 1919 to 1929 represent a high water mark of our organized striving for increased political power, the suppression of lynching and legal defense.

The irony of the situation, however, proved to be the fact that the cause for which we were verbally compelled to fight itself failed in its very victory and cast us with all men, workers and owners, in the maelstrom of World Depression. Today, then, our original paradox again appears with wider ramification and vaster perils.

We are in the midst of a national and world movement to reconstruct the basis of industry. In order to be efficient co-workers in this Reconstruction, we have got to escape the present threat of starvation, to conserve our schools and social organizations and to get regular, decently paid work. With that foundation settled, even in a reasonable degree, we can begin again to fight discrimination. But until unemployment among American Negroes is decreased and a decent standard of living re-established, we have no resources upon which the battle against discrimination can effectively be carried.

Here, then, is the dilemma and how has it been met? Briefly put, there have been 3 moves: (1) toward invoking the protection of restored capitalism, (2) a movement toward alliance with organized labor, and (3) a movement toward socialism.

In the first category may be placed practically all of the older organizations: the Urban League, the Federation of Churches, the N.A.A.C.P. Nearly all of these organizations have, to be sure, shown signs of uneasiness at their position. The Urban League organized a National Economic Council, which through an executive

committee and Workers' Councils was designed to guide the Negro through the crisis. Apparently, this never functioned. The N. A. A. C. P. sought to adopt an economic program but was unable to agree on anything definite. The Federation of Churches has adopted a liberal labor program, but has not applied it to Negroes. Gradually, most of these and many other organizations under the guidance of the Joint Committee on Recovery, fell back upon a drive on the administration to secure justice for the Negro in relief and reorganization; but the difficulty was in determining just what economic justice for the Negro involved and how it could best be secured. The organizations themselves had scant common ground. Ten of them were religious, 4 were academic fraternities and sororities, 1 is a fraternal order, 1 an organization for agitation and reform, 4 organizations of professional men, 1 designed for club work and 3 are industrial organizations. The only thing upon which this conglomerate body could wholeheartedly unite was the matter of race discrimination.

Of the fact of discrimination, the Joint Committee has unearthed ample proof, but as to what we are going to do about it, the Joint Committee, quite naturally, has nothing to say and nothing to think.

Indeed, everything that has happened in the NRA and the New Deal might easily have been foretold before the NRA was established.

If the United States government comes in to the depression picture to administer local relief, that relief must be directly carried out by local people and these local people in the places where Negroes are most numerous are going to be prejudiced and narrow.

If the government is going to relieve the farmer by a scarcity program or bonuses, the people who are going to reap the benefit from that program are going to be the white people who own the land. If the government is going to establish a great power organization with towns and industries, in these towns and industries there is going to be repeated the same pattern of discrimination and segregation that is current in the nation. If we are going to have housing projects, subsistence homesteads, farm credit and credit unions, we are going to find in the carrying out of these plans the same American prejudice against color that we find everywhere. What, then, are we to do? Are we to starve to death until we settle color discrimination in America or are we first to secure the power to fight before we enter

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battle? The one thing that we are bound to do in self-defense is to see that in the midst of all this whirlpool we make sure of such beginnings of economic security that in the future we shall have power to work out our destiny; and to this everything else is subordinate.

If segregated homesteads and segregated land will give us more secure employment and higher wage, we cannot for a moment hesitate. If segregated schools will give us better education, then we must have segregated schools. If segregated housing will give us decent homes, we have no right to choose for our children and our families slums for the sake of herding with the white unfit. Our first business is in the midst of the great economic revolution which is going on is to secure a place for ourselves.

To this, the advocates of labor alliance answer: there is only one haven of refuge for the American Negro. He must recognize that his attempt to enter the ranks of capital as an exploiter came too late, if it were ever a worthy ideal for a group of workers. He is now forever excluded by the extraordinary monopoly which white capital and credit have upon the machines and materials of the world. Moreover, that solution after all was possible only for the few. The great mass of Negroes belong to the laboring class. They have the same interests that white laborers have. They must join the white labor movement.

This, however, is not nearly as easy as it might seem. Not only has the attempt of American Negroes to join the ranks of the white labor movement been discouraging for more than a century, but even today, the welcome which they are accorded is questionable. In the first place, the farmers and servants who compose the mass of workers among colored people are not organized. If we take the 30,000,000 of organizable laborers, less than 7,000,000 are organized, even if we include the company unions. If we take the less than 5,000,000 who are organized, the overwhelming majority of them will not allow the Negroes to join their ranks under any circumstances and most of the rest have only allowed Negroes to intrude when the power of Negro labor was such that they did not dare to oppose its competition. There are undoubtedly today a number of unions which are disposed to welcome Negro members and who recognize something of the real solidarity of labor interests; but their total

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number must be less than half a million. With such workers, Negro labor ought by all means to unite; but to say that the union of American Negro labor with 1/2 million out of 5,000,000 organizedlaborers, is a labor alliance, is seriously to overstate the case.

Suppose, now, that the Negro turns to the promise of socialism whither I have long looked for salvation. I was once a member of the celebrated Local No. 1. in New York. I am convinced of the essential truth of the Marxian philosophy and believe that eventually land, machines and materials must belong to the state, that private profit must be abolished, that the system of exploiting labor must disappear, that people who work must have essentially equal income and that in their hands the political rulership of the state must eventually rest.

Notwithstanding the fact that I believe this is the truth and that this truth is being gradually exemplified by the Russian experiment, I must, nevertheless, ask myself seriously: how far can American Negroes forward this eventual end? What part can they expect to have in a socialistic state and what can they do now to bring about its realization? And my answer to this has long been clear. There isno automatic power in socialism to overrkde and suppress race prejudice. This has been proven in America, it was true in Germany before Hitler and the analogy of the Jews in Russia is for our case entirely false and misleading. One of the worst things that Negroes could do today would be to join the American Communist party or any of its many branches. The Communists of America have become dogmatic expenents of the inspired word of Karl Marx as they read it. They believe, apparently, in immediate, violent and bloody revolution and they are willing to try any and all means of raising hell anywhere and under any circum tances. This is a silly program even for white men. For American colored men, it is suicide. In the first place, its logical basis is by no means sound. The great and fundamental change in the organization of industry which Karl Marx with his splendid mind and untiring sacrifice visualized must, to be sure, be brought about by revolution, but whether in all times and places and under all circumstances that revolution is going to involve war and bloodshed, is a question which every sincere follower of Marx has a right to doubt.

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Social Planning for the Negro, Past and Present.

The most baffling paradox today is the attitude of men toward war. On the one hand, we have the advocates of radical reform in our fundamental, economic and political structure, insisting that the only path to this era of Peace and Justice is through violent revolution. On the other hand, we have the advocates of the present system insisting that they can only insure peace by world-wide preparation for the same kind of war which recently took the lives of ten million men.

The ordinary man seeking peace has, then, apparently not a choice between Peace and War, but only a choice of the kind of war in which he will fight and the object for which he will fight and apparently he must strive to make this last great murder of the West, this new War to end War, as peaceful and reasonable as possible.

Leaving for a moment the question as to how inevitable this dilemma is, we American Negroes under the race hate now prevalent, will in any case stand between the two armies as buffer and victim, pawn and peon; and we can only take this attitude:

We abhor violence and blood shed. We will join no movement that advocates a program of violence, except as the last defense against aggression.

We see today as the chief aggresser and threatener of violence, not indeed communism, but greed and reaction, masquerading as patriotism and Fascism, armed to the teeth, intolerant and ready to kill and repress not only those who oppose them, but those who dare to express opposing thoughts.

Such discrimination, represented in the United States by various patriotic women's organizations, by war veterans' leagues, by the army and navy and its friends, are the most dangerous advocates of war and murder; and it is foolish for those who believe in world Peace and economic Justice to be so misled by this reaction as to burst into wild words and futile deeds and thus give greed a chance to kill the innocent.

Granted that the Marxian dialectic is a masterful statement of a great truth, yet the Revolution which it sets down as inevitable, may logically, even if not probably, come by votes without violence, by restricted violence, or if with widespread violence, not with cruelty and unnecessary bloodshed. They are fools who think that successful and beneficial revolution consists primarily in raising the devil and it is very doubtful if such persons will ever lead America to Peace and Justice. It may well be that in the awful and fundamental changes to come, calm, silent and com-

49-16-91-44

passionate men may be compelled to lead the world to peace through irresistible force but never through irresponsible deviltry.

In any real revolution, every s tep that saves violence is to the glory of the great end. We may not save all, but we may never forget that revolution is not the object of socialism or communism rightly conceived; that their object is Justice and if haply the world can find that ju tice without blood, the world is the infinite gainer. Persistent and dominant denial of this possibility may be made and may be true, but wise men will nevercease to seek it. We black men say, therefore, we do not believe in violence. Our object is justice not violence and we will fight only when there is no better way.

The proletariat which stands for violence is that proletariat which becomes the tool to carry out capitalistic violence. The first duty of workers is not to fight but to convince themselves that union of workers, class solidarity, is better than force and a substitute for it.

The real problem, then, is this concert of the workers. The real emphasis today is not on revolution but on class consciousness and this is the job of socialism and the first proof of conversion is the abolition of race prejudice.

It is the duty of socialism to battle the war psychologically and not to promote it. Early Christianity with its battle hymns and war metaphors made the same ghastly mistake,--"Its blood-red banner streams afar" down to our own day.

If, now, reaction toward capitalism can no more save Negroes today than it could in the past; and if the opportunity to ally the Negro with white labor has been limited in the past and while wider today is still too limited for effective action and if a program of avowed violence is out of the question, what can the Negro do? This bringsme really to the end of my part of this program, but I may say for the benefit and attack of my good friend, Mr. Harris, to my mind, this is our program: so to organize the Negro group that within it, labor and the interests of labor shall be dominant; so to organize the vast consumers' power of this group as to secure wide economic independence through the exchange of services and the exchange and manufacture of goods. Through these methods, to train the American Negroes so that they will realize in their own group and realize at first, the kind of social

reformation which the whole world is bound to come to some day And above all to stop this great people from being ashamed of itself, of its color and history; of living together and working together and to realize that race segregation is the white man's loss and not the black man's damnation.

49-16-27

SOCIAL PLANNING FOR THE NEGRO,
PAST AND PRESENT

From the day of the Negro's landing in the United States down to the present, there have been 4 well-defined plans of emancipation and social uplift. The first plan was naturally that of violence; the individual and organized resistance to slavery. The extent of this is usually misapprehended in the United States because the plan began in Africa and the West Indies and only its last efforts were extended to the mainland. Henry M. Stanley estimates that "in the African slave ~~returns~~ raids for every slave captured, at least 4 persons were left dead in the villages, and where the cause of Negro slavery was inter-tribal war, the toll of death was even greater. On the middle passage to America there were repeated efforts at mutiny in the 18th and 19th Centuries, down to the celebrated cases of the "Amistad" and the "Creole".

The Negroes once landed in the Western world were for many years a cause of turmoil. Ovando solicited that no Negro slaves be sent to Haiti for "they fled among the Indians and taught them bad customs and could never be captured." The story of the fugitive Maroons in South America and Jamaica is one of the sagas of modern history. They fought the English government for a ~~thousand~~ hundred years; they resisted the Spanish and Portuguese and they achieved freedom which continues to our day in Haiti and Guiana.

The fear of slave violence on the American mainland is sufficiently proven by the legislation. The laws of South Carolina in 1712 were defended as necessary "to restrain the disorders, rapines and inhumanity to which they are naturally prone and inclined." The law of 1740 declared that "many late, ~~horrible~~ horrible and barbarous massacres have actually been committed and many more designed on the white inhabitants of this province by Negro slaves." ~~Help~~ Harsh and pitiless legislation based on these premises continued during slavery and especially was revived and ~~performed~~ increased after the attempts of Vesey and Nat Turner.

~~A third and much more successful plan of legislation to slavery, however, soon came to act as the safety valve against violence, but~~ We must not forget that the ~~recent~~ last effective act of violence which the slaves used was their mass movement during the ~~time of~~ the Civil War year which added 200,000 soldiers and even larger numbers of servants and laborers to the ~~American troops during the war~~ Union armies. It was this actual ad-

herence of slaves to the Union cause and the threat that it would be extended indefinitely that made the Civil War hopeless for the South and led to its sudden cessation.

The third plan which ~~I mentioned~~ acted as the safety valve for slavery was that of the fugitive slave, and it was by far the most successful attack on slavery and began a real social re-organization for the Negro. In a comparatively empty country, the individual slave who could not and would not endure the system would not have to wait until he got the assent and support of a larger number of his fellows. He could steal away to the swamps of Florida and Virginia and along the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi Valley into the North. This running away of slaves was ~~the~~ first ~~for~~ an individual enterprise; then it became organized and systematized under Negro leaders and finally gained the co-operation and active help of whites during the era of the Underground Railroad.

The Underground Railroad led to the Civil War. It meant that the capital invested in slaves was continually suffering losses and the slave owners demanded more and more peremptorily the enactment of severe fugitive slave laws. The last one which they secured on the eve of the Civil War, not only interfered with individual rights, but state rights. It led to retaliatory nullification in the North, intensified the bitterness between the sections and eventually resulted in Civil War.

It is difficult to say how many slaves escaped, but ~~if we remember that~~ the black population of the North increased from 130,000 in 1820 to 345,000 in 1860; ~~we must note that~~ this is a considerably larger increase than ~~in the case~~ that of the total Negro population and ~~if we remember that~~ this Northern group was composed of poor emigrants with broken family life and insecure economic basis suddenly transferred from city to town, it seems certain that ~~between~~ at least 100,000 ~~and 200,000~~ of them were fugitives from slavery and represented a loss of at least $25,000,000 in invested capital and perhaps much more than that. It was this economic loss that spurred secession.

41-9-82

Meantime there were especial centers of runaway slaves. There were the fugitive slaves at the time of the Revolutionary War who not only took part in the hostilities, but caused infinite difficulties in peace negotiations. There were the 1,000 Negroes, who in 1815 manned a former British port in Georgia and resisted the power of the United States and finally there were the so-called Seminole wars which were simply slave ~~riots~~ raids for runaway property.

Beside these efforts, there were more far-reaching efforts to settle the Negro problem by mass migration. A proposal to leave this country for Africa seemed logical in the 18th Century when so many Negroes were newly come to the country. This plan was not simply a plan of white folk. Paul Cuffe was actually the first person who successfully transported ~~slaves~~ emigrants, taking 38 Negroes to Africa at his own expense. Later, came the American Colonization Society, but the plan for wholesale migration ~~which it had also swelled~~ was spoiled by the effort of the radical South to turn this migration into an attempt to bolster slavery by getting rid of free Negroes. Nevertheless, out of that effort, together with the attempt to enforce the slave trade laws, came the settlement at Liberia.

Among the free Negroes of the North, plans for social amelioration began about 1830 when the Nat Turner insurrection in the South and the new foreign immigration to the North, made the economic situation of the free Negroes difficult. Riots and discriminatory laws in Ohio and Pennsylvania led to the Conventions of 1830, 1831 and to a well thought-out plan of migration. The British government was approached and offered an asylum, at first in Canada and later, after the West Indian emancipation, in the West Indies. The Canadian migration was financed by Negroes themselves and large numbers went to Ontario where they built up successful settlements. They were headquarters of the Underground railroad. Their influence on American Negroes has been great. It was here that John Brown went to perfect his plans for the Harper Ferry raids, and it was here that Richard B. Harrison was born.

41-9-23

Between 1830 and 1860, the situation of American Negroes became increasingly difficult because of the spread of the abolition controversy and the rise of the cotton kingdom. An increasing number of Negroes in the 50's began to consider that wholesale migration was the only escape. They saw no chance of emancipation in the United States. Even Frederick Douglass placed his whole hope on war and blood, but, nevertheless, steadfastly opposed migration.

In 1854, a remarkable convention met in Cleveland, Ohio. They made 3 proposals: Martin R. Delaney proposed migration to the Niger Valley of Africa, James M. Whitfield proposed to go to Central America and Theodore Holly to Haiti. They not only made these propositions, but they actually made the necessary investigation and at the next colonization convention in Canada in 1856, Holly made a report

which resulted, eventually, in 2,000 Negro emigrants going to Haiti. Delaney concluded 8 treaties with African kings and brought evidences of land concessions and welcome. Whitfield did not actually get to Central America before the Civil War broke out.

The war stopped migration schemes, until black fugitives began to pour into the Union armies. For a while, Lincoln did not realize the significance of this tremendous accession of power to the North and withdrawal of labor force from the South. The first problem, and an irritating problem it was, was what was going to be done to get rid of the Negroes. If some plan of mass migration could be devised there was the possibility not simply of withdrawing these slaves from work in the South, but of inducing the Border States to give up slavery. Lincoln had long been an advocate of colonization. He said frankly that he could not conceive Negroes and white people living together in the United States as equals. He, therefore, secured in 1861 an appropriation of $100,000 from Congress and a further appropriation of $500,000 in 1862. He consulted delegations of Negroes and made contacts with foreign countries, but before he went further, he suddenly saw just what the significance of Negro soldiers and laborers was. He saw that without their help, the war against the South could not be won, while with their help and the threat of increased accessions from the slaves, the opposition in the South was doomed. Moreover, he became convinced that mass migration of the Negroes could not be carried on with their consent nor at a price which the United States was willing to pay. His one venture with 500 Negro sellers on a little island near Haiti was a disastrous failure and nearly half the victims died of disease and were cheated outrageously by the white manager. Then came the era of Reconstruction and with the thrill of political power in the minds of the Negro and his friends, social Reconstruction by migration was practically given up, except that Negroes moved in considerable groups from place to place in the South in order to find free land and better working conditions. When, however, the revolution of 1876 came and the Negro by force and fraud was disfranchised, a great migration movement to the West was conceived by Henry Adams in Louisiana and Benjamin Singleton in Tennessee. Some 50,000 Negroes actually migrated to Kansas and the West and it took conciliation and violence in the South to stop the stream. Its more effectual stoppage, however, was due to poverty

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and ~~lack of~~ cold welcome in the West. Nevertheless, a Negro ~~colony~~ population was planted in Kansas and its descendants remain there. Later, Bishop Turner, and the Congressman Morgan of Alabama, tried to revive the project of migration to Africa, but its only result was 1 shiplead of 200 Negroes in 1885. On the other hand, the migration of Negroes from South to North has gone on continuously since the Civil War. Between 1880 and 1900, some 10,000 to 20,000 a year went into the North, while from 1910 to 1930, between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 moved in one of the great mass movements of the history of migration.

Meantime, the fourth great plan for the social emancipation of Negroes began with the Reconstruction efforts in the Civil War. From 1867-1876, the Negroes placed their whole hope of full emancipation and economic security upon their vote and this forms one of the most interesting episodes in American history. It was not simply the enfranchisement of black folk, it was the attempt to reconstruct the basis of American democracy and to put the political power in the hands of the lowest working group. If this group had had leadership and a greater chance for industrial development, there might would have ensued in the South a dictatorship of the proletariat which might have led the modern world. But, of course, these laborers themselves were under the direction and ideology of a capitalistic form of industry. Their idea of emancipation was the rise of an exploiting class of black capitalists. Nevertheless, their realistic grasp of the situation led them to efforts to make the situation of the emancipated workers as advantageous as possible. They tried co-operation, farms in Louisiana and state division of large plantations in South Carolina. They advocated and made actual free public school education in every Southern state. They gave opportunity for the poor man, not only to vote, but to represent his class in the legislature and the greatest charge against Reconstruction that the legislature was filled by people who did not pay taxes, was really its greatest worry. The non-tax-paying laborer was the man who for a long time dominated the legislature with both white and black representatives. There were, however, 2 unconquerable centers of opposition: one was the white landholder, who despite the fortunes of war, was enabled to continue his monopoly of the land through the determination of Andrew Johnson. It was one of the ironies of fate that the poor white who was the author of the legislation which distributed free land to the peasants of Europe and the North, was also the man, who succeeded in keeping

the emancipated Negroes of the South as landless serfs.

The second unconquerable center of opposition was the new capitalism of the North which was rising to tremendous and ruthless power. This new capitalism looked upon the South not as a center of a new democracy, but as a center of exploitation. So long as the Southern land monopolist threatened the power and career of the Northern industrialists, he was perfectly willing to let black and white labor have its way in the South. But when Southern labor began to increase its demands and power, and on the other hand, the Southern landholder showed himself ~~perfectly~~ willing to unite with the Northern capitalists ~~on new deals~~ in new exploitation, the bargain of 1876 was ~~kept~~ made and the laborers, white and black, were disfranchised. over

41-9-86

However, the plan for Negro emancipation by political means did not end in 1876. The Negro held on to vestiges of his political power, first, by black congressmen, up until the beginning of the 20th Century, by a few members of ~~the~~ Southern legislatures and especially by ~~the~~ their power inside the Republican Party. This latter power, ~~however,~~ was gradually undermined by the fact that it ~~gradually~~ had back of it less and less of real ~~Democratic support~~ control and, therefore, could more easily be ~~secured~~ reduced by bribery and manipulation. ~~The power, therefore, dwindled until the 65 Negro delegates of 1918 were reduced to 49 in 1928.~~

Appointments of Negroes to Federal office also became less in number, as Reconstruction receded. Nevertheless there were certain compensations in the North. Negroes appeared in the legislature of 11 or 12 Northern states and sometimes played a conspicuous part. They were elevated to the judicial bench in the District of Columbia and 3 other states, and in cities, particularly like Chicago, New York and ~~New York~~, they occupied positions of real power. The result of this political influence can be shown in many ways. Between 1884 and 1897, 25 civil rights laws, in addition to the national civil rights law, were passed in 16 Northern states. Many of them, including the national law, were emasculated by judicial interpretation, ~~while~~ but others, like the Massachusetts and New York laws, are effective today. Federal appropriations for Negro education in the case of Howard University and the land grant colleges have been secured, ~~and~~ On the other hand, further discriminatory legislation has been held up. Jim-Crow cars have been kept out of Delaware, West Virginia and Missouri and partially out of Maryland. A flood of anti-racial inter-marriage laws introduced in 1913 in Congress and 12 different states were defeated in every instance but one. On the other hand,

What ensued in the South after emancipation was not at all the classical bourgeois revolution but something far more complicated and reactionary

in the South, "Jim-Crow" legislation and disfranchisement laws between 1881 and 1910 swept through with little opposition. ¶ It became clearer and clearer as the plan of political power to emancipate the American Negro was followed, that something was lacking; that the poverty and inexperience of the Negro made it impossible for him to exercise his political power in full and that as a minority, even then he could not succeed unless he could make some alliance with the majority. There ensued, therefore, two plans which both explain and supplement the plan of political power from 1867-1930. ¶ One of these movements came ~~from~~ in 1896-1920 and it sought firmly to integrate the American Negro into American industry as a farmer, laborer, skilled artisan and capitalist. The other movement, sought by agitation and legal defense, to clear away race discrimination and allow untrammeled advancement of black folk according to ability. These 2 latter movements fell into bitter centroversy. The

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economic movement ended with the World War and the anti-discrimination movement declined with the depression ~~and both these movements before they ended tended gradually to coalesce the principle while employing different methods.~~ ¶ The plan of social Reconstruction advocated by Booker T. Washington was not simply a plan for the uplift of labor as is so often assumed, and it can be only understood as we consider its ~~go back to the~~ immediate background. The late William H. Baldwin, President of the Long Island Railroad and slated to be President of the Pennsylvania , was a young man trained in Southern industry and he was one of the first to conceive of the training of ~~a party~~ of black laborers who should share work with white laborers and at the same time keep the white labor movement from too strong and insistent demands in its fight with capital. ¶ This idea began in the day when the "one big union" of the Knights of Labor had changed to the craft unionism of the American Federation of Labor. The strength of the labor movement was growing but ~~it~~ almost without exception it excluded black skilled labor. However, ~~now~~, black skilled labor was valuable and could be ~~organized and~~ trained in the South, ~~it was~~ Mr. Baldwin's ~~idea~~ idea was gradually growing that you would not only do a service and open opportunity for black folk, but you would in this same way serve as a hold white labor in check. ¶ About this time, Booker T. Washington took charge of Tuskegee in Alabama. He was an opportunist with high ideals. He believed in political rights for people who could exercise them but in the case of ~~the~~ Southern Negroes as, he knew that they could not exercise them without ~~present danger~~ the consent of the white South. He took the position, therefore, that the Negro

must gain an economic status before he could use his political rights and in this he was undoubtedly right; but on the other hand, his idea of the economic status which Negroes must gain was based ~~especially and~~ unquestionably on the capitalistic organization of the United States.

Mr. Washington's program included a temporary acquiescence in giving up Negro political rights and agitation for civil rights and insistence upon training young Negroes for farming and industry. The plan was launched by the Atlanta Speech in 1896 and was triumphant from that date until about 1910. It included alliance with white capital and was rewarded by large contributions toward Negro education, especially such schools as conformed to the Hampton-Tuskegee type. As a first step toward this new Negro capitalism, Mr. Washington especially stressed landholding, widespread peasant proprietorship and even large farms among Negroes; and then a training of Negro laborers and artisans for use in industry at a wage necessarily less than that demanded by union labor. The result of this compromise was new understanding between leading elements, North and South, with regard to the Negro. The Negro college, while not entirely discouraged, was looked upon with some suspicion and positions for Negro college graduates became difficult. To some extent, appointments and opportunities for young Negroes were carefully censored and referred for approval to Tuskegee over a very wide extent of country. Negro newspapers were brought in line by judicious advertising and other means of control. This was really regarded as clever and far-sighted compromise, which if it did not solve would at least peacefully postpone the solution of a baffling, intricate problem of race contact until more favorable times. Between 1900-1910, Mr. Washington became one of the most popular men in America, in constant demand North and South as a speaker, adviser and referee.

As the current opinion of the land became unified, Mr. Washington's program began to become increasingly suspicious in the eyes of Negroes. A wave of Jim-Crow legislation and disfranchising bills swept over the South and the Border States. Already separation of the races in travel had been made compulsory in 8 Southern states before 1891, but had paused. Now a new wave of legislation began in 1898 and covered South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and Oklahoma. Determined and repeated efforts were made in Missouri, West Virginia and Delaware. Disfranchising laws swept over the South and Border States, from 1890-1910, at the very time when Negro political

power and agitation had been lulled to its lowest by the Washington compromise. This triumph of the radical, anti-Negro South and the continued prevalence of lynching which went on at the rate of 1 to 2 a week during most of Mr. Washington's career, greatly embarrassed him. He hated caste and lawlessness as much as any man. He wanted the best for his people, but he ~~impatiently~~ plaintively believed that once his economic program could be put through all else would follow. and he made the fatal mistake of trying to forestall criticism from Negroes and of acquiescing in the neglect if not the suppression of Negro colleges.

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The result was the outburst of wrath and criticism led by the younger college-bred Negro group, an outburst which eventually split the Negro group in twain. But it was not that criticism that doomed the Washington program. It was the plain failure of the economic re-building which I emphasized. This is shown by the trend of Negro employment, despite the effort of both Hampton and Tuskegee to train farmers and servants, both of these decreased in number. Farmers, instead of forming 57% of the workers, as in 1890, now formed 37%. Servants have decreased from 31% in 1890 to 22% in 1920. Since then, they have increased to 29%. Manifestly, then, there were forces at work to drive the Negroes off the farm and out of the servant quarters. On the other hand, the number of Negroes in commerce and transportation and in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, increased largely from 10% in 1890 to 29% in 1930, but it was not at all the kind of increase that Mr. Washington had in mind. The newcomers were mainly laborers. They made some headway into the semi-skilled and skilled industries, but were kept out by the trade unions and the trade unions held against them as an excuse the fact that they had been trained and that the plan had been to train them as strikebreakers and low-cost laborers. The caste system in the South increased the whole idiology of caste throughout the United States until laboring men felt themselves degraded to work with blackmen. Moreover, the attempt of Negroes to enter the employing class as merchants and landholders was made impossible by severe competition and monopoly. The attempt to teach Negroes the skill of modern industry was also frustrated by the changing of skill, the mass production, the use of machinery. While, therefore, land ownership among Negroes and the accumulation of property increased until 1910, it then began to decrease and the increase in Negro property, while a creditable index of thrift, was dwarfted by the immense piling up of capital

in the hands of whites. Without doubt, the Washington program improved the economic status of the Negro, but on the other hand, and just as surely, it did not show a way out because it fasten the change of exploitation on Negro labor and increased labor antagonism in the laboring classes.

This was particularly shown int he new development in the South where white labor used its political and social influence to replace black labor and eliminate the so-called Negro jobs. At the time of the depression, therefore, the status of Negro labor, both North and South, was precarious, through the opposition of unions and the discrimination of employers in the North and the competition of poor white labor in the South.

The next plan for social re-organization was that of agitation of legal defense. It was at first a part of the plan for political power and not a demand for fixing the unconstitutionality of disfranchisement legislation and the enforcing of war amendments. On of the earliest group movements to agitate for this was the National League formed in Boston in 1885. It was local in its membership but had some influence.

In 1887, T. Thomas Fortune, editor of what is now the NEW YORK AGE, issued an appeal for a national organization and repeated this in 1889. The so-called Afro-American League, afterward changed to Afro-American Council, met in Chicago with 21 states represented in January, 1890. J. C. Price was President and Mr. Fortune, Secretary. The League held another meeting in Tennessee and then died until Bishop Walters revived it in 1898. It met that year in September at Rochester and later in November in Washington. The object of the organization was to investigate lynching, to test the constitutionality of discriminatory laws, to secure civil rights legislation, to promote migration from the South and to encourage organization. It met for several years and practically died with a final meeting in St. Paul, Minnesota about 1900. Its weakness was that it consisted simply of an annual meeting without a continuous working organization. The result was that it did little more than meet, organize, and pass resolutions. In the year 1905, a new aspect came over the plans for American Negroes for social Reconstruction. The young college man began to pass under the dictatorship of the Tuskegee machine and the possibility of expressing even legitimate or temporary criticism. The opposition was crystalized by the jailing

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CHAPTER IV.

10 A.

The new disfranchisement laws and the wave of discriminatory legislation, coupled with Mr. Washington's concessions, alarmed the colored people. Particularly the young colored college man began to fear the dictatorship of the Tuskegee machine and the difficulty of expressing even legitimate criticism. This opposition was crystalized by the jailing of Monroe Trotter in Boston for trying to heckle Mr. Washington during a speech of the colored church. It seems to me that this was going too far and that while Trotter was much more bitter and outspoken than was necessary, yet he did have a right to talk even though he criticized Mr. Washington. The result was that a call was issued in June, 1905, signed by 59 men from 17 states. In July, 1905, 29 of these men, representing 14 states, met at Niagara Falls and formed the Niagara movement. The movement grew and in 1906 held a significant meeting at Harpers Ferry. The Manifesto which it sent out was plain and bitter.

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CHAPTER IV.

10 C

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10 D

" The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People seeks to uplift the colored men and women of this country by securing to them the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens, justice in all courts, and equality of opportunity everywhere. It favors and aims to aid, every kind of education among them save that which teaches special privileges or prerogative, class or caste. It recognizes the national character of the Negro problem and no sectionalism. It believes in the holding of the Constitution of the United States and its amendments, in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. It upholds the doctrine of "all men up and no man down." It abhors Negro crime, but still more the conditions which breed crime, and most of all the crimes committed by mobs in the mockery of thelaw, by individuals in the name of the law.

" It believes that the scientific truths of the Negro problem must be available before the country can see its way wholly clear to right existing wrongs. It has no other belief than that the best way to uplift the colored man and the best way to aid the white man to peace is social content; it has no other desire than exacting justice, and no other motive than patriotism. ".

(First Annual Report, January 1, 1911.)
N.A.A.C.P.

41-9-92

The Niagara movement, however, had certain inherent difficulties. First, it was a racial movement of men entirely unknown outside their group and with no means of contact by which they could easily reach influential persons in the white group. And secondly, Mr. Trotter, who owned and edited the one organization journal, was not an organization man. He was an extreme individualist. When, therefore, in 1909 there was held a conference in New York with practically the same program that the Niagara movement had, practically all of the leading members of the Niagara movement went into the N.A.A.C.P., 7 of them going upon its Board of Directors and thus to a large measure the work of the Niagara movement became merged with that of the N. A. A. C. P.

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of Monroe Trotter when he and George Forbes bitterly attacked Mr. Washington in their new paper, " THE BOSTON GUARDIAN" and Trotter was eventually put in jail because he tried to heckle Mr. Washington during his speech at Zion Church, Boston. It seemed to many of us who were then young that this was going too far; that while Trotter was much more bitter and out-spoken than most of us, that he did have a right to talk and that a man must not be put in jail because he talked against Mr. Washington. The result was that in June, 1905, a call was sent out from Atlanta, Georgia to a few, select persons "for organizing determination and aggressive action on the part of men who believe in Negro freedom and growth." A conference was proposed "to oppose firmly cheap methods of strangling honest criticism." Fifty-nine men from 17 states eventually signed the call and 29 men from 14 states went to Niagara Falls in July, 1906 and formed the Niagara movement. The movement grew and in 1908 had a great and significant meeting at Harpers Ferry. It might not be out of place to read the manifesto issued at that meeting.

The Niagara movement, however, had certain inherent difficulties. First, it was a racial movement of men entirely unknown outside their group and with no means of contact by which they could easily reach influential persons in the white group. And secondly, Mr. Trotter, who owned and edited the one organization journal, was not an organization man. He was an extreme individualist. When, therefore, in 1909 there was held a conference in New York with practically the same program that the Niagara movement had, practically all of the leading members of the Niagara movement went into the N.A.A.C.P., 7 of them going upon its Board of Directors and thus to a large measure the work of the Niagara movement became merged with that of the N. A. A. C. P. The work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is too well-known to call for review here. I need only point out that its greatest triumph was in the matter of legal defense. Practically, it made the Supreme Court for the first time in the history of the country affirm the validity of the 15th Amendment, outlaw the Grandfather Clauses and curtail the segregation ordinances. It also secured some protection for accused Negroes from mob violence and made the most effective anti-lynching campaign in the history of the country. Its weakness and the cause of its decline was the inability to see that the economic program of Mr. Washington had failed because it was not the program of the mass of Negro laborers, but a program which tried not the capitalistic exploitation which was the backbone of the economic structure of

America.

The first sign of change that faced the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was falling off of its income and the decrease in the circulation of THE CRISIS. This was not due to the fact that the American Negro did not want to fight discrimination and lynching and was not willing to pursue cases in legal defense which should build up the foundation of the whole caste system in marriage, in travel and in education. But it did come from the fact that the colored people, economically, were unable to stand the expense. It had been the proud boast of the N.A.A.C.P. that beginning as a quasi philanthropic institution, expecting to rely upon funds furnished mainly by white friends, it had become during its best years supported in the main by the mass of colored ~~people~~ workers and THE CRISIS had been made financially independent by the same kind of support. The amounts of money which it received from rich white people were small and their withdrawal would have made no particular difference in its program. The falling off, now, of this income meant that the colored people were financially unable to sustain this program and especially to back its expansion. We realized this before the depression and the causes lay in a new industrial development, North and South. In the South, the Negro was losing the monopoly of certain jobs which he had had. The machine was displacing semi-skilled and skilled labor among both Negroes and whites. A new monopoly of capital and materials was so changing the face of industry that the Negro was becoming a reservoir of casual labor and the general causes of the collapse of agriculture throughout the world were at work in increased degree among Negro farmers. The mass migration of Negroes North alleviated but did not change the basic trouble. They found themselves in the midst of difficulties connected with housing, difficulties connected with unions, difficulties connected with the ~~careful~~ casual character of their labor and the low wage for which they were obliged to work. This should have taught the Negroes of the United States that a change of tactic was absolutely necessary. Agitation and legal defense must be kept up so far as possible but that possibly at present had its limitations. Before them and of more importance and of fundamental influence even to the campaign against race discrimination, was a new plan of social security. I began to advocate, therefore, for the N. A. A. C. P. a new social program as early as 1928. I was by no means clear in my own thinking, but was groping for light and for that reason visited Russia, began the study of Karl Marx and voted the Socialist ticket. My efforts brought little reaction, no particular opposition and at the same time no emphasis of agreement until the wave

of depression overwhelmed us. Then, suddenly, there came to the fore, a peculiar situation made by the fact that ~~which is still apparently unsolved and that is~~ the problem of race discrimination always cuts across and hinders the settlement of other problems, ^ we are repeatedly forced to give up direct attack when it orders save our very lives

It happened in the Civil War, in the midst of a fight for physical freedom, civil and political rights, the Negro was suddenly faced with the problem of fighting in the ~~a civil war and~~ when the outcome was by no means clear nor was it altogether certain just where his interest lay. He was compelled for a time to lay aside his racial demands to become Union soldiers and laborers and afterward was rewarded by ~~afterward~~ receiving a greater measure of political power and civil rights than he had dreamed of. The same kind of dilemma came at the time of the World War.

41-9-96

We had no choice between War & peace — The nation was rushing headlong We had no allies save a few a small group of thinkers who for the most part were not interested in Negroes. Labor was near unanimous for war & so were most Socialists here & abroad. ~~Our only choice was~~ we were in a raging flood & our only real choice was to fight swimming with the current or to be drowned. An impotent objection & cries then & under similar circumstances would say again close Ranks & fight for our own liberty while the world ~~fight for~~ was Communistic suicide

The victim of mob violence, lynching and residential segregation ~~was asked to fight on the side of the Allies and~~ for a time he had to concentrate his efforts toward securing decent treatment of his segregated regiments, an opportunity ~~of Negroes~~ for men to become officers, even if they were blind and permission to fight at the front instead of work blindly in the rear. ~~Yet~~ After the World War, ~~he~~ the Negro was able to return to his attack upon prejudice with increased power and efficiency. ~~Today there is before us something of the same thing only it has vaster implications.~~ Other We are in the midst of a national and world movement to reconstruct the basis of industry. In order to be efficient co-workers in this Reconstruction, we have got to escape the present ~~wide~~ threat of starvation, to conserve our schools and social organizations and to get regular, decently paid work. With that foundation settled, even in a reasonable degree, we can begin again to fight discrimination. But until unemployment among American Negroes is decreased and a decent standard of living re-established, we have no resources upon which the battle against discrimination can effectively be carried ~~on~~. Here, then, is the dilemma and how has it been met? Briefly put, there have been 3 moves: (1) toward invoking the protection of restored capitalism, (2) a movement toward alliance with organized labor, and (3) a movement toward socialism.

In the first category may be placed practically all of the older organizations: the Urban League, the Federation of Churches, the N. A. A. C. P. ~~At the same time,~~ Nearly all of these organizations have to be sure shown signs of uneasiness at their position. The Urban League organized a National Economic Council, which through an executive committee and Workers' Council, was designed to guide the Negro through the crisis. (Apparently this never functioned) The N.A.A.C.P. sought to adopt an economic program but was unable to agree on anything definite or authoritative. ~~The Federation of Churches has adopted a liberal labor program but has not applied it to Negroes~~ Gradually, most of these and many other organizations ~~and many others~~ under the guidance

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The years from 1919 to 1929 represent a high water mark
of our organized strivings for increased political power,
the enthusiasm of agitation & legal defense.

The wrongs to be righted seemed limited to the fact
that the cause for which we made voluntarily committed
& fight dearly failed in its long victory and cast us
back all men, workers & owners, in the maelstrom of
World Depression. Today then our original paradox
again appears with new complications & broader fields

of the Joint Committee on Recovery, began a drive on the administration to secure justice for the Negro in relief; but the difficulty was in finding for these various organizations any unified plan for future guidance. Ten of the organizations were religious, 4 were academic fraternities and sororities, 1 is a fraternal order, 1 an organization for agitation and reform, 4 organizations of professional men, 1 designed for group work and 3 industrial organizations. The only thing upon which this conglomery could wholeheartedly unite was the matter of discrimination. Of the facts of discrimination, the Joint Committee has furnished adequate and commendable proof, but as to what we are going to do about it, the Joint Committee, quite naturally, has nothing to say and nothing to think. Everything that has happened, practically, might easily be foretold before the NRA If the United States government comes in to the depression picture to administer actual local relief, that relief must be directly carried out by local people and these local people in the places where Negroes are most numerous are going to be prejudiced and narrow.

If the government is going to relief the farmer by a scarcity program or bonuses, the people who are going to reap the benefit from that program are going to be the people who own the land. If the government is going to establish a great power organization with towns and industries, in these towns and industries there is going to be repeated the same pattern of discrimination and segregation that is current in the nation. If we are going to have housing projects, subsistence homesteads, farm credit and credit unions, we are going to find in the carrying out of these plans the same American prejudice against color that we find everywhere. The one thing, therefore, that we are bound to do in self-defense is to see that in the midst of all this we secure such beginnings of economic security that in the future we shall have power to work out our destiny, and to this everything else is subordinate. If segregated homesteads and segregated land will give us more secure employment and higher wage, we cannot for a moment hesitate. If segregated schools will give us better education, then we must have segregated schools. If segregated housing will give us decent homes, we have no right to choose for our children and our families slums for the sake of herding with the unfit. Our first business is in the midst of the great economic revolution which is going on to secure a place for ourselves.

To this, the advocates of labor alliance answer: there is only one haven of refuge for the American Negro. He must recognize that his attempt to enter the ranks of capital as an exploiter came too late. He is now forever excluded by the extraordinary

monopoly which white capital and credit have upon the machines and materials of the world. Moreover, that solution after all was possible only for the few. The great mass of ~~laborers~~ Negroes belong to the laboring class. They have the same interests that white laborers have. They must join the white labor movement. This, however, is not nearly as easy as it might seem. Not only has the attempt of American Negroes to join the ranks of the white labor movement been discouraging for more than a century, but even today, the welcome which they are accorded is questionable. In the first place, the farmers and servants who compose the mass of ~~American~~ workers, ~~particularly~~ among colored people, are not organized. If we take the 30,000,000 of organizable labor, no less than 7,000,000 are organized, even if we include the company unions. If we take ~~that~~ the less than 5,000,000 who are organized, the overwhelming majority of them will not allow the Negroes to join their ranks under any circumstances and most of the rest have only allowed Negroes to intrude when the power of Negro labor was such that they did not dare to oppose its competition. There are, undoubtedly, today a number of unions which are disposed to welcome Negro members and who recognize something of the real solidarity of labor interests; but their total number must be less than half a million. With ~~those~~ such workers, Negro ~~workers~~ labor ought by all means to unite; but to say that the union of American Negro labor, with 1/2 million out of 5,000,000 organized laborers, is a labor alliance, is seriously to overstate the case.

41-9-98

Suppose, now, that the Negro turns to the promise of socialism whither I have long ~~turned~~ looked for salvation. (I was once a member of the celebrated Local No 1 in New York.) I am convinced of the essential truth of the Marxian philosophy and believe that eventually land, machines and materials must belong to the state, that private profit must be abolished, that the system of exploiting labor must disappear, and that people who work must have essentially equal income and that in their hands the political rulership of the state must eventually rest.

Notwithstanding the fact that I believe this is the truth and that this truth is being gradually exemplified by the Russian experiment, I must, nevertheless, ask myself ~~carefully~~ seriously: how far can American Negroes forward this eventual end? What part can they expect to have in a socialistic state and what can they do now to bring about its realization? And my answer to this has long been clear. One of the worst ~~and last~~ things that ~~they~~ Negroes could do today would be ~~for them~~ to join the American Communist party or any of its many branches. The Communists of America have become dogmatic exponents of the inspired word of Karl Marx as they read it. They believe, apparently, in

(over)

immediate, violent and bloody revolution and they are willing to try any and all means of raising hell anywhere and under any circumstances. This is a silly program even for white men. For American colored men, it is suicide. In the first place, its logical basis is by no means sound. The great and fundamental change in the organization of industry which Karl Marx with his splendid mind and untiring sacrifice visualized, must, to be sure, be brought about by revolution, but whether in all times and places and under all circumstances that revolution is going to involve war and bloodshed, is a question which every sincere follower of Marx has a right to ~~pose~~ doubt

66-6-14

The most baffling paradox today is the attitude of men toward war. On the one hand, we have the advocates of radical reform in our fundamental, economic and political structure, insisting that the only path to this era of Peace and Justice is through violent revolution. On the other hand, we have the advocates of the present system insisting that they can only insure peace by world-wide preparation for the same kind of war which recently took the lives of ten million men.

The ordinary man seeking peace has, then, apparently, not a choice between Peace and War, but only a choice of the kind of war in which he will fight and the object for which he will fight and apparently he must strive to make this last great murder of the West, this new War to end War, as peaceful and reasonable as possible.

Leaving for a moment the question as to how inevitable this dilemma is, we American Negroes under the race hate now prevalent, will in any case stand between the two armies as buffer and victim, pawn and peon; and we can only take this attitude:

We abhor violence and blood shed. We will join no movement that advocates a program of violence, except as the last defense against aggression.

We see today as the chief aggressor and threatener of violence, not communism, but greed and reaction, masquerading as patriotism and Fascism, armed to the teeth, intolerant and ready to kill and repress not only those who oppose them, but those who dare to express opposing thoughts.

Such discrimination, represented in the United States by various patriotic women's organizations, by war veterans' leagues, by the army and navy andits friends, ~~these~~ are the most dangerous advocates of war and murder; and it is foolish for those who believe in world Peace and economic Justice to be so misled by this reaction as to burst into wild words and futile deeds and thus give greed a chance to kill the innocent.

Granted that the Marxian dialectic is a masterful statement of a great truth, yet the Revolution which it sets down as inevitable, may logically, even if not probably, come by votes without violence, by restricted violence, or if with widespread violence, not with cruelty and unnecessary bloodshed. They are fools who think that successful and beneficial revolution consists primarily in raising the devil and it is very doubtful if such persons will ever lead America to Peace and Justice. It may well be that in the awful and fundamental changes to come, calm, silent and compassionate men may be compelled to lead the world to peace through irresistible force but never through irresponsible deviltry.

In any real revolution, every step that saves violence is to the glory of the great end. We may not save all, but we may never forget that revolution is not the object of socialism or communism rightly conceived; that then object is justice and if happily the world can find that justice without blood, the world is the infinite gainer. Persistent and dominant denial of this possibility may be made and may be true, but wise men will never cease to seek it. We black men say, therefore, we do not believe in violence. Our object is justice not violence and we will fight only when there is no better way.

The proletariat which stands for violence is that proletariat which becomes the tool to carry out capitalistic violence. The first duty of workers is not to fight but to convince themselves that union of workers, class solidarity, is better than force and a substitute for it.

The real problem, then, is this concept the workers. The real emphasis today is not on revolution but on class consciousness and this is the job of socialism and the first moral of conversion is the abolition of race prejudice.

41-9-100

In 1848, when the Communist Manifesto was written, the united laboring class was weak physically before the power of the owners. Today, the workers are the physical backbone of the owners' power. They mann their armies and navies and police; conviction and determination on their part, a general strike such as the English partially succeeded in carrying out, shows the possibility of the future.

It is the duty of socialism to battle the war psychologically and not to promote it. Early Christianity with its battle hymns and war metaphors made the same ghastly mistake,-- "Its blood-red banners streams afar" ~~today.~~ down to our own day

If, now, reaction toward capitalism can no more save Negroes ~~than that which~~ today than it could in the past, and if the opportunity to ally the Negro with white labor has been limited in the past and while wider today is still too limited for effective action and if a program of avowed violence is out of the question, what can the Negro do? This brings me really to the end of my part of this program, but I may say for the benefit and attack of my good friend, Mr. Harris, to my mind, this is our program: so to organize the Negro group that within it, labor and the interests of labor shall be dominate; so to organize the real consumers' power of this group as to secure economic independence through the exchange of services and the exchange and manufacture of goods. Through these methods, to train the American Negroes so that they will realize in their own group and realize at first the kind of social reformation which the whole world is bound to come to some day. And above all to stop this great people from being ashamed of nearly of its color + history; of living together + working together + to realize that race segregation is the while means loss + not the black means damnation

41-9-101

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SOCIAL PLANNING FOR THE NEGRO, PAST AND PRESENT.

From the day of the Negro's landing in the United States down to the present, there have been 4 well-defined plans of emancipation and social uplift. The first plan was naturally that of violence; the individual and organized resistance to slavery. The extent of this is usually misapprehended in the United States because the plan began in Africa and the West Indies and only its last efforts were extended to the mainland. Henry M. Stanley estimates that in the African slave raids, for every slave captured, at least 4 persons ~~were left~~ lay dead in the villages; and where the cause of Negro slavery was inter-tribal war, the toll of death was even greater. On the middle passage to America there were repeated efforts at mutiny in the 18th and 19th Centuries, down to the celebrated cases of the "Amistad" and the "Creole".

The Negroes once landed in the Western world were for many years a cause of turmoil. Ovando solicited that no more Negro slaves be sent to Haiti for they "fled among the Indians and taught them bad customs and could never be captured." The story of the fugitive Maroons in South America and Jamaica is one of the sagas of modern history. They fought the English government for a hundred years; they resisted the Spanish and Portuguese and they achieved a freedom which continues to our day in Haiti and Guiana.

The fear of slave violence on the American mainland is sufficiently proven by the legislation. The laws of South Carolina in 1712 were defended as necessary "to restrain the disorders, rapines and inhumanity to which they [the Negroes] are naturally prone and inclined." The law of 1740 declared that "many late, horrible and barbarous massacres have actually been committed and many more designed on the white inhabitants of this province by Negro slaves." Harsh ~~and pitiless~~ legislation based on these premises continued during slavery and especially was revived and increased after the attempts of Vesey and Nat Turner.

We must not forget that the last effective act of violence which the slaves used was their mass movement during the Civil War which added 200,000 soldiers and even larger numbers of servants and laborers to the Union Army. It was this actual adherence of slaves to the Union cause and the threat that it would be extended in-

definitely that made the Civil War hopeless for the South and led to its sudden cessation.

The second plan which acted as the safety valve for slavery was that of migration of the fugitive slave; it was by far the most successful attack on slavery and began a real social re-organization for the Negro. In a comparatively empty country, the individual slave who could not and would not endure the system would not have to wait until he got the assent and support of a large number of his fellows. He could steal away to the swamps of Florida and Virginia and along the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi Valley into the North. This running away of slaves was first an individual enterprise; then it became organized and systematized under Negro leaders and finally gained the co-operation and active help of whites during the era of the Undergreund Railroad.

The Undergreund Railroad led to the Civil War. It meant that the capital invested in slaves was continually suffering losses and the slave owners demanded more and more peremptorily the enactment of severe fugitive slave laws. The last one which they secured on the eve of the Civil War, not only interfered with individual rights, but state rights. It led to retaliatory nullification in the North, intensified the bitterness between the sections and eventually resulted in Civil War.

It is difficult to say how many slaves escaped, but the black population of the North increased from 130,000 in 1820 to 345,000 in 1860; this is a considerably larger increase than that of the total Negro population and if we remember that this Northern group was composed of poor emigrants with broken family life and insecure economic basis suddenly transferred from city to town, it seems certain that at least 100,000 of them were fugitives from slavery and represented a loss of at least $25,000,000 in invested capital and perhaps much more than that. It was this economic loss that spurred secession.

41-9-158

Meantime there were especial centers of runaway slaves. There were the fugitive slaves at the time of the Revolutionary War who not only took part in the hostilities, but caused infinite difficulties in peace negotiations. There were the 1,000 Negroes, who in 1815 manned a former British fort in Georgia and resisted the power of the United States; and finally there were the so-called Seminole wars which were simply slave raids for runaway property.

Social Planning for the Negroes, Past and Present.

Beside these efforts, there were more far-reaching efforts to settle the Negro problem by mass migration. A proposal to leave this country for Africa seemed logical in the 18th Century when so many Negroes were newly come to the country. This plan was not simply a plan of white folk. Paul Cuffe, a black man, was actually the first person who successfully transported emigrants, taking 38 Negroes to Africa at his own expense. Later, came the American Colonization Society, but their plan for wholesale migration was spoiled by the effort of the radical South to turn this migration into an attempt to bolster slavery by getting rid of free Negroes. Nevertheless, out of that effort, together with the attempt to enforce the slave trade laws, came the settlement at Liberia.

Among the free Negroes of the North, plans for social amelioration began about 1830 when the Nat Turner insurrection in the South and the new foreign immigration to the North, made the economic situation of the free Negroes difficult. Riots and discriminatory laws in Ohio and Pennsylvania led to the Conventions from 1830 and to 1836 and to a well thought-out plan of migration. The British Government was approached and offered asylum, at first in Canada and later, after the West Indian emancipation, in the West Indies. The Canadian migration was financed by Negroes themselves and large numbers went to Ontario where they built up successful settlements. Their influence on American Negroes has been great. They were headquarters of the Underground Railroad, and Liberty Leagues. It was here that John Brown went to perfect his plans for the Harper Ferry raids; and it was here that Joseph Henson and Richard B. Harrison was born.

Between 1830 and 1860, the situation of American Negroes became increasingly difficult because of the spread of the abolition controversy and the rise of the cotton kingdom. An increasing number of Negroes in the 50's began to consider that wholesale migration was the only escape. They saw no chance of emancipation in the United States. Even Frederick Douglass placed his whole hope on war and bleed, but, nevertheless, steadfastly opposed migration.

In 1854, a remarkable convention met in Cleveland, Ohio. They made 3 proposals: Martin R. Delaney proposed migration to the Niger Valley of Africa; James M. Whitfield proposed to go to Central America and Theodore Holly, to Haiti. They not only made these propositions, but they actually made the necessary investigation and

at the next colonization convention in Canada in 1856, Holly made a report which resulted, eventually, in 2,000 Negro emigrants going to Haiti. Delaney later concluded 8 treaties with African kings and brought evidences of land concessions and welcome. Whitfield ~~did not actually get~~ died on the way to Central America ~~before the Civil War broke out~~.

The war stopped migration schemes, until black fugitives began to pour into the Union armies. For a while, Lincoln did not realize the significance of this tremendous accession of power to the North and withdrawal of labor force from the South. The first problem ~~and an irritating problem it was,~~ was what was going to be done to get rid of the Negroes? If some plan of mass migration could be devised there was the possibility not simply of withdrawing these slaves from work in the South, but of inducing the Border States to give up slavery. Lincoln had long been an advocate of colonization. He said frankly that he could not conceive Negroes and white people living together in the United States as equals. He, therefore, secured in 1861 an appropriation of $100,000 from Congress and a further appropriation of $500,000 in 1362. He consulted delegations of Negroes and made contacts with foreign countries, but before he went further, he suddenly ~~saw just what~~ realized the significance of Negro soldiers and laborers were.

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He saw that without their help, the war against the South could not be won, while with their help and the threat of increased accessions from the slaves, the opposition in the South was doomed. Moreover, he became convinced that mass migration of the Negroes could not be carried on with their consent nor at a price which the United States was willing to pay. His one venture with 500 Negro settlers on a little island near Haiti was a disastrous failure and nearly half the victims died of disease and were cheated outrageously by their white manager.

Then came the era of Reconstruction and with the thrill of political power in the minds of the Negro and his friends, social Reconstruction by migration was practically given up, except that Negroes moved in considerable groups from place to place in the South in order to find free land and better working conditions. When, however, the revolution of 1876 came and the Negro by force and fraud was disfranchised, a great migration movement to the West was conceived by Henry Adams in Louisiana and

Social Planning for the Negroes, Past and Present.

Benjamin Singleton in Tennessee. Some 50,000 Negroes actually migrated to Kansas and the West and it took conciliation and violence in the South to stop the stream. Its more effectual stoppage, however, was due to poverty and cold welcome in the West. Nevertheless, a Negro population was planted in Kansas and its descendants remain there. Later, Bishop Turner and Congressman Morgan of Alabama, tried to revive the project of migration to Africa, but its only result was 1 shipload of 200 Negroes in 1885.

On the other hand, the migration of Negroes from South to North has gone on continuously since the Civil War. Between 1880 and 1900, some 10,000 to 20,000 a year went into the North, while from 1910 to 1930, between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 moved in one of the great mass movements of the history of migration.

Meantime, the fourth great plan for the social emancipation of Negroes began with the Reconstruction efforts in the Civil War. From 1867-1876, the Negroes placed their whole hope of full emancipation and economic security upon their vote and this forms one of the most interesting episodes in American history. It was not simply the enfranchisement of black folk, it was the attempt to reconstruct the basis of American democracy and to put the political power in the hands of the lowest working group. The bottom economic rail was put on top. If this group had had leadership and a greater chance for industrial development, there might have ensued in the South a dictatorship of the proletariat which might have led the modern world. But, of course, no such rapid transition from feudal slavery to industrial democracy could be expected. These laborers were themselves under the direction and ideology of a capitalistic form of industry. Their idea of emancipation was the rise of an exploiting class of black capitalists. Nevertheless, their realistic grasp of the situation led them to preliminary efforts not to exploit labor but to make the situation of the emancipated workers as advantageous as possible. They tried co-operative farming in Louisiana and state division of large plantations in South Carolina. They advocated and made actual free public school education in every Southern state. They gave opportunity for the poor man, not only to vote, but to represent his class in the legislature and the greatest charge against Reconstruction, that the legislature was filled by people who did not pay taxes, was really its greatest glory. The non-tax-paying laborer was the man who for a long time dominated the legislature with both white and black representatives.

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There were, however, 2 unconquerable centers of opposition: one was the white landholder, who despite the fortunes of war, was enabled to continue his monopoly of the land through the determination of Andrew Johnson. It was one of the ironies of fate that the poor white who was the author of the legislation which distributed free land to the peasants of Europe and the North, was also the man who succeeded in keeping the emancipated Negroes of the South as landless serfs.

The second unconquerable center of opposition was the new capitalism of the North which was rising to tremendous and ruthless power. This new capitalism looked upon the South not as a center of a new democracy, but as a new center of exploitation. So long as the Southern land monopolist threatened the power and career of the Northern industrialists, the north was perfectly willing to let black and white labor have its way in the South. But when Southern labor began to increase its demands and power, and on the other hand, the Southern landholder showed himself willing to unite with the Northern capitalists in new exploitation, the bargain of 1876 was made and the laborers, white and black, were disfranchised. What ensued in the South after emancipation was not at all the classical bourgeois revolution but something far more complicated and reactionary.

41-9-154

However, the plan for Negro emancipation by political means did not end in 1876. The Negro held on to vestiges of his political power, first, by black congressmen, up until the beginning of the 20th Century, by a few members of Southern legislatures and especially by their power inside the Republican Party. This latter power was gradually undermined by the fact that it had back of it less and less of real democratic control and, therefore, it could more easily be seduced by bribery and manipulation.

Appointments of Negroes to Federal office also became less in number, as Reconstruction receded. Nevertheless there were certain compensations in the North. Negroes appeared in the legislature of 11 or 12 Northern states and sometimes played a conspicuous part. They were elevated to the judicial bench in the District of Columbia and 3 other states, and in cities, particularly like Chicago and New York, they occupied from time to time positions of real power.

The result of this political influence can be shown in many ways. Between 1884 and 1897, 25 civil rights laws, in addition to the national civil rights law,

were passed in 16 Northern states. Many of them, including the national law, were emasculated by judicial interpretation, but others, like the Massachusetts and New York laws, are effective today. Federal appropriations for Negro education in the case of Howard University and the land grant colleges have been secured. On the other hand, further discriminatory legislation has been held up. Jim-Crow cars have been kept out of Delaware, West Virginia and Missouri and partially out of Maryland. A flood of anti-racial inter-marriage laws introduced in 1913 in Congress and 12 different states were defeated in every instance but one.

On the other hand, in the South, "Jim-Crow" legislation and disfranchisement laws between 1881 and 1910 swept through with little opposition.

It became clearer and clearer as the plan of political power to emancipate the American Negro was followed, that something was lacking; that the poverty and inexperience of the Negro made it impossible for him to exercise his political power in full and that as a minority, even then he could not succeed unless he could make some alliance with the majority. There ensued, therefore, two plans which both explain and supplement the plan of political power from 1867-1930.

41-9-155

One of these movements came in 1896-1920 and sought firmly to integrate the American Negro into American industry as a farmer, laborer, skilled artisan and capitalist. The other movement, sought by agitation and legal defense, to clear away race discrimination and allow untrammeled advancement of black folk according to ability. These 2 latter movements fell into bitter controversy. The economic movement ended with the World War and the anti-discrimination movement declined with the depression.

The plan of social Reconstruction advocated by Booker T. Washington was not simply a plan for the uplift of labor as is so often assumed, but also for a new black Capitalism and it can be only understood as we consider its immediate background. The late William H. Baldwin, President of the Long Island Railroad and slated to be President of the Pennsylvania, was a young white man trained in Southern industry and he was one of the first to conceive of the training of black laborers who should share work with white laborers and at the same time keep the white labof movement from too strong and insistent demands in its fight with capital.

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This idea began in the day when the "one big union" of the Knights of Labor had changed to the craft unionism of the American Federation of Labor. The strength of the labor movement was growing but almost without exception it excluded black skilled labor. However, black skilled labor was valuable and could be trained in the South. It was the idea of Mr. Baldwin and gradually of many others that this one you would not only do a service to and open opportunity for black folk, but one would in this same way serve capital and hold white labor in check.

About this time, Booker T. Washington took charge of Tuskegee in Alabama. He was an opportunist with high ideals. He believed in political rights ~~for people who could exercise them~~, but in the case of Southern Negroes, he knew that they could not exercise them without the consent of the white South. He took the position, therefore, that the Negro must gain an economic status before he could use his political rights and in this he was undoubtedly right; but on the other hand, his idea of the economic status which Negroes must gain was based unquestioningly on the capitalistic organization of the United States.

Mr. Washington's program included a temporary acquiescence in giving up Negro political rights and agitation for civil rights and insistence upon training young Negroes for farming and industry. Then up from a thrifty ~~cotton~~ class of black landlords and artisans, Washington expected a class of Negro capitalists to arise and employ Negro workers. The plan was launched by the Atlanta Speech in 1896 and was triumphant from that date until about 1910. It included alliance with white capital and was rewarded by large contributions toward Negro education, especially to such schools as conformed to the Hampton-Tuskegee type.

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As a first step toward this new Negro capitalism, Mr. Washington especially stressed landholding, widespread peasant proprietorship and even large farms among Negroes; and then a training of Negro laborers and artisans for use in industry at a wage if necessary less than that demanded by union labor. The result of this compromise was new understanding between leading white elements, North and South, with regard to the Negro. The Negro college, while not entirely discouraged, was looked upon with some suspicion and positions for Negro college graduates became difficult. To some extent, appointments and opportunities for young Negroes were carefully censored and

referred for approval to Tuskegee over a very wide extent of country. Negro newspapers were brought in line by judicious advertising and other means of control. This was really regarded as clever and far-sighted compromise, which if it did not solve would at least peacefully postpone the solution of a baffling, intricate problem of race contact until more favorable times. Between 1900-1910, Mr. Washington became one of the most popular men in America, in constant demand North and South as a speaker, adviser and referee.

As the current opinion of the land became unified, Mr. Washington's program began to become increasingly suspicious in the eyes of Negroes. A wave of Jim-Crow legislation and disfranchising bills swept over the South and the Border States. Already separation of the races in travel had been made compulsory in 8 Southern states before 1891, but had paused. Now a new wave of legislation began in 1898 and covered South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and Oklahoma. Determined and repeated efforts were made in Missouri, West Virginia and Delaware. Disfranchising laws swept over the South and Border States, from 1890-1910, at the very time when Negro political power and agitation had been lulled to its lowest by the Washington compromise. This triumph of the radical, anti-Negro South and the continued prevalence of lynching which went on at the rate of 1 to 2 a week during most of Mr. Washington's career, greatly embarrassed him. He hated caste and lawlessness as much as any man. He wanted the best for his people, but he implicitly believed that once his economic program could be put through all else would follow and he made the fatal mistake of trying to forestall criticism from Negroes and of acquiescing in the neglect if not the suppression of Negro colleges.

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The result was the outburst of wrath and criticism led by the younger college-bred Negro group, an outburst which eventually split the Negro group in twain. But it was not that criticism that deemed the Washington program. It was the plain failure of the economic re-building which I emphasized. This is shown by the trend of Negro employment; despite the effort of both Hampton and Tuskegee to train farmers and servants, both of these decreased in number. Farmers, instead of forming 57% of the workers, as in 1890, now formed 37%. Servants have decreased from 31% in 1890 to 22% in 1920. ~~Since the n, they have increased to 30%~~. Manifestly, then, there were forces at work to drive

the Negroes off the farm and out of the servant quarters. On the other hand, the number of Negroes in commerce and transportation and in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, increased largely from 10% in 1890 to 29% in 1930, but it was not at all the kind of increase that Mr. Washington had in mind. The newcomers were mainly laborers. They made some headway into the semi-skilled and skilled industries, but were kept out by the trade unions and the trade unions held against them as an excuse the fact that they had been trained and that the plan had been to train them as strikebreakers and low-cost laborers. The caste system in the South increased the whole ideology of caste throughout the United States until laboring men felt themselves degraded to work with black men. Moreover, the attempt of Negroes to enter the employing class as merchants and landholders was made impossible by severe competition and monopoly. The attempt to teach Negroes the skill of modern industry was also frustrated by the changing of skill, the mass production, the use of machinery. While, therefore, land ownership among Negroes and the accumulation of property increased until 1910, it then began to decrease and the increase in Negro property, while a creditable index of thrift, was dwarfed by the immense piling up of capital in the hands of whites. Without doubt, the Washington program improved the economic status of the Negro, but on the other hand, and just as surely, it did not show a way out because it fastened the chance of exploitation on Negro labor and increased labor antagonism in the laboring classes.

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This was particularly shown in the new development in the South where white labor used its political and social influence to replace black labor and eliminate the so-called Negro jobs. At the time of the depression, therefore, the status of Negro labor, both North and South, was precarious, through the opposition of unions and the discrimination of employers in the North and the competition of poor white labor in the South.

The next plan for social re-organization was that of agitation for legal defense. It was at first a part of the plan for political power and began as a demand for fixing the unconstitutionality of disfranchisement legislation and the enforcing of war amendments. One of the earliest group movements to agitate for this was the National League formed in Boston in 1885. It was local in its membership but had some influence.

In 1887, T. Thomas Fortune, editor of what is now the NEW YORK AGE, issued

an appeal for a national organization and repeated this in 1889. The so-called Afro-American League, afterward changed to Afro-American Council, met in Chicago with 21 states represented in January, 1890. J. C. Price was President and Mr. Fortune, Secretary. The League held another meeting in Tennessee and then died until Bishop Walters revived it in 1898. It met that year in September at Rochester and later in November in Washington. The object of the organization was to investigate lynching, to test the constitutionality of discriminatory laws, to secure civil rights legislation, to promote migration from the South and to encourage organization. It met for several years and practically ended with a final meeting in St. Paul, Minnesota about 1900. Its weakness was that it consisted simply of an annual meeting without a continuous working organization. The result was that it did little more than meet, organize and pass resolutions. In the year 1905, a new aspect came over the plans for American Negroes for social Reconstruction.

The new disfranchisement laws and the wave of discriminatory legislation, coupled with Mr. Washington's concessions, alarmed the colored people. Particularly the young colored college man began to fear the dictatorship of the Tuskegee machine and the difficulty of expressing even legitimate criticism. This opposition was crystalized by the jailing of Monroe Trotter in Boston for trying to heckle Mr. Washington during a speech of the colored church. It seemed that this was going too far and that while Trotter was much more bitter and outspoken than was necessary, yet he did have a right to talk even though he criticized Mr. Washington. The result was that a call was issued in June, 1905, signed by 59 men from 17 states. In July, 1905, 29 of these men, representing 14 states, met at Niagara Falls and formed the Niagara movement. The movement grew and in 1906 held a significant meeting at Harpers Ferry. The Manifesto which it sent out was plain and bitter.

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> "The men of the Niagara movement coming from the toil of the year's hard work and pausing a moment from the earning of their daily bread, turn toward the nation and again ask in the name of ten million the privilege of a hearing. In the past year the work of the Negro hater has flourished in the land. Step by step the defenders of the rights of American citizens have

retreated. The work of stealing the black man's ballot has progressed and the fifty and more representatives of stolen votes still sit in the nation's capital. Discrimination in travel and public accommodation has so spread that some of our weaker brethren are actually afraid to thunder against color discrimination as such and are simply whispering for ordinary decencies.

"Against this the Niagara Movement eternally protests. We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals, lest this, our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of the thief and the home of the Slave--a by-word and a hissing among the nations for its sounding pretentions and pitiful accomplishment.

"Never before in the modern age has a great and civilized folk threatened to adopt so cowardly a creed in the treatment of its fellow-citizens born and bred on its soil. Stripped of verbiage and subterfuge and in its naked nastiness the new American creed says: Fear to let black men even try to rise lest they become the equals of the whites. And this is the land that professes to follow Jesus Christ. The blasphemy of such a course is only matched by its cowardice.

"In detail our demands are clear and unequivocal. First, we would vote; with the right to vote goes everything: freedom, manhood, the honor of your wives, the chastity of your daughters, the right to work, and the chance to rise, and let no man listen to those who deny this.

"We want full manhood suffrage, and we want it now, henceforth and forever.

"Second. We want discrimination in public accommodation to cease. Separation in railway and street cars, based simply on race and color, is un-American, undemocratic, and silly. We protest against all such discrimination.

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by hammering at the truth by sacrifice and work.

"We do not believe in violence, neither in the despised violence of the raid nor the lauded violence of the soldier, nor the barbarous violence of the mob, but we do believe in John Brown, in that incarnate spirit of justice, that hatred of a lie, that willingness to sacrifice money, reputation, and life itself on the altar of right. And here on the scene of John Brown's martyrdom we reconsecrate ourselves, our honor, our property to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free."

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People seeks to uplift the colored men and women of this country by securing to them the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens, justice in all courts, and equality of opportunity everywhere. It favors and aims to aid, every kind ofeducation among them save that which teaches special privileges or prerogative, class or caste. It recognizes the national character of the Negro problem and no sectionalism. It believes in the holding of the Constitution of the United States and its amendments, in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. It upholds the doctrine of "all men up and no man down." It abhors Negro crime, but still more the conditions which breed crime, and most of all the crimes committed by mobs in the mockery of the law, by individuals in the name of the law.

"It believes that the scientific truths of the Negro problem must be available before the country can see its way wholly clear to right existing wrongs. It has no other belief than that the best way to uplift the colored man and the best way to aid the white man to peace is social content; it has no other desire than exacting justice, and no other motive than patriotism." (First Annual Report, January 1, 1911. N. A. A. C. P.)

The Niagara movement, however, had certain inherent difficulties. First, it was a racial movement of men entirely unknown outside their group and with no means of contact by which they could easily reach influential persons in the white group. And secondly, Mr. Trotter, who owned and edited the one organization journal, was not an organization man. He was an extreme individualist. When, therefore, in 1909 there was held a conference in New York with practically the same program that

the Niagara movement had, practically all of the leading members of the Niagara movement went into the N. A. A. C. P., 7 of them going upon its Board of Directors and thus to a large measure the work of the Niagara movement became merged with that of the N. A. A. C. P.

The work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is too well-known to call for review here. I need only point out that its greatest triumph was in the matter of legal defense. Practically, it made the Supreme Court for the first time in the history of the country affirm the validity of the 15th Amendment, ~~outlaw~~ repeal the Grandfather Clauses and curtail the segregation ordinances. It also ~~secured some protection for accused Negroes from mob violence~~ and made the most effective anti-lynching campaign in the history of the country.

The first sign of change that faced the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was falling off of its income and the decrease in the circulation of THE CRISIS. This was not due to the fact that the American Negro did not want to fight discrimination and lynching and was not willing to pursue cases in legal defense which should undermine the foundation of the whole caste system in marriage, in travel and in education. But it did come from the fact that the colored people, economically, were unable to stand the expense. It had been the proud boast of the N.A.A.C.P. that beginning as a quasi-philanthropic institution, expecting to rely upon funds furnished mainly by rich white friends, it had become during its best years supported in the main by the mass of colored workers and that THE CRIS had been made financially independent by the same kind of support. The amounts of money which it received from rich white people were small and their withdrawal would have made no particular difference in its program. The falling off now of this income meant that the colored people were financially unable to sustain this program and especially to back its expansion. We realized this before the depression and the causes lay in a new industrial development, North and South. In the South, the Negro was losing the monopoly of certain jobs which he had had. The machine was displacing semi-skilled and skilled labor among both Negroes and whites. A new monopoly of capital and materials was so changing the face of industry that the Negro was becoming a reservoir of casual labor and the general causes of the collapse of agriculture throughout the world were at

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work in increased degree among Negro farmers.

The mass migration of Negroes North alleviated but did not change the basic trouble. They found themselves in the midst of difficulties connected with housing, difficulties connected with unions, difficulties connected with the casual character of their labor and the low wage for which they were obliged to work. This should have taught the Negroes of the United States that a change of tactic was absolutely necessary. Agitation and legal defense must be kept up so far as possible but that possibility at present had its limitations. Before them and of more importance and of fundamental influence even to the campaign against race discrimination itself was a new plan of social security.

I began to advocate, therefore, for the N. A. A. C. P. a new social program as early as 1928. I was by no means clear in my own thinking, but was groping for light and for that reason had visited Russia, had begun the study of Karl Marx and had voted the Socialist ticket since 1912. My efforts brought little reaction; no particular opposition and at the same time no emphasis of agreement until the wave of depression overwhelmed us. Then, suddenly, there came to the fore, a peculiar situation made by the fact that the problem of race discrimination always cuts across and hinders the settlement of other problems, and we are repeatedly forced to give up direct attack upon it in order to save our very lives.

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It happened in the Civil War; in the midst of a fight for physical freedom, civil and political rights, the Negro was suddenly faced with the problem of fighting when the outcome was by no means clear nor was it altogether certain just where his interest lay. He was compelled for a time to lay aside his racial demands to become a Union soldier and laborer and afterward was rewarded by receiving a greater measure of political power and civil rights than he had dreamed of. The same kind of dilemma came at the time of the World War.

We had no choice between war and peace--the nation was rushing headlong. We had no allies save a small group of thinkers who for the most part were not interested in Negroes. Labor was near unanimous for war and so were most socialists here and abroad. We were in a raging flood and our only real choice was to fight swimming with the current or to be drowned in impotent opposition. I said then and

under similar circumstances would say again, close ranks and fight for our own liberty while the world was committing suicide.

The victim of mob violence, lynching and residential segregation for a time had to concentrate his efforts toward securing decent treatment of his segregated regiments, an opportunity for men to become officers even if they were black and permission to fight at the front instead of work blindly in the rear. After the World War, the Negro was able to return to his attack upon prejudice with increased power and efficiency. The years from 1919 to 1929 represent a high water mark of our organized striving for increased political power, the suppression of lynching and legal defense.

The irony of the situation, however, proved to be the fact that the cause for which we were verbally compelled to fight itself failed in its very victory and cast us with all men, workers and owners, in the maelstrom of World Depression. Today, then, our original paradox again appears with wider ramification and vaster perils.

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We are in the midst of a national and world movement to reconstruct the basis of industry. In order to be efficient co-workers in this Reconstruction, we have got to escape the present threat of starvation, to conserve our schools and social organizations and to get regular, decently-paid work. With that foundation settled, even in a reasonable degree, we can begin again to fight discrimination. But until unemployment among American Negroes is decreased and a decent standard of living re-established, we have no resources upon which the battle against discrimination can effectively be carried.

Here, then, is the dilemma and how has it been met? Briefly put, there have been 3 moves: (1) toward invoking the protection of restored capitalism, (2) a movement toward alliance with organized labor, and (3) a movement toward socialism.

In the first category may be placed practically all of the older organizations: the Urban League, the Federation of Churches, the N.A.A.C.P. Nearly all of these organizations have, to be sure, shown signs of uneasiness at their position. The Urban League organized a National Economic Council, which through an executive

committee and Workers' Councils was designed to guide the Negro through the crisis. Apparently, this never functioned. The N. A. A. C. P. sought to adopt an economic program but was unable to agree on anything definite. The Federation of Churches has adopted a liberal labor program, but has not applied it heartlessly to Negroes. Gradually, most of these and many other organizations under the guidance of the Joint Committee on Recovery, fell back upon a drive on the administration to secure justice for the Negro in relief and reorganization; but the difficulty was in determining just what economic justice for the Negro involved and how it could best be secured. The organizations themselves had scant common ground. Ten of them were religious, 4 were academic fraternities and sororities, 1 is a fraternal order, 1 an organization for agitation and reform, 4 organizations of professional men, 1 designed for club work and 3 are industrial organizations. The only thing upon which this conglomerate body could wholeheartedly unite was the matter of race discrimination.

Of the fact of discrimination, the Joint Committee has unearthed ample proof, but as to what we are going to do about it, the Joint Committee, quite naturally, has nothing to say and nothing to think.

Indeed, everything that has happened in the NRA and the New Deal might easily have been foretold before the NRA was established.

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If the United States government comes in to the depression picture to administer local relief, that relief must be directly carried out by local people and these local people in the places where Negroes are most numerous are going to be prejudiced and narrow.

If the government is going to relieve the farmer by a scarcity program or bonuses, the people who are going to reap the benefit from that program are going to be the white people who own the land. If the government is going to establish a great power organization with towns and industries, in these towns and industries there is going to be repeated the same pattern of discrimination and segregation that is current in the nation. If we are going to have housing projects, subsistence homesteads, farm credit and credit unions, we are going to find in the carrying out of these plans the same American prejudice against color that we find everywhere. What, then, are we to do? Are we to starve to death until we settle color discrimination in America or are we first to secure the power to fight before we enter

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Negro educational advisers are ~~to be appointed~~ increased in ~~every~~ the all-Negro camps. There are 154 Veterans' CCC camps and 7 all-Negro camps with a total number of 1,748. Others, make the grand total of 3,000 all-white camps. If Negroes had their proper ratio in these camps there would be about 37,000 instead of 15,000.

This brings me really to the end of my part of this program, but I may say for the benefit and attack of my good friend, Mr. Harris, to my mind, this is our program: so to organize the Negro group that within it, labor and the interests of labor shall be dominant; so to organize the vast consumers' power of this group as to secure wide, economic independence through the exchange of services and the exchange and manufacture of goods. Through these methods, to train the American Negroes so that they will realize in their own group and realize at first, the kind of social

30-29-A

If I were white, I might stand for a program of revolution, but I have no right in the United States today to act as if I were white. I must act with reference to my responsibilities to 12,000,000 Negroes.

The splendid inter-racialism of the left-wing unions must not be forgotten, but at the same time, it must be remembered that the ulterior motives back of this willingness to welcome Negroes on equal terms is ~~not~~ in many cases vicitated by the ulterior motive of being willing to use any weapon in order to foment trouble and to involve the American Negro in disaster so long as this ultimately redounds to the advance of the white worker.

It is idle for Negroes to believe that after any economic revolution in the United States, they are going automatically to find places in the reserve seat section.

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reformation which the whole world is bound to come to some day And above all to stop this great people from being ashamed of itself, of its color and history; of living together and working together and to realize that race segregation is the white man's loss and not the black man's damnation.

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October 1935
Johnson C. Smith U.
Conference

A PHILOSOPHY OF RACE SEGREGATION

Quite by accident, I ran across the other day an editorial which I had written in May, 1917, over eighteen years ago. Its subject was: "Officers for Negro Troops in the World War", and I shall read it.

"Give us Negro officers for Negro troops. This is the slogan and [illegible] no specious argument turn us from it. Liars tell us that only white men can lead black men, and they tell us this in the face of the record of Sonni Ali, Toussaint L'Ouverture, General Dodd, Charles Young, and Frank Dennison. Give us Negro officers for Negro troops.

"Justice and right calls for the admission of Negroes to the civilian training camps on the same terms as white men. This right The Crisis and Dr. Spingarn demanded from the first and we were refused.

"As the next best thing, Dr. Spingarn said: 'If colored men cannot be admitted to Plattsburg and similar camps give them a camp of their own.'

"The Crisis advocated and strongly advocated this alternative. Moreover, The Crisis wonders how on earth the wild and dapper advocates of 'Jim Crow' regiments can somersault into opponents of the training of Negro officers in separate camps?

"Do they want 'Jim Crow' regiments? No, but they want black soldiers and they accept separate regiments rather than forego military training. Do Dr. Spingarn and Dr. Du Bois and thousands of level-headed colored folk want a 'Jim Crow' training camp? No, but they want black officers and they advocate a separate camp rather than see Negro regiments officered solely by white men.

"How easily some of us are beguiled. We are assured that the General Staff will not refuse Negro troops. It may not, but there is every evidence that it intended to in the plan drafted previous to the declaration of war which did not become law. We are told to 'wait' for our camp until after all white officers are trained, and some colored papers actually rejoice at this, unable to grasp the clear fact that once enough whites are trained for all regiments, no Negroes need apply.

"Where in heaven's name do we Negroes stand? If we organize separately for

anything--'Jim Crow!' scream all the Disconsolate; if we organize with white people--'Traitors! Pressure! They're betraying us!' yell all the Suspicious. If, unable to get the whole loaf we seize half to ward off starvation--'Compromise!' yell all the Scared. If we let the half loaf go and starve--'Why don't you do something?' yell those same critics, dancing about on their toes.

"It is simply silly to talk about pressure being brought to bear on the editor of The Crisis or on anyone else to back this demand. The only 'pressure' brought is the pressure of common sense. Mr. Storey, Mr. Villard, Dr. Spingar, Mr. Loud, Mr. Kennaday, Mr. Russell, Mr. Walling, Miss Ovington, and Mr. Nash and dozens of other white men are working shoulder to shoulder in the N. A. A. C. P. with us black men and treating us as comrades in a great fight for human rights. It is beneath contempt for the Cleveland, Ohio, Gazette to suggest that their motives are not above suspicion or that the editor of The Crisis has ever been asked by them to advocate that which he did not sincerely believe was right. Just now we demand Negro officers for Negro regiments. We cannot get them by admission to the regular training camps because the law of the land, or its official interpretation, wickedly prevents us. Therefore, give us a separate training camp for Negro officers.

"Later: we have won! The camp is granted; we shall have 1,000 Negro officers in the United States Army! Write us for information."

(The Crisis, Volume XIV., 1917, pp. CO, Cl.)

I bring this to your attention because it illustrates the perennial difficulty that comes in trying to make a general statement which will cover any such complicated matter as the segregation of races in the United States. Any such general statement can be immediately answered: what must be our attitude toward separate schools and separate colleges? What must be our attitude toward separation in travel and in civil life? Or more recently, what should be our attitude toward subsistence homesteads and housing propositions? In all these and similar cases there is no possibility of answer unless we examine carefully an exhaustive and specific case. No general policy or philosophy can be enunciated except as it is built upon these various real instances. This is illustrated by the history of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations toward segregation. For most of its career,

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the National Association announced no policy or slogan of "No segregation." I could not. In the first place, it was faced by the fact of the Negro school systems. I was faced by the fact that there were colored colleges and there must be. It was faced by the much more intricate fact that if it was going to attack the Jim-Crow cars of the South the first line of defense must be a demand for similar accommodation which by implication would have admitted the right of separation. In all these matter, therefore, for the most part, the Association simply kept silent. It announced no policy; it took no specific action. Unfortunately, however, when the matter of subsistence homesteads came up, without careful examination of the subject, the Association com-

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mitted itself to a program only to find that it was taking a position which it could not maintain and from which it virtually had to withdraw. Now suppose instead of seeking to state a similar case, we simply admit that the situation of the Negro in the United States does not fit any logical categories. He may not wish to be segregated by race, but he is. He may and certainly ought to complain against a caste system, but he is a victim of it and he is going to live under it until all Negroes now living are long dead. His philosophy, therefore, must undertake, first, to examine the facts, and secondly, to see what action in view of these facts will bring the best results for the American Negro and for human culture, and this action must vary with time and place. To illustrate what I have in mind, let us take a number of specific cases: first take the New York public schools. Early in the eighteenth century, a Negro school was established in New York City. It was maintained for many years by charity and then in the early nineteenth century, it was supported mainly by the colored people themselves. It had some distinguished teachers who impressed their individuality upon the group in New York and outside New York. Into the white public schools which were growing at the time Negroes were not admitted and a fight began after the Civil War which lasted up until 1890 to force the admission of colored children into the white schools. The triumph of this demand, finally, was celebrated with great joy, not only in New York City, but throughout the United States. It was a triumph for justice and democracy and to crown it, a colored member was appointed to the Board of Education and gradually colored teachers were allowed in the schools. This appointment of colored teachers, however, met numerous obstacles. At first they were appointed only in districts where there were many colored children. Then at last they were appointed in other districts, but only in the elementary grades. Finally there came the appointment of a colored principal over white and colored teachers in elementary and grammar grades. It created a great furor in New York and elsewhere, but gradually it died down. The principal performed his duties for many years until retired and died only a few years ago. Even after that there was a dead line in the high schools.

When I went to New York in 1910, no Negro teacher had ever been appointed in any of the high schools and there seemed to be no chance of such an appointment no matter

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what marks a teacher might make in his written and oral examinations, he could always be excluded by the indefinite test of personal adaptation to the work. I know one brilliant graduate of Cornell who eventually went insane because his temporary appointment as teacher of Spanish in one of the high schools was never made permanent. Notwithstanding that, in recent years colored teachers have been appointed to high schools: first, a woman as teacher of Spanish; then a woman as teacher of French; then a man, teacher of history, etc., and another colored personx has been made acting principal of a grammar school and will become principal in a short time. Now this represents a brave, persistent and successful effort. Nevertheless, it doesn't settle the matter of the education of colored children in the New York public schools. I have often said and I repeat, that the colored children in the New York schools are not getting as good training as the colored children in the separate Washington schools, and the reason is quite clear: the New York schools are crowded; they are attended by children of all nationalities and grades of culture and the teachers are not interested in the children under them. Even the colored teachers very seldom teach colored children and are not particularly interested in the Italians, Jews and other children who come under them. It isn't a matter of prejudice or neglect; it's just the absence of close human ties. As a result, the schools are crowded; the retardation is very large; the discipline is lax and the position of teacher in those schools is sought mainly because the wages are high. Now what is to be done in a case of that sort? The action necessary seems to me to be very clear: more money must be spent upon the schools, more housing provided, less crowding and more modern teaching. The discipline has got to be improved in every way and the Parent-Teachers' Associations have got to attend to new and important duties. The colored Parent-Teachers' Association should be organized to keep watchful supervision over every single colored child in school; to see that he is properly clothed and fed; that he goes to school regularly; that he gets reasonable treatment. There should be every effort made to keep them in school regularly; to see that they graduate; to celebrate their graduation. It is astonishing that while literally hundreds are graduating from the Baltimore and Washington separate colored high schools, that the number of colored students graduating from the New York high schools must be counted by the dozens. The reason is,

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that in Washington and Baltimore there is every encouragement given, while in New York there is systematic neglect. This situation can be changed not by segregation in the schools, but by the attention of colored parents systematically applied to the school system, and without that, this great triumph against segregation policies will not yield the results that it might.

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Now let us take a second situation: suppose we look at the schools in Atlanta, Georgia. There are separate colored and white schools; there are separate rates of payments for colored and white teachers which greviously discriminate againstthe colored teachers. The supervision of the colored schools is not careful or thorough. In the appointment of teachers there is less discrimination and lower standards than in the appointment to the white schools. The school houses are so crowded that it is necessary to have two sessions a day in numbers if not the majority of elementary classes. Even in the high school, a beautiful building, space adapted to 1,300 students is occupied by 4,000. There is no auditorium; there is no gymnasium; there are no adequate facilities for the handling of these students and the number per teacher in the classes makes careful teaching especially impossible. The attention, therefore, that colored pupils are getting in the Atlanta public schools is poor and is not improving. What is to be done against this situation? Manifestly, the remedy of "no segregation" is simply impossible of application in Atlanta. The attitude of the people of Georgia is such that if any outside power forced white and colored children in the same schools, the result would be turmoil and uprising such as would utterly nullify the process of education. On the other hand, the colored people of Atlanta, backed by the sense of justice in some of the white people and the Federal power, should insist upon and be able to obtain equal and adequate wages for teachers, a securetenure of office, skilled superintendents, adequate housing and equipment and enough teachers to make the classes easy to handle. Such things, backed by a real compulsory attendance law and social relief which would put children clothed and fed regularly in schools, would revolutionize the educational process in the city. Now in neither of these cases is the problem of segregation generalized or accepted.

A PHILOSOPHY OF RACE SEGREGATION

In New York without segregation, the educational process is not satisfactory; in Atlanta with segregation, the educational process is also unsatisfactory. The fault, evidently, does not merely lie in segregation itself; it lies in poor educational facilities.

32-10-07

To these a third specific case: Harvard is a great university; it has one of the foremost libraries of the world and its endowment allows it to assemble on one campus laboratory facilities and facilities for research and a group of well-trained professors who are among the most distinguished in America, if not in the world. Other things being equal, the place for a man to be educated in the best way is at Harvard, but there are certainly drawbacks: first, there are drawbacks connected with tradition and geography. Harvard has long been the organ and property of certain old New England families with their own idea of culture and education. If now a man is going to live in the West or in the South or even in Boston, it is not always clear that the type of education which Harvard offers is going to bring out in him the best and broadest possibilities. But beyond this, Harvard is not only an institution of learning; it is a social settlement and the social intercourse between teachers and students and students themselves is, as in all institutions, a larger part of the actual education. Now at Harvard, it is difficult for certain classes of students to get that contact with professors and their fellows which is necessary to the best education. It is difficult for Jews; it is often difficult for Westerners; it is especially difficult for colored men. In my day, forty years ago, the institution was smaller; the group of professors was rather extraordinary for any day and time, and the chances for cultural intercourse between them and even colored students like myself, was considerable. But even in that day, my contact with my fellow students was exceedingly narrow. I knew some of them by sight; I know still fewer by name; I did not know more than a dozen out of the thousand as companions and fellow human beings. I went my own way, unassisted and unaspired by what is usually called "college life"; and if that was true in 1890, it is still more true in 1935. On the other hand, there have grown up in the South various Negro institutions. The library at Atlanta University can not be compared to the Harvard

A PHILOSOPHY OF RACE SEGREGATION

library, and yet it is a rather good library, the group of teachers at Atlanta are neither in scholarship nor renown at all comparable to the Harvard group. On the other hand, there is not the slightest doubt in my mind that a student in the affiliated colleges and the graduate school at Atlanta University can get an education through contact with his fellows that it would have been impossible for a Negro to get elsewhere in the United States, except in similar colored institutions. It will be an education narrow, in some respects, racial and provincial in its outlook, but, nevertheless, for fullness of life and chance for self-expression, it can not be duplicated in northern institutions. What now shall we say: that segregated college education is best for the American Negro? So broad a statement as that would not be true; but it is true that under the circumstances that most Negroes must for their own best interests get their education in Negro colleges and unless it is, it will not be gotten at all. The type of student who can stand the ostracism and lack of social intercourse, the deliberate and unconscious insults, the barren and lonely spiritual life which is the lot of the average Negro student in a white college, is rare. For the most part there would be no such college enrollment as we have today if it were not for the Negro college. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly the interpretation in Negro colleges to lower the standards, to get cheaper and less trained teachers and to seek to do without libraries and laboratories work which simply cannot be done. But here again no general word as to race segregation can be said. Segregated schools are doing excellent college work. Schools in which there is no formal segregation give Negro students only limited chances for real training. What is needed, therefore, is two long movements moving toward the same end; the increase in the endowment and efficiency of the colored college until it becomes the equal in facilities and teaching to the white college; the broadening and cultural liberation of the white college so that it can come to the place where a black student can be really welcomed and trained.

Let us take now the farm problem: when Poe of North Carolina many years ago tried to askfor segregated white and Negro farms, we all fought the proposition vigorously as an astonishing and unthinkable extension of race separation in the United States. On the other hand, when sybsistence homesteads were recently proposed by the Federal gover-

ment, I said and still say, that Negroes ought to have seized the opportunity to build them up and that in the re-settlement problem which the United States is trying to work out even now, that Negro farm communities ought to be established and carried on. I see no conflict between those two positions. Compulsory farm separation by law would mean not simply separation, but poor land, high prices and distance from the markets so far as Negroes are concerned. On the other hand, the subsistence homestead was a proposition by which land near a city and near people who are employed could be used to eke out and supplement their regular wages. Such land could be chosen by a group of people and just as mixed schools were unthinkable in the South, so both in the South and the North, it wasn't reasonable to suppose that white people were going to be willing to share a subsistence homestead with colored people. No matter how short-sighted and narrow such an attitude is, it is a perfectly well-known attitude in the United States to think that we are going to ward off starvation until we kill race prejudice is a compulsory program. Just so, the fight of the Negro farmer today hangs perilously in the balance. If he scatters himself here and there on separate farms in order to avoid segregation, he invites lawlessness, oppression and exclusion from co-operative efforts and from favorable markets. On the other hand, if he builds up his own farming areas, he has a chance to make them modern, to place them on good land, to supply his children with their social intercourse which is the only thing which will keep them on the farm, and above all, to buy and sell as a co-operative unit to the best advantage. There is absolutely no other future for Negro farming in the United States save this. Here again nothing is settled so far as segregation is concerned. It will be a good deal more —— if people, regardless of race and color, could unite for economic co-operation. The chance for that in the United States is exceedingly narrow.

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I might add to these specific instances any number ofothers, but they would simply bring out the same basic thought: there can be no general philosophy as to race segregation which will apply to all specific cases. We can of course say in a general sort of way: that it is desirable in a world of human beings that the fewest artificial methods of separation be used as possible, and that in that way like temperments will

will act with like, great gifts will be developed regardless of race a d color, and the world will go on much more swiftly than behind artificial barriers. That is certainly true. At the same time, practically, the barriers are there and we have to work within the barriers. The only practical philosophy that we can evolve is to say that in our provincial and segregated life we look as far as possible gradually toward the ideal of a common humanity. So far as teaching is concerned, we shall be guided and made sane in our conclusions if we insist on sticking to the specific case instead of starting with generalities. If in our classes or in our organization the problem of segregation comes up, we must not even try to settle it as a whole. It cannot be so settled. We must try to apply our broadest wisdom to this specific case. Taking into account what our action will mean immediately and for the future and guiding ourselves accordingly. There will be cases where it will be perfectly clear that segregation must be accepted at present and that within segregated boundaries we work for the best development of the Negro race. There will be other cases where it will be just as clear, that any increase and encouragement of segregation will not only be bad for Negroes but for white people and that in addition to that there will be any number of cases where the proper action will be puzzling and indecisive, where we must grope in an experimental way to see what proves best for us and for the world.

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1935

W.E.B. Du Bois

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CURRICULUM REVISION

by

ACCORDING TO YOUR PROGRAM, YOU ARE CONSIDERING IN THIS CONVENTION, TWO MATTERS: (1) THE PECULIAR NEEDS AND PROBLEMS OF NEGRO CHILDREN, (2) A CLOSER ADAPTATION OF THE COURSES IN NEGRO SCHOOLS TO THESE NEEDS AND PROBLEMS.

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I WANT TO EMPHASIZE, FIRST, THAT WHATEVER THESE NEEDS AND PROBLEMS ARE, THEY CANNOT BE WHOLLY SETTLED OR MET BY THE PUBLIC SCHOOL. THE PUBLIC SCHOOL IS AN INSTITUTION FOR CERTAIN DEFINITE ENDS. IT IS NOT AN INSTITUTION INTENDED OR ADAPTED TO SETTLE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF EVERY KIND. I BELIEVE THAT THIS IS A FUNDAMENTAL ERROR AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES SO WIDESPREAD AS TO BE DANGEROUS, AND EVEN AMONG AMERICAN WHITES, IT IS A COMMON FALLACY. IN NO OTHER GROUP IN THE WORLD DOES ANYBODY SERIOUSLY DREAM THAT THE PRESENT WIDESPREAD UNEMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL DISARRANGEMENT CAN BE DIRECTLY AND ENTIRELY SETTLED BY A COURSE OF STUDY. TO MENTION SUCH A BELIEF IN MOST COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD WOULD BRING A SMILE. BUT AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES, BECAUSE OF THEIR HISTORY, BECAUSE THEY WERE SO LONG BY LAW DEPRIVED OF THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION, IT IS, QUITE NATURALLY, EVEN IF FOOLISHLY, BELIEVED THAT EDUCATION IS A PANACEA FOR ALL ILL.

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NOW, OF COURSE, INDIRECTLY, AND IN THE LONG RUN, ALL MEN MUST BELIEVE THAT HUMAN WRONG IS GOING TO BE ~~SURELY~~ OR GREATLY AMELIORATED BY A SPREAD OF INTELLIGENCE; THAT THE SPREAD OF SUCH INTELLIGENCE BEYOND THE CONFINES OF A NARROW ARISTOCRACY AND THE PALE OF RACE, DOWN TO THE MASSES OF MEN, IS GOING TO OPEN GREAT AND INEXHAUSTIBLE RESERVOIRS OF ABILITY AND GENIUS. BUT, MIND YOU, THIS INTELLIGENCE IS THE ESSENTIAL AND INESCAPABLE STEP BETWEEN THE SCHOOL AND THE SOCIAL PROGRAM, WHICH CANNOT BE OMITTED WITHOUT DISASTER. THE SCHOOL CANNOT ATTACK SOCIAL PROBLEMS DIRECTLY. IT CAN AND MUST ATTACK THEM INDIRECTLY BY TRAINING INTELLIGENT MEN, AND THESE INTELLIGENT MEN THROUGH SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OTHER THAN THE SCHOOL WILL WORK FOR A BETTER ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY, A JUSTER DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME, A SANER TREATMENT OF CRIME, A MORE EFFECTIVE PREVENTION OF DISEASE, A HIGHER AND MORE BEAUTIFUL IDEAL OF LIFE, without race prejudice and War. WHEN, THEREFORE, AN ORGANIZATION LIKE THIS, LOOKS INTO THE PECULIAR NEEDS AND PROBLEMS OF COLORED CHILDREN, IT IS EXAMINING, NOT SIMPLY THE DUTY OF THE SCHOOL, BUT THE DUTY OF OTHER SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, OF LIFE ITSELF; AND IN THE PHRASING OF THE SUBJECT, IT MUST NOT ASSUME THAT WHATEVER THE NEEDS AND PROBLEMS OF NEGRO CHILDREN ARE, THEY CAN BE MET AND SETTLED BY A CHANGE OF CURRICULUM, BY NEW SUBJECTS OF STUDY,

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AND NEW METHODS OF TEACHING. NO, IT IS THE ETERNAL PROBLEM OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL TO FURNISH AN INTELLIGENT CITIZENSHIP. AND AT NO TIME IN THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION HAS THE NEED OF SUCH GENERAL INTELLIGENCE BEEN GREATER THAN TODAY. LARGE NUMBERS OF HUMAN BEINGS TODAY CAN READ AND WRITE, AND THIS APPLIES EVEN TO THE MAJORITY OF AMERICAN NEGROES, IN A CERTAIN LIMITED WAY. BEYOND READING AND WRITING, THE ABILITY TO USE NUMBERS AND TO FOLLOW, CLEARLY AND INTELLIGENTLY, PROCESSES OF THE USE OF NUMBERS, IS KNOWN TO ~~A LARGER~~ more ~~NUMBER OF~~ PEOPLE TODAY THAN EVER BEFORE IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY. WE HAVE A FAIRLY LARGE ACQUAINTANCESHIP WITH THE STRUCTURE OF NATIONAL AND STATE GOVERNMENT, AND THE GENERAL POLITICAL HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY; IN ADDITION TO SOME KNOWLEDGE OF THE HISTORY OF EUROPE: WE KNOW FACTS ABOUT THE HUMAN BODY AND ITS METHOD OF WORK AND DEVELOPMENT; ABOUT THE CONSTITUTION OF MATTER; ABOUT THE GROWTH OF VEGETATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANIMALS.

BUT, SINGULARLY ENOUGH, THERE IS ONE VAST BODY OF FACTS WHICH TOUCH US TODAY MORE INTIMATELY AND FATALLY THAN ANY OTHER CONCERNING WHICH THE MASS EVEN OF FAIRLY INTELLIGENT FOLK, ARE CURIOUSLY IGNORANT OR MISINFORMED, AND THAT IS, THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF INDUSTRY, WORK AND WAGE; THE APPLICATION OF CAPITAL, AND THE DIRECTION OF LABOR; AND THE

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FUNCTION AND USE OF MONEY. ALL THESE ARE CURIOUSLY MUDDLED IN THE MINDS OF MOST INTELLIGENT MEN, AND YET THEY ~~XXXX~~ ARE THE BASIC FACTS OF OUR PRESENT CULTURE, OUT OF WHICH ALL OUR CIVILIZATION--OUR LITERATURE, OUR RELIGION AND OUR ART, RISE. THE FAILURE OF MODERN DEMOCRACY COMES FROM NO FALSE PREMISES TOUCHING THE RIGHT OF THE GOVERNED TO A VOICE IN GOVERNMENT; BUT RATHER IS DUE TO THE FACT THAT IN THE WIDEST AND MOST IMPORTANT REALM OF HUMAN ACTION--THAT IS IN INDUSTRY--DEMOCRACY HAS NEVER BEEN TRIED, AND THAT ~~THEIR~~ there TYRANNOUS AND SELFISH MONARCHY IS NOT ONLY THE RULE, BUT ALMOST THE ONLY DREAMED OF POSSIBILITY OR REFUGE. AND THAT IS THE REASON TODAY WHY THE ATTEMPT TO APPLY INTELLIGENCE TO THE INDUSTRIAL MALADJUSTMENT IN THIS LAND AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, IS SO DIFFICULT AND BOOTLESS.

WHAT WE NEED, THEN, AND WHAT THE PUBLIC SCHOOL, COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY MUST SUPPLY, IS INTELLIGENCE CONCERNING HISTORY, NATURAL SCIENCE AND ECONOMICS; AND THE ESSENTIAL KEY TO THIS INTELLIGENCE IS A THOROUGH, LONG-DISCIPLINED KNOWLEDGE OF THE three ~~FOUR~~ "R'S". TO ASSUME THAT INSTEAD OF THIS, AND BY ALLOWING THE CURRICULUM OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL TO ENCROACH UPON THOROUGH WORK IN READING, WRITING AND ARITHMETIC, WE CAN CURE THE

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ILLS OF THE PRESENT DEPRESSION BY TRAINING CHILDREN DIRECTLY AS ARTISANS, WORKERS AND FARMERS/WITHOUT MAKING THEM INTELLIGENT MEN, IS ABSOLUTELY FALSE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS EQUALLY FALSE TO ASSUME THAT WITHOUT THE DEFINITE AND LONG-CONTINUED ACTION OF HUMAN INSTITUTIONS AND HUMAN BEINGS WORKING THROUGH THEM, THE ILLS OF INDUSTRY CAN BE CURED. INDUSTRY IS NOT SIMPLY MECHANICAL SKILL; IT DOES NOT CONSIST OF BLIND MACHINES AND POWER; ONE DOES NOT ENTER IT, GUIDE OR FOLLOW IT BY LEARNING A FORMULA. IT IS A HUMAN ORGANIZATION GUIDED BY HUMAN IDEALS. IT CAN, WITHIN THE LIMITS OF PHYSICAL NATURE, BE INFINITELY CHANGED AND REDIRECTED TO DIFFERENT ~~ONES~~ ends AND IDEALS. WHAT IS NEEDED THEN TO REFORM MODERN INDUSTRY BY INTELLIGENT APPLICATION OF SCIENCE AND IDEALS? IGNORANCE OF THE CHEMISTRY OF SOILS IS NOT THE REASON THAT NEGROES LEAVE THE FARMS; THAT REASON LIES IN LAND MONOPOLY, USURY, PEONAGE, ~~,~~ THE INADAPTABILITY OF LABOR-SAVING MACHINERY TO SMALL FARMS AND THE RIGGING OF THE FARMER'S MARKET. WHAT SCHOOL CURRICULUM CAN CHANGE THESE CONDITIONS?

LET US [redacted] DEFINITELY AND EXPLICITLY ASK WHAT THE PECULIAR NEEDS AND PROBLEMS OF NEGRO CHILDREN ARE. I CAN THINK OF TEN CHIEF NEEDS.

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FIRST, AND MOREMOST, HOMES AND PARENTS. THE GREAT MASS OF NEGRO CHILDREN ARE NOT BORN OR REARED IN PHYSICALLY FIT HOMES, OR UNDER THE GUARDIANSHIP OF PARENTS WHO CAN TAKE CARE OF THEM PROPERLY. [redacted]; THIS LACK OF PARENTAL CARE IS DUE TO THE SMALL INCOME OF THESE PARENTS, SO THAT HIGHER WAGE STANDS NEXT TO THE NEED OF HOMES AND PARENTS. IN THE VICINITY OF THE HOME AND ELSEWHERE, THE CHILD NEEDS A CHANCE TO PLAY, IN AIR, SUNLIGHT, AND SAFETY. THE HEALTH OF THE CHILD NEEDS INSPECTION, GUARDIANSHIP, AND CAREFUL PROTECTION. THE CHILD HAS A RIGHT TO EXPECT ESSENTIAL JUSTICE FROM THE PEOPLE SURROUNDING HIM, AND NOT INSULT, BLOWS, AND DISCRIMINATION. THE CHILD NEEDS OCCUPATION, NOT ONLY UNORGANIZED AND ORGANIZED PLAY, BUT WORK, EITHER IN OLD-FASHIONED CHORES, OR THE NEW FASHIONED MANUAL TRAINING. A PART OF THE PERSONALITY OF THE CHILD MUST BE EVOKED AND ITS PHYSICAL WELL-BEING PROTECTED BY PROPER AND CLEAN CLOTHES. IT MUST HAVE CONTACT WITH THE BEAUTIFUL THINGS OF LIFE, SUNSETS AND PICTURES; GARDENS AND WORKS OF ART. IT MUST HAVE CONTACT WITH THE WORLD BY EXCURSIONS AND TRAVEL, AND INTER-COURSE WITH ELDERS AND OTHER CHILDREN, AND FINALLY, IT MUST HAVE FORMAL EDUCATION; A DISCIPLINED TRAINING IN THE THREE "R'S" AND THE STUDIES BUILT UPON THEM.

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NOW OF THESE TEN NEEDS, AND THE PROBLEMS WHICH ~~THESE LACK OF PARTIAL SUPPLY~~ they GIVE RISE TO, ONLY A FEW CAN BE met BY THE PUBLIC SCHOOL. THE PUBLIC SCHOOL CAN SUPERVISE SOME PART OF THE CHILD'S PLAY; IT CAN PROTECT ITS HEALTH WHILE IN SCHOOL: IT CAN GIVE IT SOME CONTACT WITH BEAUTY: IT ~~CAN~~ may FIND TIME FOR SOME MANUAL TRAINING AND SOME OF THE SIMPLER ARTS, ~~LIKE COOKING~~. BUT IT DOES THESE THINGS INCIDENTALLY, AND THEY SHOULD BE WITHOUT SCHOOL CREDIT, SO FAR AS THE MAIN WORK OF THE SCHOOL IS CONCERNED.

NOW IT IS IN THE FAILURE TO DO THE MAIN WORK OF THE SCHOOL THAT THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF GEORGIA, AND OF OTHER STATES, AND PARTICULARLY THE NEGRO PUBLIC SCHOOLS, STAND CONVICTED OF INEFFICIENCY. I AM NOT NOW PLACING THE BLAME FOR THIS INEFFICIENCY. I AM MERELY POINTING TO THE FACT.

IF WE FOLLOW THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM THE WORLD AROUND, AND STRENGTHEN OUR OBSERVANCE BY SOUND PSYCHOLOGY, WE KNOW PERFECTLY WELL THAT WHAT THE SCHOOL CHILD NEEDS, FROM 6-12, IS THE CAREFUL, CONTINUOUS, AND REPEATEDLY CHECKED PURSUIT OF A FEW, SIMPLE AVENUES TO KNOWLEDGE. THIS SCHOOL CURRICULUM CANNOT BE

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DIVIDED UP INTO SEPARATE, UNRELATED PARTS. IT MUST BE ONE CONVERGING WHOLE, AND IT MUST LEAD TO A SINGLE, SIMPLE, UNEQUIVOCABLE RESULT. FIRST, THE CHILD MUST LEARN TO READ. HALF, EVEN THREE-FOURTHS OF THE DIFFICULTIES IN OUR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, AND THE DIFFICULTIES OF BASING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND CIVILIZATION UPON INTELLIGENCE, IS THE PLAIN AND UNQUESTIONED FACT THAT MOST PEOPLE CANNOT READ, THEY CANNOT INTELLIGENTLY TAKE A PIECE OF WELL-WRITTEN ENGLISH AND IN A REASONABLY SHORT TIME GET A CLEAR AND DISTINCT IDEA OF JUST WHAT THE WRITER MEANT TO SAY. NOW THAT ABILITY TO READ DOES NOT COME BY CHANCE OR INSPIRATION, IT COMES BY SEVERE AND CONTINUOUS DISCIPLINE, CHECKED AND RE-CHECKED BY TEACHERS WHO THEMSELVES CAN READ, AND WHO KNOW WHAT TO READ, AND HOW TO READ. THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR THIS FUNDAMENTAL KNOWLEDGE, AND NO SHORT-CUT TO ITS ATTAINMENT. YOU CANNOT SUBSTITUTE FOR KNOWLEDGE OF READING, ADEPTNESS IN WHITE-WASHING THE TREES ON THE CAMPUS, OR FACILITY IN BOILING POTATOES. I SHOULD BE THE LAST TO DENY THAT TREES OUGHT TO BE CARED FOR, OR THAT FOOD OUGHT TO BE COOKED, BUT I AM INSISTING THE FIRST DUTY OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL TO ITS CHILDREN IS TO TEACH THEM TO READ; AND THAT NO PERSON OUGHT TO BE SENT OUT OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL WHO CANNOT READ. SECONDLY, THE CHILD MUST LEARN HOW TO WRITE. NOT SIMPLY TO FORM WORDS AND LETTERS BY HAND, OR ON THE TYPEWRITER, BUT TO

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BE ABLE TO EXPRESS ITS OWN THOUGHTS, OR THE THOUGHTS OF OTHERS IN CLEAR, IDIOMATIC, AND GRAMMATICAL ENGLISH. HERE, AGAIN, THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NOTHING THAT CAN TAKE THE PLACE OF THIS. I DO NOT CARE HOW ELABORATE THE PROVISIONS OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL MAY BE FOR PLANING BOARDS OR WASHING DISHES, THE FIRST THING WHICH THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL MUST DO AFTER THE CHILD HAS LEARNED TO READ, AND WHILE IT IS LEARNING, IS TO TEACH IT TO WRITE GOOD ENGLISH. AND THERE AGAIN, ONE HAS BUT TO LISTEN TO THE SLOVENLY ENGLISH ON THE STREET AND OVER THE RADIO, THE CARELESS TALK ON THE PUBLIC PLATFORM, AND THE UTTERLY IMPOSSIBLE CURRENT CONVERSATION OF MEN AND WOMEN, AS WELL AS CHILDREN, TO REALIZE THAT THE EXPRESSION OF HUMAN THOUGHT IN AMERICA TODAY IS IN AN ELEMENTARY CONDITION, AND THAT AMONG NEGROES IT HAS NOT QUITE REACHED THE ELEMENTARY STAGE.

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THE THIRD BUSINESS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL IS TO TEACH CHILDREN TO USE NUMBERS, AND IF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL HAS BEEN REMISS IN TEACHING READING AND WRITING, IT HAS ALMOST ~~FALLEN DOWN~~ failed WHEN IT COMES TO ADDITION, SUBTRACTION, MULTIPLICATION, AND DIVISION. HERE, AGAIN, THERE IS NO ROYAL ROAD.

MY DAUGHTER ATTENDED AS A CHILD A FIRST-CLASS KINDERGARTEN AND A PROGRESSIVE GRADE SCHOOL. BUT THERE WAS SO MUCH TO STUDY AND TO DO, AND SO MUCH EDUCATION RAMPART, THAT WHEN SHE WENT TO A REAL SCHOOL, AND ENTERED THE FIFTH GRADE, SHE HAD TO STOP EVERYTHING AND LEARN THE MULTIPLICATION TABLE. THE LEARNING OF THE MULTIPLICATION TABLE CANNOT BE DONE BY INSPIRATION OR EXORTATION. IT IS A MATTER OF BLUNT, HARD, EXERCISE OF MEMORY, DONE SO REPEATEDLY AND FOR SO MANY YEARS, THAT IT BECOMES SECOND NATURE, SO THAT IT CANNOT BE FORGOTTEN. MOREOVER, THE PROPER, AND ABSOLUTELY CORRECT USE OF NUMBERS IS THE ONLY ROAD TO THE USE OF HUMAN REASON, AND ONE CAN SEE HOW THIS DISCIPLINE HAS BEEN NEGLECTED IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF THE WORLD, WHEN ONE NOTES THE PITIABLE INABILITY OF THE MASS OF MEN TO DO A SIMPLE, STRAIGHT, BIT OF REASONING. IT IS LOGICALLY EASY IN EVERY PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN TO HAVE TWO AND TWO EQUAL FIVE, AND TO HAVE THE SQUARE OF THE HYPOTHENUSE EQUAL ANYTHING BUT ~~WHAT IT LOGICALLY AND UNALTERABLY MUST EQUAL.~~ the sum of the squares of the other two sides

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THESE ARE THE THREE DISCIPLINES WHICH ARE THE ~~BASIS OF~~ gates to INTELLIGENCE, AND WHICH NO SCHOOL CAN FAIL TO TEACH THOROUGHLY AND DEFINITELY, AND CALL ITSELF A SCHOOL. WHENEVER A TEACHERS' CONVENTION GETS TOGETHER AND TRIES TO FIND OUT HOW IT CAN CURE THE ILLS OF SOCIETY, THERE IS SIMPLY ONE ANSWER: THE SCHOOL HAS BUT ONE

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WAY TO CURE THE ILLSOF SOCIETY, AND THAT IS BY MAKING MEN INTELLIGENT. TO MAKE MEN INTELLIGENT, THE SCHOOL HAS AGAIN BUT ONE WAY, AND THAT IS, FIRST AND LAST, TO TEACH THEM TO READ, WRITE AND COUNT. AND IF THE SCHOOL FAILS TO DO THAT, AND TRIES BEYOND THAT TO DO SOMETHING FOR WHICH A SCHOOL IS NOT ADAPTED, IT NOT ONLY FAILS IN ITS OWN FUNCTION, BUT IT FAILS IN ALL OTHER ATTEMPTED FUNCTIONS. BECAUSE NO SCHOOL AS SUCH CAN ORGANIZE INDUSTRY OR SETTLE THE MATTER OF WAGE AND INCOME, CAN FOUND HOMES OR FURNISH PARENTS, CAN ESTABLISH JUSTICE OR MAKE A CIVILIZED WORLD.

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ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THE SCHOOL DOES FURNISH THE BASIC ESSENTIALS FOR INTELLIGENCE, THEN THE PUPIL WHO CAN READ, WRITE AND COUNT, CAN GO FORWARD. IF HIS FORMAL SCHOOLING STOPS RIGHT HERE, HE still CAN READ THE THOUGHTS OF INTELLIGENT MEN; HE CAN STUDY HISTORY; HE CAN UNDERSTAND SCIENCE; AND HE CAN EXCHANGE THOUGHTS WITH MEN WHO ARE ABLE TO UNDERSTAND AND TEACH HIM. THE GATES TO INTELLIGENCE ARE OPEN TO HIM.

IF THE PERSON, WHO HAS PROPERLY COMPLETED the ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, HAS THE GREAT GOOD FORTUNE TO GO INTO THE HIGH SCHOOL, HE ALSO CAN DO THESE SAME THINGS, BUT DO THEM MORE QUICKLY, MORE THOROUGHLY, AND MORE PRECISELY. HE CAN STUDY ENGLISH (+ other languages

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~~AS A LANGUAGE~~; HE CAN STUDY HISTORY FROM CAREFULLY SELECTED TEXTBOOKS UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF PERSONS WHO KNOW HISTORY; HE CAN STUDY SCIENCE IN LABORATORIES WITH A CHANCE FOR HIS OWN EXPERIMENTATION.

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ABOVE ALL, HE CAN STUDY THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, THE HISTORY OF INDUSTRY, AND OF THE MACHINE, THE FUNCTION OF MONEY, THE USE AND ABUSE OF CAPITAL, THE LAW OF INCOME AND WAGES. HE CAN GET SOME INSIGHT INTO THE NEWER OBSERVATIONS OF THE WORKING OF THE HUMAN MIND AND OF THE GROUP MIND. IN THIS WAY, THE STUDENT HAS AN OPPORTUNITY, BETWEEN THE YEARS OF 11-17, OF GRASPING THE MEANING OF THE WORLD IN MICROCOSM, AND HE MAY BEGIN TO APPREHEND WHAT IT MEANS TO LIVE IN THIS AGE AND IN THE FOREMOST RANKS OF TIME.

THESE ARE THE MAIN SUBJECTS OF HIS HIGH SCHOOL DISCIPLINE. OUTSIDE THESE, HE MAY FIND TIME AND OPPORTUNITY FOR CERTAIN DEFINITE APPLICATIONS OF HIS KNOWLEDGE AND INTRODUCTION to REAL WORK.

HE WILL NOT HAVE MUCH TIME FOR THOROUGH STUDY OUTSIDE OF THESE MAIN SUBJECTS OF A CAREFULLY PLANNED CURRICULUM, BUT FOR RECREATION AND PRACTICE, AND AS AN

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INTRODUCTION TO THE REALITIES OF LIFE, HE CAN EITHER IN THE SAME SCHOOL, OR IN EXTRA-CURRICULUM ACTIVITIES, LEARN CERTAIN SIMPLE SKILLS FOR THE SAKE OF PHYSICAL DEXTERITY AND MENTAL DISCIPLINE. HE CAN DO JOBS AND EARN MONEY IN VACATIONS. HE CAN HELP AROUND THE HOME. HE CAN EVEN OBSERVE OR WORK AT SOME BRANCH OF REAL INDUSTRY. BUT ALL THIS EFFORT MUST BE STRICTLY LIMITED BY THE TIME ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY FOR HIM TO GRASP THE MAIN FACTS OF LANGUAGE, AND OF PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, AND IF THE MAIN DISCIPLINES ARE CUT DOWN BY USING HIS TIME IN REPAIRING AUTOMOBILES, OR MAKING TABLES, IT SIMPLY MEANS THAT HE IS NOT PURSUING A HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION.

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IN SO MUCH OF OUR EFFORT TO REVISE THE CURRICULUM OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, WE ARE REALLY TRYING TO SOLVE TWO PROBLEMS: HOW CAN A CHILD AT THE SAME TIME GET AN EDUCATION AND MAKE A LIVING? THE ANSWER IS SIMPLE: IT CANNOT BE DONE. WE MAY COME TO THE DAY (WHICH IS INDEED POSSIBLE) WHEN WE WILL PAY CHILDREN TO GO TO SCHOOL; BUT EVEN IN THAT CASE, WE SHALL BE PAYING THE CHILD TO BECOME INTELLIGENT, AND NOT GIVING HIM AN ECONOMIC WAGE FOR THE WORTH OF HIS WORK IN DIRECT GOODS AND SERVICES.

THE PRESSURE UPON US IN AMERICA, AND PARTICULARLY THE PRESSURE AMONG NEGROES, IS TO INCREASE OUR INCOME. THAT IS THE MAIN AND CENTRAL NEGRO PROBLEM. IN A RECENT STUDY WHICH I HELPED MAKE IN TEXAS, WE FOUND THAT OUT OF FOUR THOUSAND NEGRO INDUSTRIAL WORKERS EMPLOYED IN CITIES BY SOME OF THE BEST FIRMS OF TEXAS, OVER 90% WERE GETTING A WAGE WHICH WAS BELOW THE SUBSISTENCE LEVEL NECESSARY FOR A DECENT AND HEALTHY STANDARD OF LIFE. IF THIS WAS TRUE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS, IT WAS EVEN MORE TRUE OF THE TENANT-FARMERS. IF WE CLEARLY GRASP THIS ESSENTIAL NEED OF INCOME, THERE COMES THE PRESSURE TO USE OUR CHILDREN IN ORDER TO INCREASE THE FAMILY WAGE. AND WITH IT COMES THE SPECIOUS ARGUMENT THAT THIS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED, AND AT THE SAME TIME THE CHILD CAN GET AN EDUCATION SIMPLY BY MAKING THE PUBLIC SCHOOL A SORT OF PRELIMINARY WORK SHOP. THIS IS SIMPLY NOT TRUE. THE OBJECT OF A WORKSHOP IS TO MAKE GOODS WHICH CAN BE used or SOLD FOR A PROFIT. THE OBJECT OF A SCHOOL IS TO MAKE CHILDREN WHO CAN KNOW, THINK, AND DO. THESE ARE TWO SEPARATE FUNCTIONS DONE BY TWO SEPARATE HUMAN INSTITUTIONS. THESE INSTITUTIONS CAN NOT ~~COLLAGE~~ coalesce IN ONE. IT IS QUITE TRUE THAT THE SCHOOL MAY DO SOMETHING TOWARD MAKING THE FUNCTION OF WORK IN THE WORLD MORE REAL TO STUDENTS. IT IS ALSO TRUE THAT INDUSTRY MUST NOT SIMPLY BE FOR THE MAKING OF GOODS, BUT MUST KEEP IN MIND CONTINUALLY THE WELFARE OF THE LABORERS. BUT SO LONG

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AS WE DEMAND GOODS AND INTELLIGENCE, THE SCHOOL AND THE WORKSHOP MUST PERFORM THEIR DISTINCT FUNCTIONS. THE REWARD FOR LEARNING TO SHOE A HORSE IS THE WAGE OF A BLACKSMITH. THE REWARD FOR LEARNING THE BINOMIAL THEOREM IS INTELLIGENCE. ONLY THE LATTER LEARNING SHOULD RECEIVE ACADEMIC CREDIT.

I DO NOT FOR A MOMENT PRETEND TO SAY THAT WITH OUR PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND PRESENT INCOMES, LARGE NUMBERS OF OUR CHILDREN HAVE NOT THE TIME FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDY; BUT I MERELY INSIST THAT IF WHAT THE YOUTH IS DOING IS NOT TO TAKE A HIGH SCHOOL COURSE, YOU DO NOT MIRACULOUSLY CHANGE THE FACT BY CALLING IT A HIGH SCHOOL COURSE AND GIVING HIM MANUAL WORK. || THE YOUTH MAY BE AMONG THOSE FEW WHO GET A CHANCE TO GO TO COLLEGE. THE NUMBER WHO GO TO COLLEGE OUGHT TO BE LIMITED, NOT BY A MAN'S WEALTH, BUT BY HIS RECOGNIZED AND PROVEN ABILITY. IF THERE IS FOUND IN A HIGH SCHOOL OF ONE HUNDRED, TEN OR MORE CHILDREN WHO HAVE GIVEN INDISPUTABLE EVIDENCE OF UNUSUAL ABILITY, AND THOROUGH ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THEIR ELEMENTARY WORK, THEY OUGHT BY ALL MEANS TO GO TO COLLEGE, WHETHER THEIR PARENTS HAVE THE MONEY OR NOT, AND THEY OUGHT TO GO AT THE EXPENSE OF THE STATE. IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT

FEW STUDENTS OF EITHER NEGRO OR WHITE COLLEGES ARE OF THIS CALIBER. OUR COLLEGES ARE BEING MORE AND MORE FILLED WITH STUDENTS WHO NEVER LEARNED HOW TO READ, WRITE OR COUNT, AND WHO HAVE NEVER DONE A THOROUGH HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM, AND THE RESULT IS, THAT INSTEAD OF THE COLLEGE BEING ABLE TO CARRY A REASONABLE NUMBER OF PERSONS ON TOWARD MASTERY OF THE GREAT STORES OF MODERN KNOWLEDGE, SO THAT THEY CAN BECOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT AND TEACHERS OF MEN, THE NUMBER OF SUCH PERSONS HAS BEEN PAINFULLY FEW. || THIS, THEN, AS I CONCEIVE IT, IS THE DUTY, AND THE INESCAPABLE DUTY OF THE SCHOOL IN ITS ELEMENTARY GRADES, IN ITS HIGH SCHOOL, AND IN ITS COLLEGES.

YOU WILL NOTE THAT I HAVE SAID HERE VERY LITTLE ABOUT WORK AND INDUSTRY, AND YOU MAY HAVE INFERRED FROM THAT THAT I THINK IT OF LESS IMPORTANCE THAN EDUCATION. ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN EDUCATION. IT IS FUNDAMENTAL TO EDUCATION, TO ART, SCIENCE AND RELIGION. THE GREAT WORD OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON IS JUST AS TRUE TODAY AS IT WAS WHEN HE ENNUNCIATED IT; MAINLY, THAT THE FIRST BUSINESS OF THE FREED NEGRO WAS TO FIND A SECURE PLACE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY. BUT THE MISTAKE THAT MR. WASHINGTON MADE WAS IN ASSUMING THAT THE WAY TO FIND THIS PLACE WAS CLEAR AND CERTAIN, AND THAT THE DIRECT TOOL BY WHICH THE PLACE WAS TO BE FOUND WAS

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A CERTAIN TYPE OF SCHOOL. THIS IS NOT TRUE. IT WAS NOT TRUE IN 1906: IT IS NOT TRUE IN 1935, AND THE REASON THAT IT IS NOT TRUE HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH MR. WASHINGTON'S HONESTY OF PURPOSE, OR WITH THE CURRICULUM IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. IT HAS TO DO WITH SEVERAL OBVIOUS THINGS. IN THE FIRST PLACE, THERE HAVE BEEN PERIODS IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, ESPECIALLY DURING THE MIDDLE AGES, AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, WHEN IT WOULD HAVE BEEN FEASIBLE TO TAKE A CHILD OUT OF SCHOOL AND PUT IT IN A ~~SCHOOL~~ shop to be TRAINED IN THE CURRENT TECHNIQUE OF INDUSTRY. AND THAT TRAINING IN THE TECHNIQUE OF INDUSTRY MIGHT HAVE BEEN CALLED ~~been an~~ EDUCATION, AND MIGHT HAVE HAD NUMBERS OF EDUCATIONAL FEATURES. BUT IT HAS HAPPENED THAT IN THE 19th CENTURY, THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY HAS BEEN SO THAT THIS IS PRACTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE. INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUE HAS CHANGED SO RAPIDLY AND SO CONTINUOUSLY THAT IT HAS BEEN IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANY SCHOOL TO FOLLOW IT. MACHINES HAVE DISPLACED THE OLD-FASHIONED CARPENTER, SHOEMAKER, TINSSMITH, WAGON BUILDER, AND AUTOMOBILE MAKER. THE NEWER APPLICATIONS OF STEAM AND ELECTRICITY, THE NEW MATERIALS WHICH HAVE BEEN FABRICATED, THE NEW KINDS OF SKILL WHICH HAVE BEEN DEMANDED, ~~HAS~~ have MADE IT IMPERATIVE THAT THE PERSON WHO IS GOING TO ENTER ITS ~~STATE~~ WORK LEARN THE TECHNIQUE OF INDUSTRY IN THE TRADE AND NOT IN THE SCHOOL. NEITHER HAMPTON NOR TUSKEGEE ~~HAS~~ have PLACED ANY NUMBER OF INDEPENDENT FARMERS UPON THE SOIL. NONE OF THE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS HAVE PERCEPTIBLY INCREASED THE NUMBER OF TRAINED ARTISANS WHO ARE IN INDUSTRY. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THEY HAVE NOT WORKED HARD. BUT THE REASON THAT THE ~~POSITION~~ shops AT HAMPTON AND TUSKEGEE ARE TODAY CLOSED, AND ~~IS~~ these INSTITUTIONS BEING GRADUALLY TURNED INTO CONVENTIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, IS BECAUSE THEY HAD TO RECOGNIZE THAT AS AN INSTITUTION THE SCHOOL COULD NOT DEAL WITH INDUSTRY; THAT THE MATTER OF EARNING A LIVING, THE RATE OF WAGES, THE BUYING AND SELLING OF COMMODITIES, THE ORGANIZATION OF COMMERCE, ALL OF THAT BELONGED TO INSTITUTIONS THAT WERE NOT SCHOOLS BUT WERE FOR THE EXPRESSED PURPOSE OF DEALING WITH INDUSTRY. THE ONE AND ONLY FUNCTION OF THE SCHOOL WAS TO FURNISH INTELLIGENT MEN WHO COULD CONDUCT THESE OTHER SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

IT IS HERE THAT SOME SIMPLE-MINDED TEACHERS AND MEMBERS OF SCHOOL BOARDS GET THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE IN ATTEMPTING TO TEACH INDUSTRY IN SCHOOLS. THEY ASSUME THAT TEACHING TYPEWRITING WILL GET A GIRL A PAYING JOB, WHEN IN FACT TEACHING

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GRAMMAR AND SPELLING WOULD COME NEARER THE GOAL. THEY WANT TO TEACH GIRLS TO MAKE BREAD WHICH THEY CAN BUY CHEAPER THAN THEY CAN BAKE; HOW TO ENTERTAIN SIX ~~GIRLS~~ guests AT LUNCHEON AND IGNORE THE PROBLEM OF GETTING THE LUNCHEON; THEY SHOW BOYS HOW TO MAKE WAGONS WHICH COST TWICE AS MUCH AS MACHINE-MADE PRODUCTS. THEY THINK THAT A BUSINESS COURSE IN A COLORED HIGH SCHOOL WILL PUT NEGROES INTO BUSINESS WITHOUT CAPITAL, CREDIT OR EXPERIENCE AND IN DEFIANCE OF THE CHAIN STORE. YOU CANNOT TRAIN SUCCESSFUL COBBLERS AS LONG AS THE UNITED SHOE MACHINERY COMPANY MONOPOLIZES THE MAKING OF CHEAP SHOES; THE PLANING MILL IS DRIVING CARPENTERS OUT OF WORK JUST AS THE FABRICATED HOUSE WILL SOON DRIVE MASONS.

IF THIS IS TRUE OF THE NATION AS A WHOLE, IT IS PECULIARLY TRUE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO. THE AMERICAN NEGRO HAS DEVELOPED BUT TWO SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS; THE SCHOOL AND THE CHURCH. IT HAS DEVELOPED NO INSTITUTIONS WHICH CAN SUCCESSFULLY DEAL WITH MATTERS OF WORK, INCOME AND WAGE. IN THOSE MATTERS, IT HAS PLACED ITSELF AT THE MERCY OF THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY, AND ASSUMED THAT WITHOUT THE USE OF POLITICAL POWER AND INTELLIGENCE, IT WAS GOING TO STAND THE SAME CHANCE THAT

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WHITE MEN STOOD. THE DIFFICULTY WITH THIS IS THAT EVEN WHITE MEN STOOD POOR CHANCE, AS THE MILLIONS OUT OF EMPLOYMENT TODAY SHOW, AND THE BLACK MAN WAS INDUSTRIALLY ALMOST DISINHERITED.

THE TIME HAS COME, THEREFORE, WHEN OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL, INTELLIGENT WORKERS AND THINKERS AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES SHOULD SET THEMSELVES TO THE PROBLEM OF FURNISHING WORK FOR NEGROES ~~AND~~ at DECENT WAGES, SO THAT OUR YOUNG FOLK CAN GET MARRIED AT THE AGE THEY OUGHT TO BE MARRIED, AND BRING UP HEALTHY CHILDREN, AND SO THAT CONTRADICTORY PHENOMENA OF MILLIONS OF NEGRO WORKERS STARVING WHILE FOOD ROTS ON THE FARMS OF MILLIONS OF NEGRO FARMERS, SHOULD NOT STAND TO MOCK OUR INTELLIGENCE.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY JUST HOW THE NEGRO IS GOING TO FIND HIS WAY OUT OF THE PRESENT DEPRESSION, AND WHAT SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS HE WILL HAVE TO INVENT OR ADOPT IN ORDER TO REACH ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE. BUT ONE THING IS CERTAIN! THE FIRST STEP TOWARD ANY ACTION IS THE INCREASE OF TRAINED INTELLIGENCE AMONG US. THE FATAL MARK WHICH THIS DEPRESSION IS GOING TO LEAVE UPON THE NEGRO RACE, AS UPON THOUSANDS OF OTHER GROUPS, IS A GROUP OF CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND EVENTUALLY MEN, WHO HAVE HAD THEIR EDUCATION INTERFERED WITH, WHO HAVE BEEN PUSHED BY POVERTY INTO CRIME AND

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DISEASE, AND WHO ARE GOING TO PLAGUE THIS RACE AND OTHERS FOR GENERATIONS AFTER THE DEPRESSION PASSES.

WE SHOULD, THEREFORE, CLING TO EDUCATION IN THESE TIME MORE DOGGEDLY AND STUBBORNLY THAN IN TIMES OF PROSPERITY. WE SHOULD SAY TO OURSELVES: IT IS GOING TO TAKE BRAINS AND TRAINED KNOWLEDGE FOR THE WORLD AND OUR RACE TO RIGHT ITSELF AFTER THIS CATASTROPHE, AND ABOVE ALL, TO KEEP ITSELF FROM FALLING INTO SIMILAR CATASTROPHIES IN THE FUTURE; AND THE BASIS OF THIS INTELLIGENCE IS THE WORK DONE IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

THE SCHOOL TERM, THEREFORE, MUST BE LENGTHENED NO MATTER WHAT THE EXPENSE, OR WHO PAYS IT. THE ATTENDANCE AT THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SHOULD BE COMPULSORY, DESPITE THE RACE AND POVERTY OF THE CHILD, OR THE GREED OF THE FARMERS AND MANUFACTURERS. THE TEACHERS SHOULD MORE CAREFULLY BE SELECTED WITHOUT SILLY RESTRICTIONS AS TO MARRIAGE, SEX, COLOR OR AGE, BUT WITH THE ONE CRITERION: WHETHER THEY KNOW THE SUBJECT WHICH THEY TEACH, AND ARE ABLE TO IMPART INFORMATION TO CHILDREN WHOM THEY CAN CONTROL BY CIVILIZED METHODS.

THE DISCRIMINATION IN WAGES BETWEEN WHITE AND COLORED TEACHERS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, AND BETWEEN THE AMOUNT SPENT ON WHITE AND COLORED PUPILS, IS ONE OF THE MOST SHORT-SIGHTED MISTAKES THAT A NATION COULD MAKE. FEDERAL AID SHOULD TAKE THE GUISE OF AN EQUALIZATION FUND, SO THAT DISADVANTAGED RACES, GROUPS, AND LOCALITIES, SHOULD HAVE THEIR LACK OF FACILITIES MADE UP [redacted] WITH TAXES PAID BY THE WHOLE NATION.

WE ARE GOING TO HAVE IN THE WORLD SOONER OR LATER A RADICAL REORGANIZATION AND READJUSTMENT OF INDUSTRY. WE ARE GOING TO HAVE A MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AND WEALTH. WE ARE GOING TO HAVE A MORE CAREFUL CONTROL OF MACHINERY AND RAW MATERIALS, AND REGULATION OF LAND AND MONOPOLY. IN THIS RECONSTRUCTION, INTELLIGENCE AND CHARACTER ARE GOING TO BE NEEDED. IF ANY PART OF THE COMMUNITY IS DEFICIENT IN INTELLIGENCE AND UNDEVELOPED IN CHARACTER, NOT ONLY WILL THE WHOLE NATION SUFFER, BUT MORE ESPECIALLY THAT IGNORANT AND CRIMINAL PART OF THE NATION WILL BE THE LAST TO SHARE THE BENEFITS OF REORGANIZED INDUSTRY. IT IS, THEREFORE, OF GREAT MOMENT TO US THAT IN THESE DAYS, WE SHOULD STRENGTHEN RATHER THAN WEAKEN THE

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ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS; THAT WE SHOULD INSIST UPON THE STERN DISCIPLINE OF THE MAIN SUBJECTS OF STUDY, AND THAT WE SHOULD DO THIS EVEN AT GREAT SACRIFICE, SO THAT THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE NEGRO RACE CAN EVENTUALLY HELP OUR PEOPLE INHERIT A RIGHTFUL PLACE IN THE NEW KINGDOMS OF INDUSTRY.

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(1) Negro Education

c 1935

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THE NEGRO SCHOOL AND SOCIAL REORGANIZATION

I like, if possible, to keep within the bounds of the general subject on an occasion like this, but I humbly confess that after reading your convention theme through several times, I have been quite unable to understand its meaning. I can only hope that the subject of this paper, "The Negro School and Social Reorganization", has some faint relation to "Citizenship and the Child-Centered School".

In no other group and no other country, has such faith in the school as an organ of social reform been held, as in the United States and among American Negroes. We seem, almost, to base our whole belief in social reform and economic re-building upon the public school and the college. Naturally, what we mean by this, is that an intelligent citizenship is the first logical step toward the ultimate re-building of humanity. But we must be careful in repeating this truism to remember that reform does not come through the teaching of intelligence; nor even through intelligence itself; but only through the rightly directed work of intelligent men. The school, therefore,

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is only indirectly an institution for reform. And it is for this reason that in most countries of the world today no one is looking toward the school in itself as the instrument through which the world is to be re-built. This attitude must be adopted in America and in Negro schools lest we land in an intellectual muddle.

I have, for instance, just come from a meeting of the Negro teachers of Georgia. The main theme of their convention was the "adaptation of the curriculum to the peculiar needs of Negro children;" and the suppressed minor premise was that the social, and particularly the economic difficulties now faced by the Negro race, could be met by a change in the curriculum of the public schools.

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It seemed to me, therefore, necessary to emphasize at that meeting the fact that the first job of the public schools was not to put the Negro to work or secure him an income, but to make him an intelligent man. And that, then, as an intelligent man, he, through institutions other than the school, would attack the pressing and fundamental problems of earning a living. And I went further to emphasize the clear truth that the teaching of intelligence depended primarily upon the acquisition of the tools which

opened the gates to intelligence; mainly, learning to read, write and count. In this line, I said:

If we follow the development of the public school system the world around, and strengthen our observance by sound psychology, we know perfectly well that what the school child needs, from 6-12, is the careful, continuous, and repeatedly checked pursuit of a few, simple avenues to knowledge. This school curriculum cannot be divided up into separate, unrelated parts. It must be one converging whole, and it must lead to a single, simple, unequivocable result.

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First, the child must learn to read. Half, even three-fourths of the difficulties in our schools and colleges and universities, and the difficulties of basing democratic government and civilization upon intelligence, is the plain and unquestioned fact that most people cannot read; they cannot intelligently take a piece of well-written English and in a reasonably short time get a clear and distinct idea of just what the writer meant to say. Now that ability to read does not come by chance or inspiration, it comes by severe and continuous discipline, checked and re-checked by

teachers who themselves can read, and who know what to read, and how to read.

There is no substitute for this fundamental knowledge, and no short-cut to its attainment. You cannot exchange for knowledge of reading, adeptness in white-washing the trees on the campus, or facility in boiling potatoes. I should be the last to deny that trees ought to be cared for, or that food ought to be cooked; but I am insisting the first duty of the public school to its children is to teach them to read; and that no person ought to be sent out of the elementary school who cannot read.

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Secondly, the child must learn how to write. Not simply to form words and letters by hand, or on the typewriter; but to be able to express its own thoughts, or the thoughts of others in clear, idiomatic, and grammatical English. Here, again, there is absolutely nothing that can take the place of this. I do not care how elaborate the provisions of the elementary school may be for sewing shirts or washing dishes, the first thing which the elementary school must do after the child has learned to

read, and while it is learning, is to teach it to write good English. And there again, one has but to listen to the slovenly English on the street and over the radio, the careless talk on the public platform, and the utterly impossible current conversation of men and women, as well as children, to realize that the expression of human thought in America today is in an elementary condition, and that among Negroes it has not quite reached the elementary stage.

The third business of the public school is to teach children to use numbers, and if the public school has been remiss in teaching reading and writing, it has almost failed when it comes to addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division.

Here, again, there is no royal road. My daughter attended as a child a first-class kindergarten and a progressive grade school. But there was so much to study and to do, and so much education rampant, that when she went to a real school, and entered the fifth grade, she had to stop everything and learn the multiplication table. The learning of the multiplication table cannot be done by inspiration or exortation. It is a matter of blunt, hard, exercise of memory, done so repeatedly and for so many

years, that it becomes second nature, so that it cannot be forgotten.

Moreover, the proper, and absolutely correct use of numbers is the only road to the use of human reason, and one can see how this discipline has been neglected in the elementary schools of the world, when one notes the pitiable inability of the mass of men to do a simple, straight, bit of reasoning. It is logically easy in every presidential campaign to have two and two equal five, and to have the square of the hypothenuse equal anything but what it logically and unalterably must equal.

These are the three disciplines which are the gates to intelligence, and which no school can fail to teach thoroughly and definitely, and call itself a school.

But our problem of earning a living within the Negro race is not settled by a negative. If the school is not the organ which is going to help the Negro achieve economic reform, how is this reform to be brought about? Because, certainly, the present situation is critical and full of dangers. It has changed materially from the early years of the 20th Century. At that time, we had laid down a program of economic re-building

which gained wide allegiance. It was pointed out then that the mass of Negroes were farmers, laborers, and servants; that in all probability these were going to be the occupations of the mass of the Negroes for many years; that, therefore, Negroes should be trained for these occupations so that they would do them well, and that the best place for this training was in a certain type of school called the industrial school.

A generation has gone by. The Negroes are still, mainly, farmers, servants and laborers, although the proportion of laborers in the industries has increased, the servants decreased, and the proportion of those in the professions has also increased, but is still very small, as compared with the total. Moreover, the industrial schools have not succeeded in placing upon farms any considerable proportion of intelligent Negro farmers, while the proportion of Negroes in the skilled and semi-skilled trades has not noticeably increased; indeed, in many lines, it has decreased.

The elaborate trade schools, at Hampton and Tuskegee, are practically closed. The various schools of household arts and home economics are surviving but they are not furnishing any number of servants. They are training housewives, although in the

meantime, the kind of home with its self-centered manufacturing occupations for which these schools are adapted, is disappearing in the new apartment house and community life.

All this does not mean that the industrial school has been in vain, or accomplished nothing. It is probably true that there are more good Negro farmers because of the industrial schools than there would have been if agriculture had not been so stressed and taught. It is just as true that the disappearance of many types of Negro artisans is a fellow phenomenon with the disappearance of similar types of white artisans. Indeed, what we have faced is a peculiar period of economic change. If industry had been as static in the 20th Century as in the 16th, industrial and trade schools might have been devised which would have been successful. But what with the use of capital, power and machines, the rise of mass production and the new methods of transport and distribution, the whole face of industry has undergone a revolutionwhich can only be compared to the industrial revolution of the 19th Century; and no system of instruction could stand before these strains. Here, again, this is no time simply to criticize or indicate failure. Rather, it is a time that calls all the more strongly for far-seeing

constructive planning and work.

I do not have to tell you, who are in so close touch with actual conditions among the Negro race, how heavy the present pressure is upon our people. The peculiar Negro job has almost disappeared. The competition for the lowest and worst paid lines of work, between whites and blacks, is fierce, with the advantage going to those whites who are protected by political power, and social sanction. The common laborer, working at the machine, is displacing the old, skilled laborer in all fields of industry. The concentration in the control of capital is making individual thrift of little account today.

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Take, for instance, the situation of the Negro farmer. Without land and without capital, and without control of the markets, he is in an impossible condition. The mistake of not making him a peasant-proprietor during Reconstruction, as Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumer so wisely maintained, is now clearly seen. The impossibility of solving the labor problem without machines, and the impossibility of using machines profitably on small farms, has been shown in the great Russian experiment. And finally, the effective and close organization of manufacturing and transport, has beaten down

the price of raw materials the world over to a place that makes it almost impossible to raise them with profit.

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What, now, is going to happen to the country and to the Negro? Manifestly, there are three possibilities which may again be called the three "R's": drastic revolution in the whole basis of the organization of industry; or far-reaching reform which does not go to the extent of revolution, and yet does make widespread change in the economic functions of government; or, finally, what is called Recovery; that is, the restoration of the former industrial status.

The thing for Negroes to remember is that in any case, whether prosperity returns on the old basis, or the present reforms are institutionalized and made at least in part pe manent; or whether there is a drastic change in the organization of industry; in any of these three cases, the Negro in America has got to organize in economic lines in order to safeguard his future, and be sure of his bread and butter.

We must not adopt or pursue any mere policy of drift. We must unite in

planned racial co-operation for our economic emancipation. This is the basic meaning of that so-called new advocacy of segregation with which I have been rather frankly criticized in these latter days. My fundamental opposition to race segregation and discrimination is unchanged. I have no allusions about their meaning. Segregation, legal or voluntary, puts off the day of complete nationalism of a unified humanity. It is a step along that perilous path which in the long run leads to race deification, national patriotism, and world war. Nevertheless, it is a path that we are forced for a time to follow by grim necessity and unyielding race hatred, because only by uniting for justifiable self-defense can we meet the kind of economic war which we are today facing. No mere individualism, either in merit or effort, is going to gain the Negro the right to earn a decent living. He must unite the strength of a nation of twelve million people to protect himself from starvation, and to force himself on an economic plane where his work will be paid for and his demands recognized. Nor can he escape by deserting his masses and peeling off layer after layer of upper classes who propose to live on the poverty and exploitation of the classes beneath. To this ancient

path of progress modern economic ethics opposes a bland wall which we will be fools to seek to oppose.

What now can be done?

We have in the Negro race, organized in different degrees of efficiency, three institutions: the school, the church, and what we may more loosely call, Negro business; that is, those efforts within the race to earn a living by exchange of reciprocal services. It is, as I have said, the work of the school to furnish intelligent men; to teach children to read, write and count; to give them in the high school some idea of the world in which they live; and to put through college those persons of ability among us who can use the great body of accumulated science and knowledge.

This is not being effectively done today, particularly during these days of depression. Our elementary schools are in wretched condition; the teachers unpaid, the school terms short and irregular, the school housing and facilities grossly inadequate. No inapt comparisons with the past can gainsay this. If we are educationally

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better off than we were in 1885, we are compared with the nation much worse off. Nevertheless, we have a growing body of trained men. Men, who to be sure, show lapses and lacunae in their training, but who, nevertheless, are men with modern ideas and modern knowledge. This knowledge has got to be used today in far-sighted and effective planning, and teachers, espcially, are in positions to do outside the school room and in their capacity as intelligent men, work that the school itself cannot do.

I am going to make a suggestion here, tonight, that I have not made before, and which at first will seem to you almost fantastic; but before you pronounce judgment upon it, give it long thought.

Negro business is either a branch of orduplication of white business. In our banking and insurance, we are practically a part of the white set-up. If, for instance, the big banks of Chicago decide to freeze out 200 of the smaller banks in order to consolidate their position in a time of crisis, the first of the smaller banks to go, because there is least opposition to it, is the colored Binga Bank. The Binga

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Bank was not bankrupt in any real sense of the term, and it was not inefficiently conducted. Its failure was not the result of dishonesty. It was simply the freezing out of the small business men because Big Business needed his assets. It was a thing which under our present system can and does continually happen to small white business and forms one of the tragedies of our day. To us it is more apt to happen because of prejudice and the result is more disastrous. So long as the funds of Negro insurance organizations must be invested in white business enterprises, their safety and permanency depends absolutely on white business. If in the future this investment of funds can be safeguarded in Negro enterprises, the element of race discrimination can be avoided. Is this possible? This brings us to other lines of Negro business which seek to establish reciprocal services between Negro workers and Negro dealers, and thus reach a racial independence in part. They are handicapped by severe competition with white aggregations of capital, like the chain stores, and also by the fact that they are profit-making institutions. Now, private profit in the reorganization of industry which faces

us is under fire. And while it is not going to disappear immediately, it is going to be reduced in volume, and it is going to be suspect. Yet, American Negroes have taken almost no steps toward reorganizing business among them on a non-profit basis.

Most of us do not realize this crucial point in the present plans for the reorganization of industry. The complete abolition of private profit, and the ownership of land and machines by the state, is undoubtedly a far-off ideal. But partial steps in this direction have been taken in our day by every civilized state, and the steps in the United States are well-known to you, although they are called by various names. We have interfered with private property in agriculture, and manufactures. We have set rates of wages and required conditions of work which have cut down the possibility of profit; we have furnished and controlled capital in railroads, and we are faced with the possibility of nationalizing the whole means of transportation in a future not far distinct.

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The individual citizens that enter into such a reorganized industry have got

to be trained to the new ideals and new outlook. They have got to realize their position as consumers, and organize themselves accordingly. If colored people do this, and do it promptly, they are going to become eligible and valuable citizens in the new state. But if they allow themselves to continue to be the unthinking victims of exploitation; to be laborers, unorganized and unmindful of their rights, they will in the new state be subject to all the disabilities which they suffer now, if not to others more fatal.

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I suggest, therefore, a step which they might take. The most complete and oldest, and in some respects the most effective Negro institution, is the Negro church. Without it, Negro business would be largely helpless, and the connection between the church and the school is historic. But the Negro church today has come upon difficult days. Its theology and creed are no longer compelling; the training of its ministers is poor, and ill-adapted to the function of the church. The housing of the church is often elaborate beyond its necessary social function, and to put it baldly, the Negro church needs something to do, and someone to do it.

Now, why would it not be possible for the Negro church to add to its organiza-

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tion, a business manager: a trained man with business methods, and particularly a knowledge of non-profit business methods, who had studied the work of consumers' co-operation throughout Europe, and in the United States.

Consumers' co-operation consists of group-buying on a large scale in order to save the profit of the wholesale and retail merchant; and the distribution of these goods to consumers at cost.

If the church today furnishes recreation and information to its members, there is no reason why tomorrow it should not furnish coal, food, houses and clothes, and a trained business manager, either running an organization under the auspices of the church, or taking charge of the whole business of the church, could accomplish this and eliminate the private profit motive from Negro economic organization.

This would leave a chance for the Negro minister to be an ethical leader and source of intellectual information for his people, just as the Jewish rabbi is today in the reformed Jewish church. This would mean, of course, a definite type of pastor than what we have today. It would mean that young men of high character and brains would have to be attracted to theological schools in a way that they are not attracted at all

today. The whole course of study in theological schools would be changed. There would be an end to eschatology, homiletics, and exegesis; there would be an end to Hebrew and liturgics; and a stressing of economics and sociology, of history and modern languages, of music and art.

Such young, vivid and honest men, freed from the necessity of these endless collections from the poverty of the poor, could talk about things that they were interested in on this earth, instead of confining themselves to heaven and hell.

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I know how difficult and seemingly impossible this program appears in the mere stating. It would involve the elimination from the present church organization just as far as possible, theology, and supernationalism. It would relegate miracles to the lore of fairy tales, and prayer would become earnest and purposeful effort. Nevertheless, the Negro church, and even the white church, faces grim alternatives: either it becomes a great social organ with ethical ideals based on a reorganized economics, or

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it becomes a futile and mouthy excrescence on society which will always be a refuge for reaction and superstition.

On the other hand, with this change that I indicate, there need be nothing revolutionary or sudden. The co-operative enterprise could be grafted on the church in the same way that organized charity and job-hunting and the visiting of the sick is a part of its present program. It could gradually be incorporated into the church organization and the business manager become the manager of the church with the minister as ethical leader. This method would save a great deal of the expense and difficulty of an entire new organization, in expenditure for housing, and in media for propaganda.

On the other hand, if this is not done, the co-operatives can and must be set-up as organizations entirely distinct from the church, which means that they must furnish housing; that they must furnish propaganda by methods which will eat into the church organization, even more than the fraternal lodges have, because the mission of the co-operatives will be more vital and the results more satisfactory. The object of this new church would be gradually to absorb Negro business, except in its larger forms,

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where it would for a long time be compelled to be a part of the national organization. It could begin a program of reciprocal service among a large proportion of the 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States. There is no reason why our 2,000,000 farmers should not furnish a large part of the food which Negroes eat, and of raw materials which they use. There is no reason why, with the use of modern machinery, and the new cheap power which is coming nearer to the home and farm each year, some of this raw material should not be turned by the Negro workers into goods which Negroes themselves use. Actual barter could be instituted in many cases, and group-buying on a scale which would greatly cheapen the price of goods for the mass of Negroes, and at the same time, give them employment at decent wages.

I do not think that we ourselves quite realize how wretchedly the average Negro worker is victimized and exploited by petty profiteers, particularly under the facile laws of the South. This is entirely unnecessary and it wastes a large proportion of the low wages which Negro workers receive.

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There will be those who will characterize all this as imagination, and yet what I have proposed here has been done and is being done by a thousand groups throughout the world. The only reason that we do not know about it, is because it is to the interest of those who are profiting by the present organisation, that we should not learn. Newspapers can chronicle crime, gossip, and scandal, but not a word about the success of credit unions. The Peoples' Bank, that is, credit unions, where numbers of poor and honest people pool their savings and loan to each other small sums in time of stress or trouble, began in 1849 in Europe. Today, in Germany alone, there are more than 20,000 of them. They are spread through France, Russia, China, Japan, and South America. Even in the United States, there are 2,000, and the chief work of Henry Hunt, our representative in the Department of Agriculture, is to spread the knowledge of these credit unions among American Negroes.

Denmark, a generation ago, was a country which geographically resembled the spiritual condition of American Negroes. It stood between the powerful commercial organizations of England and Germany; it sold its raw material for nothing, and

bought its manufactured goods at high prices. It was, in modern parlance, helpless; and yet, Denmark today is probably the best-educated, and economically the most independent land in the world; and the transformation was brought about by farmers who established seven hundred and fifty co-operative creameries, from 1881 to 1890, and from this the co-operatives went to the raising and selling of meat, the furnishing of butter and eggs, and the establishment of 1,800 stores, to supply the wants of 2,000,000 people without paying private profit. Two generations ago, 42% of the Danes were tenants; today, 90% own their land.

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The people of Finland went into wholesale co-operation. They bought in large quantities through ten wholesale stores which had been established by 1928, and did a business of $75,000,000 a year. Co-operation in England began with 28 members in 1844, and in 1930, the sales were $1,000,000,000, on which the surplus over cost was $100,000,000; and that surplus instead of going into the hands of private promoters, went back to the people who bought the goods. The English co-operative movement

carries on manufactures, banking, and insurance. It owns 32,000 acres of land in India and Ceylon to raise tea; it owns and runs ship lines, printing plants and schools, and it employs 40,000 persons. This does not deny the fact that co-operation is difficult to carry on. It calls for devotion, education, and high ethical standards. Thepath of its success is strewn with failure, but there is today nothing in the world that points so directly to a peaceful reform of industry, and a reform adapted to disadvantaged minorities who are the victims of prejudice and discrimination. Colored America is bound, sooner or later, to try this path.

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If it could be tried in a new and re-born Negro church, then with this new church, let me end by insisting should go the old school; that is, the school which thoroughly teaches themass of children to read, write, and count. Even though their education ends here, the gates of knowledge are open to them; and led by an intelligent ministry, they could get a higher training, even though they never entered the high school or a college. This may all seem fantastic and approaching the realm

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of dreams, but we have only to remember that it is by means of dreaming like this that the world has become as decent a place to live in as it is; and it is only by paths that lead to the stars, that we are going really to escape the present depression, and the series of depressions and wars that threaten the future.

BASIC PHILOSOPHY AND POLICIES FOR NEGRO LIFE IN THE NORTH

A lecture given in Milbank Chapel, Teachers College, Columbia University, Wednesday evening, March 25, 1936

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Head of the Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

It is impossible in any question of the relations of human beings to present any one simple way in which these relations can be improved and made ideal; and if we have to deal not simply with individuals but with groups of individuals having different history and training, then the difficulty of making any one so-called solution is even greater. It is difficult not only from the point of view of those who are outside the particular group you are thinking of, but also for the group itself.

Perhaps I can make clearest the difficulties of such philosophy and thought by treating it historically. There is, it seems to me, a sort of rhythm in the attitude of American Negroes toward their own problems. There have come times when some particular part or some particular aspect of the problems was of so great importance that it seemed as if all effort and all thought ought to be concentrated upon it. No one dreamed that this was the whole problem, but it seemed at the time as the thing of greatest moment. Then there would come other days when there was more of doubt; when the diversities, the many-sided difficulties of the problem presented themselves and one found, within and without the group, all sorts of solutions.

Let us illustrate this. Before the Revolutionary War there was that mob in Boston that defied the British soldiers. The man who led them was a fugitive slave, yet he identified himself entirely with the colonists. He was the one who yelled out to the soldiers and talked singularly enough of the "liberties" of the United States. It was quite fitting that the first national holiday of this country should for years have been celebrated on the day that Crispus Attucks died. He must have been conscious, and the small number of colored people in Boston must have been conscious, that there were many problems outside the colonial difficulties with England, in which they as Negroes were interested. But they knew that at that time they were identified with the interests of the colonies and the colonists looked upon them as one with them; if they

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did not look upon them as Indians or foreigners, but as part of the population of the colony that was fighting against England, then later the Negroes could better attack slavery and caste. This thought brought then concentration of effort since it was absolutely necessary that the Negroes insist upon being considered a part of the colonial population. They became a part and emancipation came gradually to all slaves in the Northern colonies.

Later, in 1787, there came a different series of events and more scattered efforts at solution.

St. George's Church in Philadelphia at Fourth and Vine Streets was a great Methodist Church. The Methodists rather prided themselves that they had followed Jesus Christ rather more fully than the Episcopalians in dealing with slavery. The Church of England had met many difficulties in inducing masters to send their slaves to church. The Methodists had invited them in. St. George's had grown to be the most popular church in Philadelphia. But in 1787, there had begun to pour into the city a large number of freed slaves from Pennsylvania with some fugitive slaves from Delaware and Maryland. So that the number of black folk who worshipped God in St. George's brought difficulties. They were not cultivated; they were not always clean; their manners were not the best. They were, nevertheless, welcomed there until it seemed to the good people of St. George's that something had to be done about this influx of dark Christians.

One Sunday morning two black men were on their knees praying, when the verger tapped them on the shoulder and courteously asked them to continue their prayers in the gallery.

Immediately a problem was presented to these men. Richard Allen was a man of good repute, a leader in a colored group of honest, God-fearing men. He didn't like this sort of thing. He hesitated as to what he should do about it. He knew he had not been asked to go to the gallery simply by the man who tapped him on the shoulder. Undoubtedly it was the decision of the church. He asked to be allowed to finish his prayer and then promised that he would leave and would not come again.

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Not all the Negroes agreed. Some said, "What of it?" They could worship in the gallery just as well. Most of them had never been used to anything else. In fact, the gallery was closer to heaven. Others thought nothing about it. If they were told to go to the gallery, they went.

The little group with Richard Allen and Absolom Jones did not go to the gallery. They walked out of the church and then sat down and thought about where they were going to worship.

They formed a little organization with some insurance features and discussed the future after they had voluntarily segregated themselves from the white congregation. They differed in opinion. One part was invited to form a church under the Episcopalians. Their leader, Absolom Jones, was made rector of the church; but he was never allowed to meet with the white ministers. His group formed a church, but it was a church apart from the other churches. That church has grown; similar churches have grown, until you have 51,502 colored Episcopalians in 7,299 churches in the United States. But the segregation of these churches from white churches has never disappeared.

The men under Richard Allen were not satisfied with this. They said, "We are not going to accept segregated membership in any church. We are going to have our own church. They formed the African Methodist Episcopal Church. This church today has 545,814 members in 6,708 churches. It is a Negro organization, with Negro bishops, and owns 32 millions of dollars worth of property.

That, of course, is no final settlement of the race problem. This church is still a separate body. It lives to itself and it builds up the fences between itself and the other churches. Nor does this solution end this peculiar caste. Some Negroes who stayed in St. George's Church, they and their descendants are still Methodists, and number 26,130 members. But they form separate congregations with black ministers and black bishops. There is no reason why the Methodist Church South and the Methodist Church should not unite, except one, and that is this: what is going to be the status of these Negroes in the reunited church?

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There were other differences of opinion as to what that little group of Negroes on their knees in St. George's should have done under the circumstances. I leave it to you to decide which part of them did the wisest thing for themselves, for the people of the United States, for the world.

To go on a few years. We come to 1812. It is not altogether clear what ~~this~~ the dispute was which made us go to war, but there were certainly some sailors who were taken forcibly from American ships by the English and put on English ships with the general feeling that America had no business to have ships. A large number of the sailors thus impressed were Negro sailors. Here again came absolute concentration of object among Negroes. They must be defended as American citizens and fight as such. They were thus going to settle their own problem in the United States and become a free people not only in the North, but in the Southern colonies. It did not come to that because of vital economic changes taking place in the world. Nevertheless, the War of 1812 strengthened the cause of Emancipation.

In about twenty years, we come to a different situation. The cotton kingdom had become areality, though not yet fully recognized. The South was beginning to consider slavery as a permanent part of a new economy. That meant that the Negro was beginning to feel the pinch of a new exploitation, and emancipation ceased. Slaves ran away North and met the competition of immigrant labor. In Philadelphia, the immigrants attacked them. In Cincinnati, they drove out Negroes who were doing rather well. Most of them were fugitives and were living in the city contrary to law. But people had winked at it and were rather proud of the way these ex-slaves were getting on. But the rivalry of white workers who were looking for the same jobs gave rise to stricter enforcement of laws. Walker's Appeal in 1829 was the bitter reply of harried black folk. It was a drastic arraignment of the nation. The Legislature of South Carolina took particular notice of it.

Negroes had to act, and they called a convention in Philadelphia in 1830. It was the first time that the Negroes of the United States had tried to come together in anything like a national assembly. There were Negroes who said, "What is the use of talking about what is to be done? We are at the mercy of the whites and must do in the

long run what they tell us we must do." Others disagreed. They had corresponded with the Governor-General of Canada and had been told if Negroes wanted to settle in Canada they would be welcome to come there. Five or six thousand Negroes left the United States and went to Canada. They prospered there. They helped slaves to escape. Later, when John Brown laid his plans, he went to Chatham, Canada, to get his recruits.

The question of education came up in the meetings of 1830 and 1831. Negroes were not admitted to schools. The most fantastic things happened. When they sent the two unusually gifted black boys to a school in Vermont, the farmers hitched their oxen to the school and dragged it across the State line. In Connecticut, Prudence Crandal was jailed for admitting a Negro to her school. There were all sorts of reasons given why Negroes could not be admitted to schools, the chief of which was that they could not learn, and were evil companions.

The conventions of 1830 and 1831 tried to organize separate Negro schools and succeeded. Soon after, a West Indian Quaker gave money for a school in Philadelphia which became a center of higher education for Negroes. Private elementary schools established in Philadelphia and New York in the eighteenth century took on new life. Here then came movements of migration and segregation to settle the race problem.

There came a change. About 1845, a great number of people had risen who said, Slavery is a danger, not simply a danger to the South and to the colored people, but a danger to the nation. And the more radical added: Slavery is absolutely wrong and must go. This meant that again that a new simplicity and point of concentration appeared as a solution of the race problem. No Negro, no white man, believed that the abolition of slavery was going suddenly to make the Negro equal to the white. But it was an initial step, and it had to be taken immediately, and therefore beginning about 1845, the Negroes, with one voice, started in to help the abolitionists led by such men as William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass.

Ten years later, the whole atmosphere had changed. There was a convention in Rochester, where Frederick Douglass lived in 1854. It was a convention of colored

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people who had been working with the abolitionists for the abolition of slavery. They were largely discouraged and said: "The church has gone over to slavery, bag and baggage... The Government is owned by the South. The whole action of the country, its commercial policy, its social organization, is in favor of slavery. Frederick Douglass still held to his principles. The fight was discouraging, but must be kept up."

But many of his followers sat around and said: "We will have to submit. There is nothing we can do but wait until the white people abolish slavery." Others said, "There is no chance for Negroes in America. It is our business to see what can be done outside of America." They met the following year and sent one emissary to Mexico and Central America. He died on the way. They sent another one to Haiti. He became an Episcopal bishop there and eventually induced several thousand Negroes to migrate there. They sent Martin R. Delaney to Africa. He made an astonishing number of excellent contacts with the African chiefs and tribes. It is interesting to think what might have some of this happened if the Civil War had not intervened. He was gone five or six years, and when he got back, we were on the verge of war, and this diversity of ideas as to what Negroes must do was unified by war. They must fight on the side of the North. A few asked why should they fight at all. Mr. Lincoln was not opposing slavery. There was no guarantee in the battle cry of the "Union" that this was going to end in emancipation for the slaves. Even when the invitation came to join the war, some Negroes said, "After all, we are being asked to pull other people's chestnuts out of the fire. We are not sure this will end in universal emancipation. The white soldiers are offered certain perquisites and certain salaries. The colored soldiers get less and are doing the same kind of work."

All this was gradually overcome and by 1870, there was concentration of Negro opinion: the Negroes have the vote; they should vote to make the Negro workers and the white workers the dominant power in the State. Negroes were among the first that talked of democracy, including woman suffrage in the South. They were the first to establish public schools. They were the first to advocate distribute public land. Old-age pensions and economic security were mentioned long before they were considered seriously

in the North. Negroes felt their lack of leadership, and of economic power behind their voting power, and finally because the white laboring class deserted the blacks, the political power of the Negro was nullified.

There was again, from 1876-1896, concentration of thought and action for getting political power back. But there came a new voice about the beginning of the twentieth century which insisted that the great thing for the colored people to do was to think of their economic power; of their right to work and their need to be trained for the jobs that were to be done. White men who ~~have~~ had been doing these jobs ~~have~~ had been organizing to demand higher wages and different conditions of work. Here ~~is~~ was the chance for the white employer to secure dependable labor and for the Negro to become such an integral part of industry that he ~~cannot~~ could be ousted. Negroes ~~can~~ could then follow the classic American path to wealth. They ~~can~~ could save and invest; they ~~can~~ could hire labor and in this way, the race problem ~~can~~ could be solved by making it part of the exploitation of labor in the United States, regardless of color.

This plan for solving the race problem, first announced by Booker T. Washington in 1896 at the Atlanta Exposition, brought widespread diversity of opinion among Negroes. Some thought that the stress on industrial education to furnish workers meant danger to Negro colleges and that enough Negro leaders would not be trained to guide the group in the future. They did not trust the leadership of white industry. On the other hand, a large section of Negroes, with the approval and encouragement of an almost unanimous white opinion, stressed business and industry, together with industrial training, as the solution of the race problem.

Increasing industrial prosperity encouraged both groups. Negroes began to buy land and amass capital, while they also contributed to organizations which agitated for legal protection and civil rights. Then came the World War, and its first effect upon Negroes was to open in the North an opportunity for employment caused by the cessation of immigration. Thousands went North and this increased race friction and job rivalry with the white groups. When the United States entered the World War, there were irritating and discriminating occurrences; segregation in the draft, refusal to commission Negro

officers, and lynching. Negro opinion again became solidified and by organized pressure and political power, they secured better treatment for the draftees; seven hundred commissioned Negro officers, and a pronouncement against lynching by a Democratic president. The final outcome of their experience in the World War was to unite the Negroes in a determination to fight more steadily and insistently for equal rights of citizenship, but economic changes, due to war, frustrated this. The depression struck Negro workers first; and they became increasingly aware, between 1920 and 1930, that the economic foundation which was to be the basis of their fight for equality, was disappearing, and that they must for that reason reform their lines.

That brings us down to the situation in 1936, and the question as to what today, ~~in 1936~~, especially in the North is the basic philosophy of colored people. It is very easy to state what that ideal philosophy is. They want legal and civil equality. They want social contact, that social contact that every normal human being must have in order to be a real part of the social organization. They want economic justice which they are very far from having today.

The question is, however, how are they going to get all this? How are they going, by any action on their part, or action which they can induce on the part of their neighbors, to get this equality?

Despite all that Negroes had accomplished, the walls of race prejudice still stood and with little essential change. The excellent civil rights law passed in New York and some other states was only partially enforced because public opinion was not back of them. Confining ourselves to the Negroes in the North who form today one-fifth of the Negro population, we can more easily see the anomaly of the present situation. The two and one-half million Northern Negroes have an illiteracy of less than [redacted] city population primarily of servants and laborers, with a small professional and business class. The difficulties which confront them in seeking work, education and social ~~recreation~~ contacts can be illustrated in several ways: first, consider Wilberforce University, whose singers have entertained us tonight. It is a Negro institution carried on by the State of Ohio in defiance of its own laws. The reason for this is that Ohio State University does not

want Negroes. The state, therefore, furnishes this separate institution, and the Negro has to decide whether to accept humiliating treatment in a mixed state institution, or a lower grade of instruction in a separate institution. If I were Mr. Mussolini of Ohio, I would force the state to give Wilberforce enough funds so as to make it a university so good that no colored student, and a good many white students, could afford to go anywhere else.

So in employment. Negroes ought not to be above working as servants and common laborers, but the income which these workers make is too small to support families decently, and in addition to that, many Negroes are capable of doing better work, but they are not given the opportunity, either by ~~decent~~ trade unions, or by employers.

The result is among Negroes an extraordinary spirit of defeatism. They have been taught to assume that everything ~~right~~ white is right, and that the one goal they have to reach is what white people have done. They have got to conquer this and to remember that they belong to that majority of mankind whose interests are the real interests of the world, whether they are represented by colored races or suppressed industrial classes among whites. This calls for organized action and primarily action among colored people. And this group action must be guided toward the organization of the power of Negroes as workers and consumers for the uplift and emancipation of their own race and other suppressed races and classes.

BASIC PHILOSOPHY AND POLICIES FOR NEGRO LIFE IN THE NORTH

(Questions and Answers.)

Q. You mentioned the words "equality", and "social contact". I presume you meant the mingling of the races and the sexes. Is that what you meant?

A. Yes.

Q. But sometimes when white people have sought to mingle with colored people socially, they have been kicked out.

A. If I were kicked out under those circumstances, I would not go back.

Q. Would it be possible for the Negro to live in an American civilization and develop his own separate and distinct culture?

A. No, not entirely. He could not, for instance, develop a complete economic organization within the present system. Nevertheless, he could do a great deal toward a group economic organization and a great deal in the development of group culture.

Q. Could economic improvement for Negroes come without a revolutionary change in the present economic organization?

A. An improvement in economic conditions among Negroes must depend, of course, on improvement in the general economic conditions; but on the other hand, it must not be assumed that a great change or even a revolution in our industrial organization would imply automatically a disappearance of race prejudice. What I am saying is not that economic justice would not have a tremendous effect. Of course it would. But it is not going of itself to do away with race prejudice.

Q. Why were you not among the sponsors of the recent race congress in Chicago?

A. I have attended so many congresses in my life that I am not so eager to attend others. We have never had a real representative congress of American Negroes with elected delegates. When the Chicago congress was first proposed, I thought the sponsors had this in mind, and I said I did not think the time was ripe. When this plan was given up, and the Congress was simply a meeting, such as we have had many times before, I saw no particular reason why I should attend.

Q. You mean in effect that it would be a good thing for the Negro people to support a Fascist development in this country?

A. I never said anything of the sort.

Q. Does not the Russian revolution prove that communism is a cure for race prejudice?

A. No. Communism put down anti- Jewish prejudice in Russia because the leaders of the Communists were largely Jews. If in America Negroes were leaders in the labor movement, and the labor movement accomplished a revolutionary change in industry, then Negroes might see anti-Negro prejudice disappear with the new regime. But Negroes have always been excluded from the main labor movement in the United States and consequently a triumph of labor would not necessarily mean a lessening of race prejudice.

BASIC PHILOSOPHY AND POLICIES FOR NEGRO LIFE IN THE NORTH

(Questions and Answers.)

I believe, of course, that at the bottom of race prejudice is the great economic cause. But I do not believe that this is the sole cause of race prejudice, particularly in a country like the United States. On the other hand, it would be a great deal easier to do away with race prejudice if we had economic justice.

Q. What would be your method of approach in bringing about consumers' co-operatives among Negroes?

A. I believe that the organization of the Negro as a consumer is the best step for the Negro to take. But it calls not simply for isolated efforts here and there, but a widely planned and carefully guided national movement among Negroes.

Q. Would it be advisable to start co-operatives under a system where there is so much race prejudice, as in the United States?

A. Yes, it would, and if the consumers were properly educated and remained loyal, there is no reason why they should not succeed.

Q. What should colored members of the Methodist Church do in the present situation when the Northern and Southern branches of the church are planning union?

A. I do not know what I would do if I happen to belong to the Methodist Church. I am afraid I would be so mad that I would not stay in the church at all. Negro Methodists should try to fight the thing through, and see what measure of justice they can get.

Q. Do youbelieve that the Negro church can help co-operation?

A. I think it undoubtedly might do so. If the church furnishes amusement for its people, information through lectures, food and relief of various kinds, why could it not furnish housing, coal and provisions by co-operative buying? Negro congregations with almost no capital can buy a large and expensive church. Why could they not finance a large housing proposition?

Q. If you are going to organize group action among colored people, how are yougoing to keep it from being mere dictatorship?

A. You can only do so by using common sense and education. If successful group action among colored people is aimed toward substituting colored masters of the world for white masters, we are still going to have a pretty poor kind of world. We have got to keep in mind that in order to move toward permanent human culture, all kinds of people have got to be given opportunity.

Q. When yo speak of co- peratives, what about the co-operatives in Austria which are in ruins? Is it safe to try co-operation when there have been so many failures?

A. Yes, I think it is. We have tried democracy and failed, but we must keep trying.

Q. At Teachers' College, we have been working for Federal support for education. The problem is: shall we wait for such support until we can have a law which will guarantee that the money will be distributed on a per capita basis among both races, or should we advocate a law now, realizing that the Negroes would not get a fair share?

BASIC PHILOSOPHY AND POLICIES FOR NEGRO LIFE IN THE NORTH

(Questions and Answers.)

A. I do not know which would be the better policy. In 1933-1934, the United States Government allotted to education in Georgia an emergency grant of $4,981,881, but only $643,733 went to colored schools, or 12.7%, although the colored children formed during this time 39 1/10% of the total school population. Yet this $600,000 spelled salvation to many colored children, although it wa s spent almost entirely in the cities and not in the country districts. This poses the whole problem as to how far a pittance can be accepted, instead of one's just dues.

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The Meaning of Japan

I have thought that it might be instructive to turn from our own race problem to one of the great problems of the world and to consider the meaning of Japan in modern civilization. I do this the more gladly because Japan is a colored nation and thus exemplifies one of the color problems of the world.

The physical aspect of Japan as one sails across the China Sea from Shanghai is that of slim brown mountains rising suddenly from the water. The vegetation is sparse, only 15% of the whole area of Japan being cultivable. And yet the green of trees, the struggle of the crop, and the blooming of flowers gives a singular aspect of beauty and charm to the busy industry on the three islands that stretch northeast from Korea to Sakahlin.

Japan is a small country, smaller than Texas and but twice the size of Great Britain; but it is thickly settled with 70 millions of people. They came east ward to these is-

lands from China and Korea, and northwest from the darker Malay lands and from India, and form a mixed people, short of stature, yellow and brown in color with coarse straight hair.

Here on these little islands the drama of their life has been played for $2\frac{1}{2}$ thousand years. The beginnings are swathed in myth with the first clear openings centering in strife with Korea which was the geographic center of the extension of Japan from the mainland to the sea, and which the inland Japanese conquered in the second century. From Korea and China came books and scholars, and upon this foundation Japanese civilization began to expand in the 5th and 6th centuries. Buddhism came from India at the same time that Christianity came to France and Great Britain. And in 710 the first permanent Japanese capital was erected at Nara. I was in Nara last fall and later in Kioto which became the second capital in 794. Here one can still see the subtler expressions of Japanese life; the beauty of architecture; the spread of poetry and painting; the growth of Shinto,

the religion of honor and sacrifice, paralelling the more ceremonious Buddhism; and building up that pattern of Japanese civilization that has so captured the imagination of the world. The Toshoga Temple at Nikko, known to the world for the three monkeys who see, hear and speak no evil, is a characteristic gem of building. It is small and built of wood, colored white and red and brown, old and hard as stone. It rises against a hillside of tall and ancient trees, immense with leaf and gloom. It is perhaps over elaborate with intricate carving and symbolic ornamentation, but its roofs climbing on roofs, its dark tile, its carved beams and panels, its steps and statues made a thing of never to be forgotten beauty.

One other link of Japan with America and the American Negro might be mentioned. The same impulse which after the war sent teachers into the South to establish higher schools for Negroes sent teachers and missionaries into Japan. Japanese higher education, in its Western aspect, began then at the same time that Atlanta, Fisk, Talladega

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and Howard were established in the United States. Waseda and Doshisha are the Japanese equivalents of our schools. The role of the mission university in Japan was singular. It became the gate way through which Western education and Western ideas poured into Japan and it attracted some of the finest of the young Japanese students. The history of these schools differs naturally from ours. The graduates stood high in the industrial, educational, and political life of new Japan. They were able to supply endowment and government support. On the other hand, representing Christianity, a religion of the West, they encountered some difficulties and have been superceded in many respects today by the great imperial universities scattered over the land. They retain, however, their influence in the affection of the Japanese and are the strongest bond between the West and the East.

Japan was a culture of little things; of dwarfed trees and tiny gardens; of minute and untiring cultivation of the soil; and wide worship of sea and air and mountain. There were silk and pearls and gold and gorgeous ceremony and solid building. Yet life in Japan did not have the gorgeous iridescence of the Chinese tile and towers. It was more sombre and solid and built upon the hard and continuous work of masses of men. Under the music, dancing, and painting was the hard work and striving for power which characterizes a growing state until we had that curious division of power by which phantom emperors were ruled by the great families of the Shoguns who became the real rulers of Japan, who beat back the hords of Kublai Khan, the Mongul, who had conquered China and who eventually unified Japan into a country that knew how to guard itself from enemies without and within.

Perhaps it will be well to pause a moment here and review somewhat more in detail the history of Japan. The books of Confucius, one of the world's greatest philosophers,

were brought to Japan from Korea in 286 A. D. and Korean and Chinese scholars became instructors to the young princes and nobles. In 552 A. D. came Buddhism and for two generations a fierce religious feud arose between the old religion and the new. The old religion was an accumulation of myths and ceremonies somewhat analogous to the ancient African religions as they re-established themselves in the West Indies and to a lesser extent in the United States. The new Buddhism came from India. It was one of the greatest attempts of all time to lead men into the paths of righteousness but belief and example, by dogma and ceremony. The spread of Buddhism over the East was analogous to the spread of Christianity over the West. But the results were different for Buddhism became a religion of art and humanity; it suppressed war, it built beautiful temples, it promulgated a religion of personal sacrifice. Gradually it gained the ascendency in Japan and for 200

years the state was gradually changed, the ownership of the land distributed more widely, the government centralized, the beautiful city of Nara built, "bright and gay like the cherry in full bloom." Then beginning with 784 came the period of great families and the rise of feudalism along with a development in literary and esthetic tradition, and the establishment of a new capital at Kyoto. Poets wrote, tournaments were held amid cherry blosoms, flower viewing became an art, games and amusements were elaborated, and music, and dancing, and painting cultivated. In the 12th century arose the powers behind the throne, the Shoguns, which made the hereditary emperior a shadow in some such way as the King of England today is but the official reminder of a power which is lodged in the hands of the Cabinet and Prime Minister. But the Japanese Shogunate from the 12th to the 19th century was upheld by the military power, ability, and wealth of a few great families without democratic control. It led in the middle of the 14th century to civil

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strife which lasted throughout the 16th century, but gradually in the 17th century Japan achieved a unity in contra-distinction to the division under the feudal lords. From 1603 to the middle of the 19th century the Tokugawa Shoguns ruled Japan. A long continued peace was established and the country was carefully secluded from its neighbors for fear of foreign religion and foreign aggression. A revival of learning took place. The Japanese language and literature as contrasted with the Chinese was encouraged, and nationalism and imperialism were preached. Then came the visit of Commodore Perry and the nation was rudely shaken from its slumber of seclusion. Treaties with foreign nations had to be made and suddenly the whole form of government was changed. The ruling Shoguns were deposed; the imperial power under the Emperor Meiji came to the front and the first deliberative assembly met in 1869. This did not mean that Japan was a democracy, but it meant that

the basis of power was more widely distributed among noble families and the rising merchant class so that the democratization of the nation began in 1868.

Rather suddenly then in the middle of the 19th century, and through the impulse of a swash-buckling American ship captain, the doors of Japan were forced open and she came through commerce to be a part of the modern world. The great families of the Shoguns who were compelled to make treaty with the West and open the kingdom to power, incurred therefor such enmity that they fell from control and the empire was restored, under the visible power of the emperor, but still backed and advised by other great families and great nobles. This restoration of 1868 marked modern Japan.

That modern world had started with the African slave trade when labor became a commodity and when the growing disposition of Christianity to regard the souls of workers was transmuted into the new theory of capitalism which made human labor a thing to be bought and sold. The crops raised by Negro slaves in Louisiana, in the United States,

the West Indies, and South America began to circle the world and built that primary accumulation of Capital which soon dominated the new machine industry; new cities arose; a new commerce; a new demand for the exchange of goods; and Japan had in its silk, its pottery, its handicrafts, material which the world wanted. Europe and America forced her to trade with them as they were forcing China. But Japan was different from China; not so different in the manner of its men for they had much of the same blood, but whereas the imperial power of China had driven resistance down into the family, clan and village and thus distintegrated the land, in Japan, on the other hand, you had a singularly unified country which enabled it to present a united front to the world from 1853 to this day. Social classes were straitly drawn and yet solidly and subtly knit together by the strongest bonds of religion, Emperor-worship, a common heritage of culture and a new enthusiatic nationalism. Only for a moment did foreign courts hold jurisdiction over foreigners living there. Foreign merchants found no such foothold as they found in China and India and

pretty soon the European world was satisfied to trade with Japan as an equal, albeit a shrewd one to be watched.

Then came one of those sudden forward movements that has characterized Japanese history: a war with China over Korea broke out in 1894. It was in the view of the world an absurd illogical struggle. China was a giant even though sleeping with hands and feet tied by England, America, and France. But a giant, nevertheless, with 400 millions of people, with a history which made Europe an infant, and with possibilities that were colossal. Yet because China was encroaching upon Korea, that Korea which was almost a motherland to Japan and yet geographically a threat to her independence, Japan attacked China and in a short swift war of a year, showed the weakness of the greater country and convinced Europe that the time for dismembering China and making her a colonial appendage to European commerce had come.

The Japanese were practically compelled by the concert of European powers to take nothing from China but Korea and Formosa which meant that China, now revealed as weak and

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tottering was to be divided by Europeans with Japan left out. Hereupon immediately Russia, Germany, and England stepped forward to make good their claims upon various sections of China. But this led in 1904, to another and more astonishing war when Japan actually challenged Russia, in many respects then the greatest of European powers, and made her sue for peace in 1905. Thus in two bounds Japan from being in 1868 a country about to be dominated by European merchants, became in 1905 one of the great powers of the world, breaking the myth of white world domination. From this time until today Japan has presented a problem for those who think of the future of modern civilization as a problem of white folk.

From being first a cunning curiosity and then a presumptuous imitator she is envisaged today as a great danger and rival to Europe and America. This change of attitude has come about because of the military and naval power of Japan; because of her attitude toward China; and especially because of the fact that she has put the East into manufacture as a rival

of the West. Japan's attitude toward China developed after the World War. The World War meant that the power of the white race to rule the world was definitely gone. Japan knew, however, that as soon as Europe recovered from this catastrophe and as a method of recovery she would pursue her plans toward China, and that China would practically be divided between France and England with Germany and the new communistic Russia demanding eventually their share. The result was that Japan, having suffered least in the War, seized Germany's share during the War and demanded practically a Monroe Doctrine for China; that is, the right of Japan to lead in the future economic development of the East to the exclusion of white Europe. It was a tremendous demand naturally preposterous in the eyes of Europe despite the well-known fact that she had been making demands for white domination of all Asia and Africa during the whole of the 19th century. Not only did Europe resist this demand but China, itself revolutionized before and during the World War, and seeking to reestablish its integrity, complained bitterly that her cousins of the yellow race were trying to play the same role which her enemies of the white race had so successfully played

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in the 19th century. It was in vain that Japan declared that her role was different; that she was protecting China and Asia against Europe; and that unless she warded off the communism of Russia to the north and the imperialism of England at the South, China would never survive and Asia would never become independent.

Pursuing this idea, Japan in 1931 seized Manchuria and made it into a puppet state and later dominated two districts of North China. The reaction toward Japan was bitter and the feeling throughout the European and American world would, under other circumstances and in other ages, have led immediately to war. But Europe as Japan well knew could not fight and for the first time since the Turks threatened Vienna, a colored people successfully defied Europe.

Nor did Japan rest here. Hitherto the whole European argument had arraigned Asia for backwardness in modern industrialization. Japan therefore deftly changed her object

and attack. Gradually pushing back her purely military program of aggression, seemingly on China but really against the West, she began to industrialize the Japanese state. She integrated her handicrafts, she built factories, she imported raw material, she lowered her money wages. The state helped to furnish capital. While the export trade of Europe and America dwindled during the depression Japan's went up by leaps and bounds.
("Made in Japan", Guenther Stein, pp.167, 169, 170, 171)

"To-day Japan exports five or six times as many finished products as she did in 1914. if the exports of 1914 are used as a basic index of 100, the quantitative development of her exports is as follows:

1914, 100; 1920, 210; 1928, 254; 1932, 325; 1934, 555.

Japan's quantitative share in the world's trade of manufactures is now almost 10 per cent.

In some products her share is much larger; in cotton tissues, for instance, it is 40 per cent. Even the average figure is lower only than the shares of the four industrial Great Powers: Great Britain, the United States, Germany and France, which together monopolize two-thirds of this world trade. . . .

Today Japan is the largest exporter of cotton tissues in the world; her share of 40 per cent is larger than that of Great Britain. The British record, established shortly before the war, was 7 billion square yards of cotton tissues. At that time Japn was not a serious competitor. A few figures will illustrate the later development of British and Japanese exports of cotton tissues (in million yards):

	Great Britain	Japan
1928	3,866	1,419
1932	2,198	2,032
1934	1,995	2,568

Great Britain's exports of cotton tissues have gone back to the figures of the 'sixties, the time when feudal Japan was opened to international trade by force. At that time Japan had hardly any industry worth the name, and Japanese pioneers were coming to England to study Western spinning methods. And to-day Japan is ahead of Great Britain by 500 million square yards! . . .

Japan began her career on world markets as a simple exporter of raw silk. During the second phase of her development as an exporter, cotton tissues seemed the only item which could be added. Soon, however, in the third phase, she became a leading exporter of artificial silk and of other textiles. And already the fourth phase has begun, for of late the exports of all textile products have been exceeded by the exports of non-textile 'general industrial merchandise'. . . .

The 'non-textiles' which Japan to-day exports up to a value of at least 1 million pounds each include the following: tinned foodstuffs; wheat flour; refined sugar; drugs and chemicals; dyes, paints, &c.; boots and shoes; buttons and jewellery; paper; potteries; glass and glassware; iron rails; enamelled ware, cutlery and nails; clocks and scientific instruments; lamps; toys."

She reached all parts of the world, she under-sold England in England and the United States in America. She became a great rival of Western industry. Europe sought to retaliate by tariffs to restrict her exports but Japan so organized her buying power that she forced trade agreements even from such enemies as Australia and America. When Australia refused to buy Japanese goods, Japan refused to buy Australian wool; when the United States threatened to exclude Japanese goods, Japan threatened to stop buying 200 million dollars worth of American cotton annually. It did not take Australia and the United States long to come an understanding with Japan, for Japanese buyers did not compete with each other. They stood as a unit.

But this meant strain and told upon Japan's internal organization. It depressed the status of all Japanese workers, and particularly of Japanese peasants. It threatened inner turmoil, but despite this Japan had strong arguments to support her at home: what would happen if labor over-threw capital in Japan? Colored labor was not recognized in the West as human labor; the people of the United States had excluded the Japanese by law, not because

they were vagabonds and burdens but because they were too thrifty and too efficient; a political deal between the West and the South brought the Japanese exclusion law in return for the defeat of the anti-lynching bill in 1924. Thus America showed her clear attitude toward colored labor whether it was her own black citizens or yellow foreigners. Moreover, while the money wage of Japanese was low, the return in satisfactions, in beauty and completeness of life, was larger than in the West; so that her workers were not as discontented as they ought to have been when one takes into account their need of better nourishment, clothing and shelter.

One cannot leave Japan without a further word as to its religion, literature, and art today. The most influential religion in Japan is Shinto. It is a combination of prehistoric myth, ancestor worship and Chinese ethics. One can understand it best by imagining that the African rites imported to Haiti by the early slaves had been rationalized

and directed into a code of ethics by educated and thoughtful leadership, that their primitive beauty had been retained, and that on the family worship had been ingrafted the worship of government and nation as typified in the emperor. There emerged a religion of honor and ethic with little dogma, with simply ceremony which binds children and youth in a singularly charming way to the Japanese state. Shinto and Buddhism have had many points of contact and influence. To the 17½ million followers of Shinto must be added the 42 million followers of Buddha cooperating in many respects; and yet Buddhism divided, like Christianity into 11 sects, is still a powerful philosophy of life more Chinese than Japanese in its general outline. To these may be added 250 thousand Christians.

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Japanese literature has had a long and honorable tradition. It has been influenced since 1868 by modern European literature which has been largely translated into Japanese. Newspapers and magazines have given rise to a wide body of readers among a people largely literate. There are several daily papers with a circulation of a million and more.

There is a native novel and a new native poetry and recently an increasing literature of the proletariat. In the fine arts Japan has been original and singularly beautiful. Their painting has been in water colors rather than oil and with India ink. Instead of centralizing their attention on the human figure they have protrayed more in the abstract, depicted beautiful landscapes and flowers and mountains, and in human beings action rather than form. I saw the last National Exhibition in Kiota and the marvelous work in screens and figures. There is, of course, nothing so beautiful as the Japanese color prints. In scupture and applied art, in lacquer war and ceramics Japanese art has set world wide standards. Architecture in Japan has been celebrated for its simplicity and simple beauty rather than the overwhelming grandeur of the Chinese. While in the drama there is a national tradition to which the West is more and more giving careful attention.

Here, therefore, stands Japan today. Slowly she is turning toward understanding with China although that involves the danger of European interference since China still has naive confidence in the philanthropy of the West. Japan has declared her enmity toward Russian communism although that forces her to give too much power to her military party and to turn her back upon perhaps the greatest effort to raise the economic level of the common people which the world has ever seen. Then too, because of the race prejudice of England and America which refuses Japan fellowship as an equal, she has been forced almost into the lap of Fascist Germany and Italy who represent today war, tyranny, reaction and race hate on the most dangerous scale. Yet all is not dark. Japan has a magnificent heritage of courtesy, pride, hard work, and efficiency. She has a beautiful national art and a religion of honor and sacrifice. She works as a group more completely than perhaps any other single nation. She has won the respect of the world even though that respect is expressed in fear and armament. She has but one thing to remember and

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larger and larger numbers of Japanese realize this: first, that the union of Japan and China and eventually India can easily dominate the world with a leadership of mankind such as Western Europe never could accomplish; but that secondly, this may be a danger to culture unless the welfare of the worker as contrasted with the profits of the rich are made the leading ideal of Japanese civilization. We who watch the development of Japan from afar, with sympathetic eyes, and the curious tie of color with all its memory of insult, slavery and exploitation can but hope that her possible leadership of the world will make for industrial democracy and human understanding across the color line on a far larger scale than the world has yet seen accomplished.

It perhaps is not necessary to draw a moral from the history of Japan which may be applicable to us now and here, but I cannot refrain from pointing out one lesson: and that is that the fundamental problem which Japan is today attacking is not her problem of

militarism or even of politics. Like a large part of the world today she recognizes that the economic foundation of her people, the regulation of industry no so much for profit as for the uplife of mankind must be the center of her future striving. And so with us, all we like sheep have gone astray in trying to imitate the profit making of America and the seeking to use our vote and power to that end. When in truth beneath the power of the ballot, beneath the order of the state and the social welfare of mankind is that organization of economic power by which poverty can be banished; crime cured;and health maintained. This is not industrial education coming back in new guise. It is industrial organization lead by higher training for the uplift of the masses.

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Atlanta Univ.
Atlanta, Ga.
Delivered at Banquet
in his honor, 1938

A PAGEANT IN SEVEN DECADES, 1868-1938

by

W. E. B. DuBois

From this manuscript
the Du Bois read
first three and the
seventh decades.

I have been asked to review my life and I have chosen to essay this from the aspect of an historical pageant of human kind in which I have been a more or less active spectator, and whose end and meaning I have sought to see. It is not easy to do this; deeds, facts and fancies flow so ceaselessly and, with occasional whirlpools, so smoothly on, that one grasps and arranges them and views them with difficulty. Temptation to topical treatment is barred by the alchemy of time which not simply prolongs life but successively changes all perspective and interpretation. I find it better then to group my years in decades from childhood to today; seeking in each term of ten years the more or less elusive unity that may lie therein and checking somewhat my present memory by such documents and remains as may partially recreate the past.

41-7-113

The First Decade - Childhood, from 1868-1878 - 0-10 years.- The year of my birth was the year that the freedmen of the South were enfranchised and for the first time as a mass took part in government. Conventions with black delegates voted new constitutions all over the South; and two groups of laborers - freed slaves and poor whites - dominated the former slave states. It was an extraordinary experiment in democracy. Thaddeus Stevens, the clearest headed leader of this attempt at industrial democracy, made his last speech impeaching Andrew Johnson on February 16 and on February 23 I was born.

I had ~~in those first years~~ a pleasant childhood. I can remember no poverty although my family was certainly poor. I represented the third generation from three small land holding brothers on my mother's side and the fourth

generation from a West Indian planter on my father's. The outstanding thing in my earliest memory was the school. In a letter which I began to my grandmother in 1877, after conventional thanks for some present, I plunged right into the real subject "My school house stands a little way from Main Street." I remember it vividly; down a lane with a great choke-cherry tree on the right; on the left the wooden primary and grammar school and further on the right, the brick grammar and high school. I attended these schools regularly from five or six years of age until I was sixteen with hardly a day's absence.

The town and its surroundings were a boy's paradise: there were mountains to climb and rivers to wade and swim in; lakes to be frozen and hills for coasting. There were orchards and caves and wide green fields; and all of it was the free property apparently of the children of the town. My family were pleasant and miscellaneous: the father was dead before I can remember; the mother brown and quietly persistent; the aunts and one uncle a bit censorious but not difficult to get on with; and then an endless vista of approving cousins. The town was shut in my its mountains and provincialism - cut off both from Boston and New York state.

My first glimpse of the outher and wider world was through Johnnie Morgan's news shop which occupied the front end of the post office. There newspapers and books were on display and I remember very early seeing pictures of "U. S." Grant and Tweed who was beginning his extraordinary career in New York state; and later of Hayes and the smooth and rather cruel face of Tilden. Of the great things happening in the United States at that time, we were touched only by the Panic of 1873; When my uncle came home from the little town east of us where he was the leading barber, he brought me, I remember, a silver dollar which was an extraordinary thing; Up to that time I had seen

A11-14

nothing but paper money. I do not remember hearing anything said about the Fifteenth Amendment which became law in 1870; but there were a few new colored people, "contrabands," who came to town. One family particularly I liked, they were so jolly and darkly handsome.

Charles Sumner died and the Freedmen's Bank closed when I was but six years old, and when I was eight there came the revolution of 1876. But I hardly ~~comprehended~~ knew of it. On the other hand, of the world overseas: the Franco-Prussian War; the ups and downs of D'israeli and Gladstone; the opening of the Suez Canal; --of these things my little village said nothing nor did they mention the fact that the Medji Emperors of Japan ascended to new and ever growing power in the year I was born.

41-7-115

The Second Decade - Youth, from 1878-1888 - 10-20 year of age.- The United States in the decades 1870-1890 was an extraordinary country. Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur and Grover Cleveland were presidents. James G. Blaine was an aspirant who barely missed the highest office, and the country was reckless and propserous; squandering its seemingly endless resources; tying east and west with railways; exploiting iron and coal and oil and making fortunes for a new and ruthless caste of business men who were cashing in on the cost of Civil War. The results of this I could easily see in my town. I grew up in the midst of definite ideas as to wealth and poverty; work and charity. Wealth was the result of work and saving and the rich rightly inherited the earth. The poor, on the whole, were to be blamed. They were lazy or unfortunate and if unfortunate their fortunes could easily be mended ~~with care~~ by thrift and sacrifice.

There were ~~no great~~ some differences of wealth in Great Barrington; there were mills and mill-owners; there were German and Irish factory hands. Singularly enough I knew the mill owners and their children much better than

I knew the workers, but I was no flunky for the rich. My people always had a certain ~~singular~~ independence. They were by occupation small farmers, servants, laborers, barbers and waiters. They earned their way. I early came to understand that to be "on the town", the recipient of public charity, was the depth not only of misfortune but of a certain guilt. I presume some of my folk sank to that but not to my knowledge. We earned our way. I have a little post card dating from 1883 in which "Miss Smith," September 19, writes, "We would like to have you come certainly next Saturday as you did last week to do some splitting for us." This was a matter of splitting up kindling for two maiden ladies and was one of my ways of beginning financial independence. I remember well my first regular work: as a high school lad I went early of mornings and filled one or two of the so-called "base-burning" stoves with coal in a little millinery shop. I received twenty-five cents a week which represented the beginning of affluence. From then on, all through my high school course I worked after school and on Saturday's, mowing lawns, doing errands, and for a few months through the good will of Johnnie Morgan, I rose to be local correspondent of the Springfield Republican. For some time, too, I sent weekly letters to the New York Age, and before the A and P stores dealt in groceries and simply were selling tea I was one of their local agents. Thus in all sorts of little ways I managed to earn some money and never asked nor thought of gifts save in one case: my school principal suggested, quite as a matter of fact, that I ought to take the college preparatory course in high school which involved Latin and Greek. This meant a considerable expenditure for books but the wife of one of the mill owners, or rather I ought to describe her as the mother of one of my playmates, offered to furnish all the necessary high school books, which became my one charity.

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The other class of rich folk with whom I came in contact were summer boarders who made yearly incursions from New York. I think I was most impressed by their clothes. Outside of that there was little reason so far as I could see to envy them. The children were not very strong and rather too well-dressed to have a good time playing. There were few slum areas in my town and almost no crime. The one ~~excess~~ indulgence was ~~drunkenness~~ liquor and there my mother quietly took a firm stand. I was never to enter a saloon. I never did. ~~It~~ Alcohol was ~~perhaps~~ almost the one reaction that this pleasant but rather drab little town had against the monotony of life and rich and poor got drunk more or less regularly. I have seen ~~one of the~~ a mill owners staggering; and my ~~very well-to-do~~ own very dignified uncle used to come home now and then walking ~~exceedingly~~ very straight.

41-7-117

In one respect my training in this town has had rather momentous results. It was not good form in New England or in Great Barrington to express yourself volubly, to give way to ~~excitement~~ emotion; - people held themselves in. They were sparing even of their greetings. There was only on the street a curt "Good Morning" to those whom you knew and no greetings at all for others. The result was that, because of this and probably from growing race consciousness, I was early thrown in upon myself. I found it difficult and even unnecessary to approach other people and by that same token my own inner life grew perhaps the ~~more~~ richer later. ~~But~~ the habit of repression often returned to plague me in after years for so early a habit could not easily be unlearned.

I entered the high school at the age of twelve and was graduated at the age of sixteen in 1884. I had during that time ~~some~~ my first chance to travel and to get little glimpses of the world. I was sent, for instance, by my mother across the state to see my grandmother and grandfather in New Bedford. I wrote back about this in 1883, "The house is white with green blinds. The

yard is full of flowers. Grandma is about my color and taller than I thought. I like her very much. Grandpa is short and rather thick set. I like him better than I thought I would. He says very little but speaks civilly when I say anything to him. Grandma says by and by he will talk more."

When I graduated from the high school we all had ~~orations~~ speeches and mine was on Wendell Phillips. He had died in February and I spoke in June, fired by new and unusual knowledge of his sort of man. Then there came in my life the first great change. My mother died and it was decided that I was too young to go to college. I suspect that money matters had something to do with it. At any rate instead of being able to go to Harvard as I had fondly hoped, ~~in the fall of 1884~~ in the fall of 1884 I was given a job and promised that the next fall I should begin my college work.

811-7-14

The job brought me in curious touch with the world. There was a great uncle of mine, Tom Burghardt, whose tombstone I had seen often in the village graveyard. My family used to say in undertones that the money of Tom Burghardt helped to build the Pacific Railway and that it came in this wise: Nearly all his life Tom Burghardt was a servent in the Kellogg family, only the Kelloggs forgot to pay him but did give him a handsome burial. Then Mark Hopkins married into the family, ~~and~~ and used presumably my uncle's unpaid wage, with other assets, to make millions in railways. His widow came back to Great Barrington and planned a mansion out of the beautiful blue granite which formed our hills. A host of workmen, masons, stonecutters, and carpenters were assembled and in the summber of 1884 I was made timekeeper for the contractors receiving the fabulous wage of a dollar ~~a~~ each day.

It was a most interesting experience and had bits of romance. There was the English architect who appeared on the scene and the colored steward who committed suicide when the architect married the widow; then came the

death of the widow amd the passing of the Hopkin's millions into foreign hands. In the meantime the fabrication and growth of this marvelous palace proceeded, beautiful beyond anything that Great Barrington had seen; and always I could sit and watch it grow and handle delegated powers in dismissing workmen and rewarding them.

Finally in the fall of 1885 there came a proposal which made all my cousins and aunts raise their eyebrows. I was to have a scholarship to go South to Fisk University. The South had an unholy name in my village and the family was not at all sure that I ought to go. Only one black Burghardt had ever gone South and he a Union soldier. But ~~, of course,~~ I never hesitated. ~~but~~ I started out and went into Tennessee at the age of seventeen to become a sophomore at Fisk University. It was to me an extraordinary experience. I was thrilled to be for the first time among so many people of my own color or rather of such various and such extraordinary colors, which I had not seen before, but who seemed close bound to me by new and exciting ties. I had never seen such beautiful girls in my life or men who gave themselves such merited airs.

The three years here were years of growth, and strength and expanding ambition. I learned new things about the world. I came in contact for the first time with a sort of violence that I had never realized in New England. I remember going down and looking wide-eyed at the door of a public building filled with buckshot where the white editor of the leading daily paper had been publicly murdered the day before. I was astonished to find many of my fellow students carrying firearms and to hear their stories of adventure. I suddenly determined that I was going out to teach during the summer vacations. It was not necessary. My scholarship would have supported me but it was adventure. I walked ~~out~~ into east Tennessee ten or more miles a day until at last in a little valley I found a place where they had had a Negro public school only

41-7-119

summer

once since the Civil War and there for two successive terms ~~during the summer~~ I taught at $28 and $30 a month; paid immediately in promises and in cash three or four months later.

I began my writing and public speaking at Fisk. I wrote an article which the Century Magazine said, "We shall be glad to print 'The New Negro' if we may take our time and we are afraid we shall have to take a great deal." It did, for it hasn't been printed yet. For three years I was on the editorial staff of the Fisk Herald; as editor-in-chief the last year; contributing essays and one novel. I became a considerable orator and for a long time the older student of Fisk took deep joy in remembering the debate where in the very midst of impassioned periods I forgot my lines. ¶ The persistence, however, which I had learned in New England stood me now in good stead. The interlude at Fisk did not turn me from it. When I heard that Harvard was offering scholarships in various parts of the country I immediately wrote and to the astonishment of teachers and fellow students, not to mention myself, received Price Greenleaf aid of $300. I was graduated from Fisk in 1888 and took as my subject Bismarck. It showed my already growing interest in the wider world. I knew of the great jubilee of Queen Victoria, of the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War and the triumph of the Madhi in Khartoum. I had followed the fortunes of Gladstone and Salisbury and was filled with enthusiasm at the rise of the new German empire under Bismarck. So I talked of Bismarck and then turned back to the North. I was thinking, too, during these days of political developments and have a speech which I delivered in 1887 which has a certain present validity: Today the Democratic and Republican parties are virtually without principles. In spite of the vast number of vitally important issues before the country there is not one in regard to which they are not on the fence! The elections are disgraceful scrambles for office, and

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the most unblushing bribery is carried on at the polls. This, by our votes, we are aiding and abetting. Having come forth from a personal slavery, we have voluntarily thrown ourselves into political serfdom. Instead of asking a man his conviction on the Blaine Bill, the Tariff, Lynch Law, or Civil Rights, you ask his party, and if he's got Republican pasted across his forehead, the legal representatives of seven millions of human beings will vote for him, be he Tom, Dick, or the Devil.

Third Decade - Education, from 1888-1898 - 20-30 years of age.- This decade covered the years of my education at Harvard and at Berlin and the beginning of my teaching career. The members of the Fisk Glee Club went to Lake Minnetonka, a resort in Minnesota, for the summer of 1888 with the idea of working in the dining room and giving concerts. I was to act as their business manager. During college I had developed rather as the executive and planner, the natural secretary of affairs rather than the ornamental president and chairman. The only difficulty about the Minnesota excursion was that I had never worked in a hotel in my life; I ~~could~~ did not know how to wait on table and therefore became one of the bus boys. It was so unusual a pageant to watch the dining room that I made no tips and for a long time had difficulty in getting enough to eat, not realizing that servants in great hotels are not systematically fed. But after the season I went on ahead and succeeded in making a respectable number of concerts for the students who followed me down all the way to Chicago; while I went on to Harvard to enter the junior class in the fall of 1888.

The Harvard of 1888 was an extraordinary aggregation of great men. Not often if ever since that day have so many distinguished teachers been together in one place and at one time. There was William James, the psychologist; Palmer in ethics; Royce and Santayanya in philosophy; Shaler in Geology

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and Hart in history. The president was the cold, precise but exceedingly efficient Charles William Eliot and there were a doezen lesser lights. By extraordinary good fortune I was thrown into contact with most of these men. I was repeatedly a guest in the house of William James; of all teachers, he was my closest friend. I was a member of the philosophical club; I talked often with Royce and Shaler; I sat alone in an upper room and read Kant's Critique with Santayana; I became one of Hart's favorite pupils and was afterwards guided by him through my graduate course and started on my work in Germany.# It was an extraordinary opportunity for a young man and I think I realized it. I evolved habits of work rather different from those of most of the other students. I burned no midnight oil. I did my studying in the daytime and had my day planned out almost to the minute. I spent a great deal of time in the library and did my assignments with persistent thoroughness and with a rather interesting pre-vision of the kind of work I wanted to do later. I have before me a theme which I wrote October 3, 1890, for Barret Wendell, the great pundit of Harvard English. I said: "Spurred by my circumstances I have always been given to systematically planning my future, not indeed without many mistakes and frequent alterations, but always with what I now conceive to have been a strangely early and deep appreciation of the fact that to live is a serious thing. I determined while in the high school to go to college - partly because other men went, partly because I foresaw that such discipline would best fit me for life. I believe foolishly perhaps but sincerely that I have something to say to the world, and I have taken English 12, in order to say it well." Barrett Wendell rather liked that last sentence; ~~and~~ he read it to the class.

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I tried to take culture out into the colored community of Boston; I visited, joined clubs, lectured, and once actually gave the Birds of Aristophanes in a colored church on Thanksgiving night. The matter of meeting my college expenses presented some difficulties. I had scholarships for $300 for both college years but that was not enough. One year after careful calculation I found that I needed $50 more and noted with interest that this was exactly the stipend of the Boylston Prize in oratory. I had to have one of the prizes in order to make ends meet for the year and I got it. Then with a colored classmate, Clement Morgan, who was also a Boylston prize-man I made a tour of the summer resorts of New England. We gave readings in hotels, parlors and churches and did in this way much toward making our expenses. In my senior year the death of my last near relative, my grandfather, left me a fortune of $400.

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In 1890, I took my bachelor's degree from Harvard and was one of the six commencement speakers, taking as my subject Jefferson Davis. On the platform of Sanders Theatre were President Eliot, the governor of Massachusetts and the Bishop of New York. I am glad that the New York Nation could say ~~said~~ July 3, 1890, that I handled the theme "with absolute good taste, great moderation, and almost contemptuous fairness."

I was graduated just at the beginning of the term of President Harrison when the trusts were dominating industry and the McKinley tariff making that domination easier. The understanding between the industrial North and the new South was being perfected and in 1890 a series of disfranchising laws were passed by the Southern States destined in the next six years to make voting by Southern Negroes practically impossible. Already I had received more education than most young white men, having been continuously in school from the age of six to the age of twenty-two. But I did not yet feel

prepared. I knew that to cope with the new and extraordinary situation then building in the United States I needed to go further and that as a matter of fact I had just well begun ~~in~~ my training and ~~in~~ my knowledge of social conditions. AP On the other hand, I was quite penniless with no resources in wealth or friends. I applied for a fellowship in the graduate school. If I had not gotten it I should have had to go to work; but I was appointed Henry Bromfield Roger's fellow for a year and later the appointment was renewed so that from 1890-1892 I was a fellow in Harvard University studying in history and what would have been social science if Harvard had then recognized such a field.

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I worked on my thesis, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade," taking my master's degree in 1891 and hoping to get my doctor's degree in another two years. Then came one of those tricks of fortune which seems partly due to chance, but in this case undoubtedly due to a good deal of stubborn persistence. In 1882 the Slater Fund for the education of Negroes had been established and the board was ~~now~~ in 1892 headed by ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes. President Hayes at John Hopkins University talked frankly in 1890 about the plans of the fund. He said among other things that they had wanted to find some young colored men to whom they could give a chance for graduate training but they had only been able to find "orators."

The statement was brought to my attention at a card party one evening and it not only made me good and mad but also set me thinking. I wrote President Hayes. I received a pleasant reply saying that they did not have any present plans for such scholarships. That really aroused me. I proceeded to get letters from every person I knew in the Harvard Yard and places outside and literally deluged the unfortunate chairman of the Slater Fund. He wrote again and said that he was sorry but the plan had been given up;

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that they might otherwise have given me some attention.

It has been my experience that most of my small successes have been due to steps that I have taken after all hope ~~was~~ seemed lost. I sat down and proceeded to write Mr. Hayes a letter that could be described as nothing less than impudent. I intimated plainly that somebody ~~was~~ seemed lying. I reiterated my plans and adhered to my written references. President Hayes was undoubtedly ~~aroused~~ disturbed and almost apologized to me, reiterating his good faith and promising to take up the matter the next year with the board. Whereupon promptly the next year I proceeded to write the board: "At the close of the last academic year at Harvard, I received the degree of master of arts, and was reappointed to my fellowship for the year 1891-92. I have spent most of the year in the preparation of my doctor's thesis on the suppression of the slave trade in America. I prepared a preliminary paper on this subject and read it before the American Historical Association at its annual meeting at Washington during the Christmas holidays. The paper will shortly be published in their proceedings and a preliminary report of it may be seen in the Independent of January 7, 1892, pp. 10, 11; also in Congregationalist of about the same date. The first draft of the larger thesis was completed 28 March and it will be formally finished May 1, and, I hope, eventually published; besides this I have worked on a number of general studies. Properly to finish my education, a careful training in an European university for at least a year is in my mind and the minds of my professors, absolutely indispensable. I therefore desire, respectfully to lay these suggestions before you: First, that the board grant me aid to study at least a year abroad under the direction of the graduate department of Harvard or other reputable auspices. Second, if this be not practicable, that the board loan a sufficient sum for this purpose."

The Trustees of the Slater Fund granted my request and gave me $750, half gift and half loan, to study in Europe. I shall never forget my interview with ex-President Hayes in the old Astor House in New York, nor the extravagant shirt I immediately bought in celebration.

In the summer I sailed for Europe, saw Holland and the Rhine and lived in a fine German family in Eisenach with a group of gay young folk who made me realize that white folk were human.

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Then In the fall I went up to Berlin, I wrote in my diary: "The fact is that after some years spent in American universities, I, God, and other folk have rendered it possible for me to study here. Whereof I am glad. Now it has chanced that to me Europe has ever been surrounded with a certain veil of mystery and fancy; a trimming of history and fairy tales, of culture and crowns, had always made it a bit difficult for me to realize the existence of a hard dry sod underneath it all. I take it that we Americans are very fortunate in having a great sea between us and this other world."

and Registered in the University, ~~the story which I set down at the time is perhaps worth repeating~~. In groups of one hundred we were ushered into a room. "It was a large room, with high ceiling, and a row of four windows on one side in the deep recesses of which stood busts of Berlin's famous professors. The centre of the room was occupied by chairs, in which the students seated themselves; at the upper end was a long table about which perhaps a dozen officials were grouped. Near the left end was the present year's rector magnificus, the widely famous Rudolf Virchow, doctor of medicine, laws and philosophy, city councillor and member of the Reichstag. He is a meek and calm looking little man, white haired and white-bearded, with a kindly face and a pleasant voice. At smaller tables ranged before the windows, were the deans of the various faculties. The method of procedure was thoroughly, and, I think I may say, painfully, German. First the chief secretary at the side of the magnificent rector was invested with the pile of gymnasium diplomas and passports we had surrendered in the ante-room. Then he slowly read out the names, and as a student heard his name he disentangled himself and approached the table. Recognizing with some difficulty my Germanicized name I presented myself with trepidation at the bar. The stiff secretary

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(it's quite the thing to be stiff in new Germany) with my help more clearly deciphered my name, ascertained under which faculty I wished to study, firmly declined to examine any of my sheepskins, and passed me over to the rector; Rector Virchow smiled benignantly, made some remark as to my faculty, and after filling out the blanks with some remarkably poor writing, presented me with a large 24 by 18 inch sheet of paper: this stated that a certain Guilelmus, II, had in the general goodness of his heart endowed the present Mr. Virchow with various powers; among these was that of making me (who was described with some infelicity of phrase as a "most ornamented young man") a legalized and licensed student of the University of Berlin."

~~Afterwards I was inscribed in the philosophical faculty and finally shook hands with the great Virchow.~~ I had again at Berlin as at Harvard unusual opportunity. Although a foreigner I was admitted my first semester to two semesters under Schmoller and Wagner both of them the most distinguished men in their line; and I received eventually from both of them pleasant testimony of my work. My work was in economics, history and sociology. I sat under the voice of the fire-casting Von Treitschke and heard him assert the general inferiority of mulattoes and mixed races; I wrote on American agriculture for Schmoller and discussed social conditions in Europe with teachers and students. But more especially I travelled; living cheaply I saved good sums for the numerous vacations. I went to the Hansa cities; I made the celebrated Hartzreise up to the Brocken in the spring. "My Christmas vacation I spent in making a trip through south Germany along with a German-American and an Englishman. We visited Weimar, Frankfort, Heidelberg and Mannheim. During Christmas and New Years we stopped in a little German dorf in the Rheinfalz where I had an excellent opportunity of studying the peasant life closely and

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comparing it with country life in the South. We visited perhaps twenty different families, talked, ate and drank with them; listened to their gossip and history, attended their assemblies, etc. We then went to Strassborg, Stuttgart, Ulm, München, Nürnburg, Prague and Dresden. In those places we stayed from one to five days, following our Baedeker closely, and paying much attention to the Munchner and Dresden art galleries. The Christmas trip cost about $80." Later I went down to Italy, to Genoa, Rome and Naples and over to Venice and Vienna and Budapest and finally up to Krakau where the father of a fellow student was the head of the Polish library and where I learned of the race problems of the Poles and came by Breslau back to Berlin.

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I have a curious document of a birthday which came in Berlin in 1893. "Today I am a quarter of a century old. It seems so strange - my boyhood and youth are but memories now and I am a full grown man. I wonder what the next quarter of a century will bring me - if it will be as rich in work and happiness as the past - as awfully full of fulfilled plans . . . . These twenty-five years of mine have been rich in personal history. I remember school days, the brook by Sumner's house, the attic rooms where we lived, the little stove that used to fall down and the window I proudly called a bay window. I remember little sorrows of life when I found no companions to play with and busied myself in making great plans for a toy with which I could play alone. I remember the gate where I looked into the great town - wonderful world to me then."

I returned to the United States by way of Paris where I stayed as long as possible and then having reduced myself almost to the last cent took passage to the United States in the steerage, quite penniless. It was by no means a pleasant trip but perhaps it was a good introduction to the new life

because now at last at twenty-six years of age and after twenty years of study I was coming home to look for a job and to begin work. I need not dwell on the difficulties of landing that job. It was a disturbed world in which I landed; 1892 saw the high tide of lynching in the United States; 235 untried Negroes being slaughtered in that one year. Cleveland had entered his second term in 1893 and the Chicago Exposition had taken place. The Dreyfus case had opened in France with his conviction and imprisonment and he was destined for twelve years to suffer martyrdom. The war between China and Japan broke out the year of my return and Nicholas II was ruling in Russia.

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wrote everywhere offering my services and at last
I received three offers for work ~~eventually~~. On August 17, 1894, the chair of Latin and Greek at Wilberforce University, Ohio, with a salary of $800 was offered, which I immediately accepted with gratitude. A little later there came an offer of a position at Lincoln Institute in Missouri at $1050 but I stuck to my first promise; and finally August 25 I received this telegram from Tuskegee, "Can give you mathematics if terms suit. Will you accept. Booker T. Washington." It would be interesting to speculate just what would have happened if I had accepted the last offer instead of the first.

Wilberforce was a small denominational colleged married to a state normal school. The church was too poor to run the college , the State did not want the normal school, and there were consequently enormous difficulties in both church and state politics. Into this situation I landed with the cane and gloves of my German student days; with my rather inflated ideas of what an university ought to be and with a terrible plainness of speech that was continually getting me into difficulty; when, for instance, very suddenly and without warning the student leader of a prayer meeting announced that

Professor DuBois would lead us in prayer. I simply answered, "No, he won't," and as a result nearly lost my job. It took a good deal of explaining to the board of bishops why a professor in Wilberforce should not be able anytime to lead in extemporaneous prayer. I was really saved by the fact that I was so willing to do endless work when the work seemed to me worth doing. My program for a day at Wilberforce looked almost as long as a week's program today. I taught Latin, Greek, German and English and wanted to add sociology to it but the college demurred. I had charge of the most unpleasant of the duties of discipline and did outside work in study and investigation; I met many new friends: First of all, my wife; then my good friend Charles Young, not long graduated from West Point; Charles Burroughs was a student in my classes; Paul Lawrence Dunbar who came over from Dayton to read to us. I had known his work but was astonished to find that he was a Negro.

We younger teachers had a hard team fight at Wilberforce and soon saw that we were licked. It was impossible for me especially to stay for I had talked too plainly and acted too independently. When, therefore, a temporary appointment came from the University of Pennsylvania it was a message from heaven. I was offered work for one year as "assistant instructor" for $600. I accepted forthwith and in addition to that showed my faith in life by getting married. My wife was one of the Wilberforce students and lived in Iowa where the marriage took place in the fateful year 1896. In that year the great battle of Adua occurred, when Abyssinia overthrew Italy and when England suddenly seeing two black nations in ascendency threw her army back into the Sudan and recaptured Khartoum. The next year year when my son was born, there burst in the United States the free silver controversy of Bryan and McKinley and it was that year that President Bumstead

of Atlanta University asked me to come ~~here~~ to Atlanta and take charge of the work in sociology and of the new conferences on the Negro problem which the University was inaugurating.

Fourth Decade - Research and Propaganda - 1898-1908 - 30-40 years of age.- This fourth decade was the real beginning of my life work. My education was finished and I had travelled in the world. The two years at Wilberforce being a sort of uneasy prelude, and I began with my advent into the University of Pennsylvania a planned career which had an unusual measure of success and yet was in the end pushed partly aside by forces which, if not beyond my control, were certainly of tremendous weight. My vision was in the beginning clear. The Negro problem called for systematic investigation and intelligence. The world was thinking wrong about races because it did not know. The ultimate evil was ignorance and its child, stupidity. The cure for it was Knowledge based on Study. The opportunity opened at the University of Pennsylvania was exactly what I wanted. I had tried to teach social science at Wilberforce outside my overloaded program but they did not want it. At the University of Pennsylvania I ignore the pitiful stipend. It made no difference to me that I was put down as an "assistant instructor" and even at that my name never actually got into the catalogue; it goes without saying that I did no instructing and rather to my dismay I found as much jealously and politics in this great white institution as in the smaller black one. But here at least I had a clear cut job. The city of Philadelphia at that time had a social theory, and the theory was that this great, rich and famous municipality, founded by godly Quakers, was going to the dogs because of the crime and venality of its Negro citizens. These Negroes lived largly centered in a slum at the lower end of the seventh ward. Philadelphia wanted to prove

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all this by figures and I was the man they picked to do it. Of this thought and plan I neither knew nor cared. I was simply asked to study, know and tell. I saw here a chance to study an historic group of black folk and to show exactly what their place was in the community. I did the work despite extraordinary difficulties both within and without the group. The Negroes resented being studied at all and especially by a colored stranger; the whites endured the study as a gesture toward an answer which they already knew. I made a study of the Philadelphia Negro so thorough that it has withstood the criticism for forty years. It was as complete a scientific answer as could have been given under the limitations of time and money; it showed the Negro group as a symptom and not a cause; as a striving, palpitating human group and not an inert, sick body of crime; it traced, analized, charted and counted. It left few untouched queries. At the end of that study I announced with a certain pride my general plan of studying the Negro problem and published papers on the matter in the Annals of the American Academy in 1898.

With this program clearly in mind I came to Atlanta University. There was at the last moment a curious little hitch based on that old matter of extemporaneous public prayer. Dr. Bumstead and I compromised on the Episcopal prayer book and afterward I added certain prayers of my own. I am not sure that they reached heaven but they certainly reached my audience. Without thought or consultation I rather preemptorily changed the plans of the first two Atlanta Conferences. They had been conceived as conferences on city problems contrasting with the increasingly popular conferences on rural problems held at Tuskegee. But I was not thinking of mere conferences. I was thinking of a comprehensive plan for studying a human group and if I could have carried it out as completely as I conceived it, the American Negro would

have contributed to the development of social science in this country an unforgettable body of work. Social scientists were at that time thinking in terms of theory and of vast and tenuous laws; while I had for study a concrete group of living beings set off by themselves and capable of almost laboratory experiment. I laid down a program of a hundred years, in which taking annually aspect after aspect of the group life of Negroes for a decade, we could repeat and broaden and concentrate our attention; sharpen our tools of investigation and improve our methods, so that we would accumulate an increasing living body of scientifically ascertained fact to make the so-called Negro problems and through them the problems of all social living clearer and surer and more definite.

Something of this was accomplished. For thirteen years we poured forth a series of studies limited, incomplete, only partially conclusive, and yet so much better done than any other attempt at such work anywhere else in the world that they gained attention in America, Europe, Asia and Africa. Nevertheless, at the very time when they were beginning to achieve widening success there cut across this plan of science a red ray of emotion which could not be ignored.

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I remember when it first, as it were, pulled me off my feet.

A poor Negro in central Georgia, Sam Hose, had killed his landlord in a wage dispute. He could not be found for days; then at last a new cry was raised that he had raped the landlord's wife. It was obviously and clearly a trumped-up charge to arouse the worst passions of the countryside and the mob roared. I wrote out a careful and reasoned statement concerning the evident facts and started down to the Constitution carrying in my pocket a letter of introduction which I had to Joel Chandler Harris. I did not get

there. On the way the news met me. Sam Hose had been lynched and they said that his knuckles were on exhibition at a grocery store on Mitchell Street. I turned back to the University. I suddenly saw that complete scientific detachment in the midst of such a South was impossible. Nevertheless, I tried to keep my mounting indignation without bounds. I went on with my studies but together with other black Georgians: W. J. White, John Hope, H. R. Butler and others I sent out memorials and petitions and protests. One in 1899 which I wrote said, "Race antagonism and hatred have gone too far in this State; let us stop here; let us insist that they go no further; let us countenance no measure or movement calculated to increase that deep and terrible sense of wrong under which so many today labor. May the Twentieth century of the Prince of Peace dawn upon an era of generous sympathy and forbearance between these two great races in Georgia, and not upon a season of added injustice and antipathy." Another, a year or so later, said, "'From each according to his ability - to each according to his needs' is the ideal of modern society, and in the light of this dictum, there is not a boy in Georgia today so poor or so black as not to deserve from the State free common school training." And a third which came out of a great Macon mass meeting: "Popular government in the United States is not a failure, but it is having in these days a severe and critical trial. Its success in the future depends upon the ability of great classes of men to rise above prejudice and do strict justice to their fellowmen. And today strict justice in Georgia demands free common school training for every single child of the State."

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With all this I stuck to my scientific work. I helped prepare in 1900 a sociological exposition of the American Negro ~~an exhibit~~ for the Paris Exposition which gained a grand prize for the ~~school~~ exhibit and a gold medal for myself. I attended at that time a first Pan-African

Conference in London with Bishop Walters where I met the Colensos and Samuel Coleridge Taylor. I was elected a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1900 and made a fellow in 1904. I not only published the conference reports yearly but wrote magazine articles in the World's Work, and in the Atlantic Monthly where I was fellow contributor with Woodrow Wilson in a symposium. I testified before Congressional Commissions in Washington and appeared on the lecture platform with Walter Page afterwards war ambassador to England. I had wide correspondence with men of prominence in America and Europe: Lyman Abbott of the Outlook; E. D. Morel, the English expert on Africa; Max Weber of Heidelberg; Professor Wilcox of Cornell; Bliss Perry of the Atlantic Monthly; Horace Traubel, the great protagonist for Walt Whitman; Charles Eliot Norton and Talcott Williams. I began to be regarded by some as having definite information on the Negro to which they might listen with profit.

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At the same time, however, there was cause for increasing apprehension. First of all, and for me most astonishing, we could not get money for our work in the Atlanta Conferences and our studies of the Negro problem. My theory had been that just as soon as the world saw the value of our studies the raising of funds would be the easiest thing in the world. I received for the whole thirteen years that I was then at Atlanta University an annual salary of only $1,200. The whole cost of the conference and studies never exceeded $5,000 a year and usually it was considerably less. The work was done at first in a spare bedroom of my apartment and finally in the attic of Stone Hall where adequate but rather inaccessible rooms were provided. I had no skilled assistants and yet my dream was still splendid. If in a properly equipped institution I could have gathered four or five well equipped young students, some tabulating machines and a small corps of traveling investigators we could at a cost of $10,000 to $25,000 a year have absolutely

reconstituted the bases of fact and argument concerning the American Negro. But we could not get $5,000 even; and then to make the situation worse there came the controversy with Booker T. Washington which turned from me and from Atlanta University the sympathy of most men who had money to give.

It was no controversy of my seeking; quite the contrary. I was in my imagination a scientist and neither a leader nor an agitator; I had nothing but the greatest admiration for Mr. Washington and Tuskegee and I had applied in 1894 at both Tuskegee and Hampton for work; if the telegram from Tuskegee had reached me before the Wilberforce bid I should doubtless have gone there. Certainly I knew no less about Mathematics than I did about Latin and Greek. But no sooner was my work at Atlanta University under way than pressure began to be placed upon me to leave here and go to Tuskegee. There again I was not adverse in principle to Tuskegee, except that I had started a job and wanted to continue it; surely if my work was worth support it was worth support at Atlanta University as much if not more than elsewhere. I remember that a letter came from Wallace Buttrick late in 1902 asking that I attend a private conference in New York with Felix Adler and William H. Baldwin, Jr., George Foster Peabody and Robert Ogden. The object of the conference was ostensibly the condition of the Negro in New York City. I went to the conference and I did not like it. Most of the more distinguished persons were not present. The conference itself amounted to little, but I was whisked over to William H. Baldwin's Long Island home and there what seemed to me to be the real object of my coming was disclosed. Mr. Baldwin was at that time slated to be president of the Pennsylvania Railway, and was the rising industrial leader of America; also he was a prime mover of the Tuskegee board of trustees. Both he and his wife insisted that my place was at Tuskegee; that

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Tuskegee needed the kind of development that I had been trained to give. I could not help being impressed and I promised to think the matter over. Later I had two personal interviews with Mr. Washington. He encouraged me to talk but he said very little himself. I could get no clear understanding of just what I was going to do at Tuskegee if I went. I was given to understand that the salary and accomodations would be satisfactory. Later in the year I went to Bar Harbor for a series of speeches in behalf of Atlanta University and while there met Jacob Schiff, the Scheffelins and Merriam of Webster's dictionary. I had dinner with the Scheffelins and their mother the daughter of John Jay; and again was urged to go to Tuskegee.

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But by that time my mind was made up. I was growing increasingly uncomfortable under Mr. Washington's various statement of his program; his depreciation of the value of the vote; his evident dislike of Negro colleges and his general attitude which seemed to place the onus of blame for the race problems upon the Negro himself rather than upon the whites. I attended several conferences at Hampton and found myself consenting by silence to a systematic attack on Negro colleges. I determined on a decisive step. I had been asked sometime before by A. C. McClurg and Company of Chicago if I did not have material for a book and I suggested a social study which should be perhaps a summing up of the work of the Atlanta Conferences or at any rate a broad scientific treatise which required some time. They asked, however, if I did not have some essays that they might put together and issue immediately and they instanced the articles in the Atlantic Monthly and other places. I demurred because essays usually fall so flat. Nevertheless, I got together a series of my fugitive pieces and added a frank evaluation of Booker T. Washington and sent them on. The Souls of Black Folk was

published in 1903 and in 1938 it is still selling. It settled definitely any further question of my going to Tuskegee, but it also aroused apprehension. Various friends of the Negro desired to keep Negro thought from splitting into a pro-Washington and an anti-Washington camp. After all, Mr. Washington had accomplished much and a new basis of understanding on the Negro seemed to most white people in sight. Every effort must be made to preserve unity of effort. I was asked in 1903 to join Mr. Washington and his friends in a conference to be held in New York to talk of a common program. I assented and as I wrote to Kelly Miller: "I think this will be a chance for a heart to heart talk with Mr. Washington. I propose to stand on the following platform:

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1. Full political rights on the same terms as other Americans.
2. Higher education of selected Negro youth.
3. Industrial education for the masses.
4. Common school training for every Negro child.
5. A stoppage to the campaign of self-depreciation.
6. A careful study of the real condition of the Negro.
7. A national Negro periodical.
8. A thorough and efficient federation of Negro societies and activities.
9. The raising of a defense fund.
10. A judicious fight in the courts for civil rights.

"Finally, the general watch word must be, not to put further dependence on the help of the whites but to organize for self help, encouraging "manliness without defiance, conciliation without servility."

The matter dragged on with some argument as to who should be invited. The general invitation to the conference went out in October, 1903, when Mr. Washington sent out the following circular letter: "You will perhaps recall that about the middle of last February I addressed you a letter concerning a private conference to be attended by about fifteen or eighteen of our most prominent men, representing various sections of the country and various race

interests, for the purpose of considering quietly all the weighty matters that now confront us as a race. The meeting was not called at the time hoped for in my last correspondence for the reason that there was delay and some disappointment in providing funds for the expenses of the meeting. That feature has now been provided for in a way that will not make those who attend the conference feel obligated to any individual or organization and leave them free for open and frank discussion.

"I very much hope that you can now see your way clear to attend such a conference in New York City to be held, if possible, on the 6th, 7th, and 8th of January, 1904."

The conference took place in Carnegie Hall, New York, ~~January 6, 7, 8, 1904~~. There was some plain speaking but it was overborne by almost fullsome praise of Mr. Washington from the lips of various invited guests like Andrew Carnegie and Lyman Abbott. It ended in the appointment of a committee of three, of which I was one, who were to select a sort of racial steering committee called the Committee of Twelve. Nothing really came from this. The two other members of the committee organized it in my absence, placed the full power in the hands of Mr. Washington who was to carry on the work with funds whose source I did not know. I resigned forthwith and was pretty roundly condemned for my lack of "cooperation", but I was indignant at what seemed to me an effort to buy agreement and smother dissent under a dictatorship.

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Things now began to move swiftly. In Boston a new colored weekly newspaper, the Boston Guardian was organized by two young radicals: Monroe Trotter and George Forbes. They were bitter in their attacks upon Mr. Washington and I got myself in hot water by publishing a statement in the Guardian concerning the venality of certain Negro papers whom I charged had sold out and

were viciously attacking every Negro who did not agree with Mr. Washington. It was a charge which I could not support by concrete facts but it was true in the sense that there had been organized at Tuskegee a literary bureau to emphasize Mr. Washington's ideas in the Negro press and to stop the widespread criticism against him. The methods used are common today: distribution of advertising; sending out of special correspondence and distributing other favors; but it seemed to me then that this kind of propaganda was monstrous and dishonest and I resented it. On the other hand, the public expression of this resentment caused many people to think that I was wild and unfair in my statements and beyond that it undoubtedly made it increasingly difficult for Dr. Bumstead to raise funds for Atlanta University. In the fall of 1904 the printing of our conference report was postponed by the trustees until special funds could be secured. I did not at the time see the handwriting on the wall. I did not realize how strong the forces were back of Tuskegee and how they might interfere with my plan of scientific study of the Negro.

My first thought was in order to state our case and honest criticism we needed a journal. I had already helped an A. U. graduate to establish a printing press in Memphis. Out of this might arise a vehicle for both opinion and fact which would help me carry on my scientific work and at the same time be a forum of reform less radical than the Guardian and more rational than the rank and file of Negro papers now so largely arrayed with Tuskegee. I wrote to Jacob Schiff reminding him of having met him in Bar Harbor in 1903. "I want to lay before you a plan which I have and ask you if it is of sufficient interest to you for you to be willing to hear more of it and possibly to assist in its realization. The Negro race in America is today in a critical condition. Only united concerted effort will save us from

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being crushed. This union must come as a matter of education and long continued effort. To this end there is needed a high class journal to circulate among the intelligent Negroes, tell them of the deeds of themselves and their neighbors, interpret the news of the world to them and inspire them toward definite ideals. Now we have many small weekly papers and one or two monthlies and none of them fill the great need I have outlined. I want to establish therefore for the nine million American Negroes and eventually for the whole Negro world a monthly journal."

Mr. Schiff wrote back courteously saying: "Your plans to establish a high class journal to circulate among the intelligent Negroes is in itself interesting and on its face has my sympathy. But before I could decide whether I can become of advantage in carrying your plans into effect, I would wish to advise with men whose opinion in such a matter I consider of much value.

Nothing came of this because, as I might have known most of Mr. Schiff's friends were strong and sincere advocates of Tuskegee. Then came a new and surprising turn to the whole situation which in the end quite changed my life. In the early summer of 1905 Mr. Washington went to Boston and arranged to speak in a colored church to colored people, a thing which he did not often do in the North. Trotter and Forbes, editors of the Guardian determined to heckle him and make him answer certain questions with regard to his attitude toward voting and education. William H. Lewis, a lawyer whom I had introduced to Mr. Washington, had charge of the meeting and the result was a disturbance magnified by the newspapers into a riot which resulted in the arrest of Mr. Trotter and eventually he served a term in jail. Later I explained to Mr. George Foster Peabody in answer to a query, my own connection with and

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attitude toward this occurrence. "I did not arrive in Boston until after the Zion Church disturbance. Before seeing the account in the morning papers, I had no inkling or suspicion in any way of the matter. I did not know Mr. Washington was in Boston or intending to go there as I had just left him at Tuskegee. I had had no correspondence with Mr. Trotter for six months save in regard to a boarding place. When I arrived in Boston and heard of the meeting I told Mr. Trotter and Mr. Forbes in plain terms my decided disapproval of the unfortunate occurrence and my conviction that it would do harm. Although I was unable at that time to defend Mr. Washington's position as I once had, I nevertheless took occasion to address a meeting of men at Mr. Trotter's home and remind them of the vast difference between criticizing Mr. Washington's policy and attacking him personally. Nevertheless, brought into close contact with Mr. Trotter for the first time my admiration for his unselfishness, pureness of heart and indomitable energy even when misguided, grew."

Trotter was headstrong but sincere. He must not be made a martyr.

However when Mr. Trotter was jailed my indignation overflowed. I sent out from Atlanta in June, 1905, "a call to a few selected persons 'for organized determination and aggresive action on the part of men who believe in Negro freedom and growth.' I propose a conference during that summer 'to oppose firmly present methods of strangling honest criticism, to organize intelligent and honest Negroes, and to support organs of news and public opinion." Fifty-nine men from seventeen different states signed a Call for a meeting near Buffalo, New York, during the week of July 9, 1905. I went to Buffalo and hired a little hotel on the Canada side of the river at Fort Erie and waited for the men to attend the meeting called for July 11, 12, 13 and 14. If sufficient men had not come to pay for the hotel, I should

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certainly have been in bankruptcy and perhaps in jail; but as a matter of fact, twenty-nine men, representing fourteen states, came. The Niagara Movement was organized January 31, 1906, and was incorporated in the District of Columbia with the following principles:

1. Freedom of speech and criticism.
2. Unfettered and unsubsidized press.
3. Manhood suffrage.
4. The abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and color.
5. The recognition of the principles of human brotherhood as a practical present creed.
6. The recognition of the highest and best human training as the monopoly of no class or race.
7. A belief in the dignity of labor.
8. United effort to realize these ideals under wise and courageous leadership."

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The Niagara Movement created furor and the most disconcerting criticism. I was accused of acting from motives of envy of a great leader and being ashamed of the fact that I was a member of the Negro race. The leading weekly of the land, The New York Outlook, pilloried me with scathing articles and the Negro weeklies, with few exceptions, went mad. But the movement went forward. The next year, 1906, instead of meeting in secret we met publicly at Harper's Ferry, the scene of John Brown's raid and had, in significance if not numbers, one of the greatest meetings that American Negroes have ever held. We made pilgrimage at dawn barefooted to the scene of Brown's martyrdom and we talked some of the plainest English that had been given voice by Black men in America.

Now the fat was in the fire and my career as a scientist was beginning to be swallowed up in my role as master of propaganda. This was not at all to my liking. I was no natural leader of men. I could not slap people on the back and make friends of strangers. I could not easily break down an inherited reserve and a cold, biting, critical streak. Nevertheless, having put my hand to the plow I could not turn back. The Niagara movement met with less momentum in Boston in 1907 and in Oberlin in 1908 and then practically became merged into a new and enveloping movement which started with a conference in 1909 and was incorporated as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1911.

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While now I was being swept on in this current to a new and different mode of expression, I continued to cling to my scientific work. In 1906, I outlined that work to Andrew Carnegie hoping to interest him in the Atlanta Conferences and reminding him that I had been presented to him and Carl Schurz some years before. I said: "I enclose herewith a report on Negro Crime, which is the ninth annual report published by the conference. The object of this Conference is the systematic and exhaustive study of the American Negro, in order that in the future philanthropists and others who seek to solve this serious set of problems may have before them a carefully gathered body of scientifically arranged facts to guide them.

"The studies mentioned above have been widely used; they are in all the large libraries of the world including the British Museum, the Library of Congress, Harvard University, etc. They have been commended by periodicals like the Outlook, The Nation, The London Times, the Spectator, and the Manchester Guardian; they have been favorably spoken of by men like G. Stanley Hall, Walter F. Willcox, Tallcot Williams, and most of the teachers of economics and sociology in American Colleges." There was no response but still I pushed on.

I approached the United States Commissioner of Labor in 1906 with proposal for a study of Lowmes County, Alabama. I was going to take a single county of a former slave state with a large majority of Negroes and make a social and economic study from the earliest times where documents were available, down to the present; supplemented by studies of official records and a house to house individual canvas. I plied Commissioner Neill with plans and specifications until at last he authorized the study. Helped by Monroe Work now at Tuskegee Institute and R. R. Wright now a bishop of the A. M. E. Church and a dozen or more local employees I settled at the Calhoun School and began the study. It was carried on with all sorts of difficulties including the greeting of my agents with shot guns in certain parts of the county; but it was eventually finished. The difficult schedules were tabulated and I think myself that it was the most complete study of the sort that has ever been made. It included maps of the chronological division of the land; studies of the distribution of labor; investigations of the relation of landlord and tenant; a review of the political organization and of the family life and distribution of the population. I went to Washington and I spent some weeks there revising and perfecting it. It was accepted by the government and $2,000 paid for it, most of which went back to Atlanta University in repayment of funds which it had kindly furnished me to carry on the work. But the study was not published. I finally approached the bureau and tried to find out when it would be published and was told that the bureau had decided not to publish the manuscript since it "touched on political matters". I was astonished and disappointed but after a year I went back to them again and asked if they would allow me to have the manuscript published since they were not going to use it. They told me it had been destroyed.

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And to complete this strange picture while I was down in Lowndes County finishing this study there came the news of the Atlanta riot. I took the next train for Atlanta and my family. On the way I wrote the Litany of Atlanta.

Meantime I had started in Memphis with the help of two graduates of Atlanta University the little printing shop that I have mentioned and from this was published a weekly paper called The Moon beginning in 1906. The Moon was in some sort precursor of the Crisis. It was published for a year in Memphis and then the printing office given up and in 1907 in conjunction with two friends in Washington there was issued a minature monthly called the Horizon. The Horizon was published from 1907 to 1910 and in the fall of 1910 the Crisis was born.

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~~And~~ So my work in Atlanta and my dream of the settlement of the Negro problem by science faded. I began to be acutely conscious of the difficulty which my attitudes and beliefs were making for Atlanta University. I thought that my withdrawal would unloose funds from the General Education Board and other sources which would make the University secure and perhaps even permit the carrying on of the conference in other hands. For a while I thought of withdrawing in 1906 when I was offered the position of assistant superintendent of schools of Washington, D. C. But even there, fear of my "radicalism" took the matter up even to President Theodore Roosevelt and the offer while never withdrawn was not pressed. Finally after the conference of 1909 in New York the new organization of The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was formed and I was asked to come as Director of Publications and Research ~~with the idea that something of my research work was to go on and thus the other idea, that my activities would be so held in check that the Association would not develop as an organ of attack upon Tuskegee~~.

The Fifth Decade - Editor - 1908-1918 - 40-50 years of age.- The span of my life from 1908-1918 is chiefly the story of the Crisis Magazine under my editorship but it had also an astonishing variety of subsidiary interests and activities.

Beginning a little before this period I continued my visits to Europe. I went in 1900 and again by the grace of an English friend in 1907; I took part in the great Races Congress in 1911 and went again in December, 1918, just after the Armistice. This close touch with Europe and European developments had much to do with my understanding of social problems and trends of the world. I followed the development of English imperialism and the forces in England, France, Italy and Germany which resulted in the Balkan War, the World War and eventually the Russian Revolution. In the United States I studied the political developments from the free silver controversy led by Bryan, through the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and Taft and especially the Bull Moose campaign and the election of Wilson.

I kept on writing and publishing not with as much concentration of effort as I ought to have, but with some effectiveness. In 1907 appeared "The Negro in the South" - from lectures, two by myself and two by Mr. Washington. In 1909 I published "John Brown," one of the best written of my books, but one which arouse unfortunate ~~antagonism~~ jealousy. In 1915 I published my little volume on "The Negro". To this must be added part of a bulletin in the twelfth census and several magazine articles; and, of course, eight years of the Crisis.

I was active in the organization of the new National Association for the Advancement of Colored People but carefully avoided the temptation of becoming its executive head. I still clung to my idea of investigation in

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lines which would temper and guide my exposition of a racial philosophy and for that reason I determined from the beginning to make my work of the Association not that of executive secretary but editor of an official organ to be established. There was opposition to this from the first. First of all, organs of this sort were known to be usually costly and the organization had no money. Secondly, organs were of doubtful efficiency. My good friend, Albert E. Pillsbury, Attorney-General of Massachusetts, wrote and said feelingly: "If you have not decided upon a periodical for heaven's sake don't. They are as numerous as flies" and he meant to conclude about as useful. I came to New York to occupy a bare office; ~~occupied~~ associated with a treasurer who said frankly, "I don't know who is going to pay your salary. I have no money;" with a secretary who was scared of her job and jealous of her power; and with a generally critical if not hostile public which expected the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to launch upon a bitter attack upon Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee.

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My first job was to get the Crisis going; and arriving in August I finally got the first copy off the press in November, 1910. It came at the psychological moment and its success was phenomenal. From the one thousand which I ventured to publish first it went up a thousand a month until by 1918 (due, of course, to special circumstances) we published and sold over a hundred thousand copies.

With this organ of propaganda and defense we were able to organize one of the most effective assaults of liberalism upon reaction that the modern world has seen. We secured extraordinary helpers: great lawyers like Moorfield Storey and Louis Marshall; earnest liberals like Villard, Milholland, John Haynes Holmes, Mary Ovington, Jane Addams, the Spingarns,

Charles Edward Russell and William English Walling. We gained a series of court victories before the highest courts of the land which perhaps never have been equalled, beginning with the overthrow of the vicious Grandfather Clauses in 1915 and the breaking of the backbone of segregation in 1917. Above all we could, through the Crisis and our officers, our secretaries and friends, place consistently and continuously before the country a clear cut statement of the legitimate aims of the American Negro and the facts concerning his condition. We organized his political power and made it ~~effective~~ felt and we started a campaign against lynching and mob law which was the most effective ever organized and ~~eventually brought~~ at long last seemed to bring the end of the evil in sight.

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With these efforts came other activities. I lectured widely in nearly every state in the Union. ~~I promoted literature and art through pageants, a little theatre movement and prizes offered by the Crisis~~. I furnished information to people everywhere on all sorts of subjects closely and remotely connected with race problems, and carried on from time to time studies and investigations. ~~On the whole I should criticize this period of my life for too great dissipation of energy; too little concentration upon main objectives; and yet I suppose that under the circumstances this was impossible~~. I was held more responsible for the success of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People than I cared to confess to myself; than most other people wanted to admit. I had to spread myself over a whole field of activities when I should have done great deal better work if I could have confined myself to writing and study.

The development of the Crisis where most of my writing was done was interesting and difficult. It was impaired first and last by lack of trained business management. For the most part I was my own business manager which

meant the loss of much time in learning and details. Then there was the delicate matter of policy; of how far I should express my own ideas and reactions in the Crisis or the studied judgment of the organization. From first to last I thought strongly and as I still think rightly, to make the opinion expressed in the Crisis a personal opinion; because as I argued, no organization can express definite and clear cut opinions; so far as this organization comes to conclusions it states them in its annual resolutions but the Crisis states openly the opinion of its editor so long as that opinion is in general agreement with that of the organization.

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This of course was a dangerous and delicate matter bound eventually to break down in case there was any considerable divergence of opinion between the organization and editor. It was perhaps rather unusual that for two decades the two lines of thinking ran so largely together. If on the other hand the Crisis had not been in a sense a personal organ and the expression of myself, it could not possibly have attained its popularity and effectiveness. It would have been the dry kind of organ that so many societies support for purposes of reference and not for reading. It took, on the part of the organization, a great deal of patience and faith to allow me the latitude that they did for so many years; and on the other hand I was enabled to lay down for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a clear, strong and distinct body of doctrine that could not have been built up by majority vote. It was probably inevitable that in the end a distinct and clear cut difference of opinion on majority policies should lead to the dissolution of this interesting partnership.

One of the first difficulties that the National Association met was the case of its attitude toward Mr. Washington. I carefully tried to avoid

any exaggeration of differences of thought; but to discuss the Negro question in 1910 was to discuss Booker T. Washington and almost before we were conscious of the inevitable trends we were challenged from Europe. Mr. Washington was in Europe in 1910 and made some speeches in England in his usual conciliatory lines. John Milholland who had been so dominant in the organization of the National Association immediately wrote me and said that American Negroes must combat the idea that they were satisfied with conditions. I, therefore, wrote an appeal to England and Europe.

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"If Mr. Booker T. Washington, or any other person, is giving the impression abroad that the Negro problem in America is in process of satisfactory solution, he is giving an impression which is not true. We say this without personal bitterness toward Mr. Washington. He is a distinguished American and has a perfect right to his opinions. But we are compelled to point out that Mr. Washington's large financial responsibilities have made him dependent on the rich charitable public and that, for this reasons, he has for years been compelled to tell, not the whole truth, but that part of it which certain powerful interests in America wish to appear as the whole truth. In flat contradition, however, to the pleasant pictures thus pointed out, let us not forget that the consensus of opinion among eminent European scholars who know the race problem in America from De Tocqueville down to Von Halle, De Laveleys, Archer and Johnston, is that it forms the gravest of American problems. We Black men who live and suffer under present conditions, and who have no reason, and refuse to accept reasons, for silence, can substantiate this unanimous testimony."

In furtherance of this statement and in anticipation of the meeting of the Races Congress Mr. Milholland arranged that I should go early to the

conference and make some addresses. The plan simmered down to a proposed address before the Lyceum Club, the leading woman's group of London and there it ran against the opposition of an American woman who wrote: "I think there is serious objection to entertaining Dr. DuBois at the Lyceum." The result was a rather acrimonious controversy, in which I tried gently to withdraw but was unable to and finally led by Her Highness the Ranée of Sarawak and Dr. Etta Sayre a luncheon was held at the Lyceum Club with a bishop and two countesses and several knights and ladies and with Maurice Hewlett and Sir Harry Johnston.

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The Races Congress would have marked an epoch in the racial history of the world if it had not been for the World War. As it was, it was a great and inspiring occasion bringing together representatives of numerous ethnic and cultural groups and bringing new and frank conceptions of scientific bases of racial and social relations of people. I had a chance twice to address the Congress and to write one of the two poems which greeted the assembly.

Returning to the United States I was plunged into the Bull Moose campaign. I thought I saw a splendid chance for a third party movement on a broad platform of votes for Negroes and industrial democracy. Sitting in the office of the Crisis I wrote out a proposed plank for the Progressives to adopt at their Chicago meeting: "The Progressive party recognizes that distinctions of race or class in political life have no place in a democracy. Especially does the party realize that a group of 10,000,000 people who have in a generation changed from a slave to a free labor system, re-established family life, accumulated $1,000,000,000 of real property, including 20,000,000 acres of land, and reduced their illiteracy from 80 to 30 per cent., deserve

and must have justice, opportunity and a voice in their own government. The party, therefore, demands for the American of Negro descent the repeal of unfair discriminatory laws and the right to vote on the same terms on which other citizens vote."

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This was ~~taken~~ taken to Chicago by Joel E. Spingarn and advocated by two other directors of the Association, Dr. Henry Moskowitz and Jane Addams. They worked in vain for its adoption. Theodore Roosevelt would have none of it. He told Mr. Spingarn frankly that he should be "careful of that man DuBois" who was in ~~his~~ Roosevelt's opinion a dangerous person. The Bull Moose ~~Campaign~~ Convention not only refused to adopt a plank anything like this but refused to seat most of the colored delegates; elected a Southern "lily white" to run on the ticket with Mr. Roosevelt and finally succeeded in making Woodrow Wilson president of the United States.

Immediately Bishop Walters and myself conceived the idea that Mr. Wilson might be approachable. I proposed to throw the weight of the Crisis against Roosevelt and Taft and for Wilson, and Bishop Walters went to see him. He secured from Woodrow Wilson a categorical expression over his signature "of his earnest wish to see justice done the colored people in every matter; and not mere grudging justice, but justice executed with liberality and cordial good feeling". "I want to assure them that should I become President of the United States they may count upon me for absolute fair dealing, for everything by which I could assist in advancing the interests of their race in the United States." In this effort to divide the Negro vote which was successful to an unusual degree, we were cruelly disappointed when the democratic Congress met. There was the greatest flood of discriminatory bills

both in Congress and among the states that has probably ever been introduced since the Civil War. Only united and determined effort defeated bills against intermarriage and for other discriminations in eight states and while most of the proposed legislation in Congress was kept from the statute books, the administration carried out a segregation by color in the various departments which we had to fight for years and vestiges of which even remain today.

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In other respects our lines were cast in difficult places. The Socialists began to consider the color question and to discriminate against the membership of colored people in the South, lest whites should not be attracted. Mr. Villard tried to get the President to appoint a National Race Commission to be privately financed to the extent of $50,000 but nothing could be done; and suddenly war and revolution struck the world: the Chinese Revolution in 1912; the Balkan War in 1913 and finally in 1914 the World War.

In that very year the National Council of Social Agencies met in Memphis without daring to discuss the color question but Spingarn and I went down to Memphis and held open meetings advertising "for all who dared hear the truth." We had an interesting time. Finally the World War touched America; with it and in anticipation of it came a sudden increasing of lynching including the horrible burning at Dyersburg; there cam renewed efforts at segregation; the refusal to let Negroes volunteer; the whole extraordinary difficulties of the draft and the question of Negro officers. The Association itself hesitated. It did not want openly to advocate segregation but Spingarn, chairman of the board of the Crisis, went ahead and the students of Howard and other schools backed our efforts. We finally succeeded in arranging for an officers camp at Des Moines where seven hundred officers were eventually given commissions. At the same time there was the increased migration of Negroes

This success and the death of Booker T. Washington in 1915 led to the first Amenia Conference and united the American Negro in one program of advance.

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to the North, the riots at East St. Louis and the rebellion of Negro soliders at Houston; the shelving of Colonel Young and the alleged German plots. ~~It was in 1918 that I was fifty years of age and had my first experience of birthday celebration.~~ The Crisis had reached a monthly circulation of 68,000 and during the year I had a little dinner with Glendowen Evans, Margaret DeLand and William James.

The Sixth Decade - Editor and Traveler - 1918-1928 - 50-60 years of age.- I review the sixth decade of my life with some misgivings and difficulties of judgment. It was in many respects a culmination and yet again it represented as it seems to me now, a vast dissipation of energy which might to better purpose have been concentrated in fewer lines. I am not altogether sure of this. There were so many things to do; so many paths that presented themselves as duties which must be followed that I was perhaps more or less helpless in the grasp of forces mightier than my will. Because after all the decade following the War was a time of tremendous crises and changes and no single life could escape the paradox and confusion to which all life, and especially life in culture lands, was subjected.

My career had at this time a certain sense of drama. I had never before seen Theodore Roosevelt but in November, 1918, I presided at a meeting in Carnegie Hall where he made his last public speech, appearing together with Irwin Cobb and a representative of the French High Commission. I remember my introduction "I have the honor to present Theodore Roosevelt." Then on my fiftieth birthday there was a public celebration and many kindly messages. John Hope wrote: "How glad I am that your fiftieth birthday is going to be such a happy one because you can look back on so much good work done. But not the good work alone. What you may look back upon with greatest comfort is good intention."

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And Albert Bushnell Hart wrote a word which one quotes with a certain diffidence: "Out of his fifty years of life I have followed a good thirty - and have counted him always among the ablest and keenest of our teacher-scholars, an American who viewed his country broadly."

~~And~~ Finally I prize most highly the tribute of President Bumstead: "First of all, let me express the keen satisfaction I take in having been the one chiefly responsible, perhaps, for bringing Doctor DuBois to Atlanta University." "I cannot but smile when I think of the objections and misgivings of some of our trustees and other friends when he came." "We wanted a professor of sociology with special reference to investigating conditions concerning the Negro; and I said that Doctor DuBois was the one man, white or black, far and away best fitted for the position. But how about his religion - he's studied in Germany - perhaps if you scratch him, you'll find an agnostic. Now it is true that Atlanta University has always had a pronounced religious, though undenominational, life - a life ... ~~inherited from the New England people represented by its founders; and it has always looked to its teachers, so far as possible, to help to maintain it~~ - so I must needs have some assurances on this point. But, as Doctor DuBois will remember, they were not very easy to get. He seemed to be one of those persons who, when asked about their religion, reply that they "have none to speak of". But though reluctant to speak of his religion or to say what he would do at Atlanta, I observed that at the time of my interview with him he was living with his newly wedded bride in the centre of the Negro slums of Philadelphia, doing the beneficent work to which Provost Harrison had called him, and I thought there were some indications of genuine religion in that fact."

"So, in spite of objections and misgivings, Doctor DuBois came to Atlanta University, and we held him there for thirteen years notwithstanding several offers to go elsewhere and get double the salary that we could afford to pay him. His work became a memorable part of the history of the Institution."

The most important work of the decade as I now look back upon it was my travel. Before 1918 I had made three tripts to Europe; but now between 1918 and 1928 I made four trips of extraordinary meaning: to France directly after the close of the war and during the Congress of Versailles; to England, Belgium, France and Geneva in the earliest days of the League of Nations; to Spain, Portugal and Africa in 1923 and 1924; and to Germany, Russia, and Constantinople in 1927. I could scarcely have encompassed a more vital part of the modern world picture than in those stirring journeys. They gave me a depth of knowledge and a breadth of view which was of incalculable value for realizing and judging modern conditions, and above all the problem of race in America.

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But this was only part of my work: in the United States I was still fighting the battle of liberalism against race prejudice; trying to adjust war and post-war problems to the questions of racial justice; trying to show from the injustices of war time what the new vision must encompass; fighting mobs and lynchings; encouraging Negro migration; helping woman suffrage; encouraging the new rush of young blacks to college; watching and explaining the political situation and traveling and lecturing thousands of miles and in hundreds of centers. In addition to this I was encouraging the writing of others and trying to help develop Negro art and literature. Beside editing the Crisis continuously, I published ~~The Negro in 1915~~; "~~Dark Water~~" in 1920; "Darkwater"

"The Gift of Black Folk" in 1924; the article on Georgia "In These United States" in 1924, and the concluding chapter in The New Negro in 1925 beside a number of magazine articles. Most of the young writers who began what was called the renaissance of Negro literature in the twenties, began ~~from~~ their first publication in the Crisis magazine.

Above all in these days I made two efforts toward which I look back with infinite satisfaction: the two year attempt in the Brownie's book to furnish a little magazine for Negro children in which my efforts were ably seconded by Augustus Dill and Jessie Fausett; and most especially my single handed production of the pageant "The Star of Ethiopia". The pageant was an attempt to put into dramatic form for the benefit of large masses of people, a history of the Negro race. It was first attempted in the New York celebration of Emancipation in 1913; it was repeated with magnificent and breathtaking success in Washington with 1200 participants; it was given again in Philadelphia in 1916; and in Los Angeles in 1924.

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Finally in New York I attempted a little theatre movement which went far enough to secure for our little group ~~, helped by the acting of Ira Reid~~ second prize in an international competition. In 1918 I was asked rather suddenly by the N. A. A. C. P. to go to Europe right after the Armistice, to investigate the treatment of Negro soldiers and keep the record straight; and then ~~secondly~~ at the behest of a group of American Negroes I considered that the interests of Africa ought to be represented during the peace efforts following the war. With infinite difficulty and through the cooperation of Blaise Diagne the French Deputy from Senegal I succeeded in gathering in February, 1919, at the Grand Hotel in Paris a Pan-African congress of fifty-seven delegates including sixteen American Negroes, twenty West

Indians and twelve Africans. Both France, Belgium and Portugal were represented by officials. This was to my mind but a beginning and in 1921 I returned and held a Second Pan-African Congress in London, Brussels and Paris from August 28 to September 6. There were 113 accredited delegates from twenty-six different groups including thirty-five from the United States, thirty-nine from Africa and the rest from the West Indies and Europe. Among the speakers were Sir Sidney now Lord Olivier; Florence Kelly; Bishop Hurse; Paul Otlet often called the father of the League of Nations; Senator La Fontaine of Belgium; Dr. Vitellian, former physician of Menelik of Abyssinia; General Sorelas; Blaise Diagne; Norman Leys and others. The attention which the congress evoked all over Europe was astonishing. It was discussed in the London Times, Observer and Daily Graphic; in the Paris Petit Parisian, Matin and Temps; in the Manchester Guardian and in practically all the daily papers of Belgium. It led to heated debate in Brussels touching the rights of these delegates to discuss the relation of colonies and it emphasized in the minds of all of us the consequent importance of such discussions.

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Two of us visited the League of Nations and the International Labor Office with petitions and suggestions. In 1923 a third Pan African Congress, less broadly representative than the second, but nevertheless of some importance was held in London, Paris and Lisbon; and thence I went to Africa and for the first time saw the homeland of the black race.

It was the time when the U. S. had disappointed Liberia by not granting her a promised loan and a gesture of good will was in order. At the suggestion of William H. Lewis I was therefore designated by cable as special minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to represent President Coolidge at the inauguration of President King. In the presence of the diplomatic and consular representatives of England, France, Germany, Spain, Belgium,

Holland and Panama I had the honor to tell the President of Liberia: "Your Excellency:. . . I am sure that in this special mark of the President's favor, he has had in mind the wishes and hopes of Negro Americans. He knows how proud they are of the hundred years of independence which you have maintained by force of arms and by brawn and brain upon the edge of this might continent; he knows that in the great battle against color caste in America; the ability of Negroes to rule in Africa has been and ever will be a great and encouraging reinforcement."

At the London meeting of the third Pan African Congress, Harold Laski, H. G. Wells, and Sir Sidney Olivier spoke, and Ramsey McDonald ~~had~~ promised to speak to us but was hindered by the sudden opening of the campaign which eventually made him prime minister of England. Among other efforts, at this time we held conferences with members of the Labor Party of England at which Mrs. Sidney Webb, Mr. Clynes and others were present. We emphasized the importance of labor solidarity between white and black labor in England, America and elsewhere. In Portugal our meeting was attended by cabinet ministers and deputies and though small was of great interest.

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To return again to the fight in the United States, there arose early in this decade the case of Marcus Garvey. I heard of him first when I was in Jamaica in 1915 when he sent a letter "presenting his compliments" and giving me "a hearty welcome to Jamaica, on the part of the United Improvement and Conservation Association". Later he came to the United States. In his case, as in the case of others, I have repeatedly been accused of enmity and jealously, which have been so far from my thought that the accusations have been a rather bitter experience. In 1920 when his movement was beginning to grow in America I said in the Crisis that he was "an extraordinary

leader of men" and declared that he had "with singular success capitalized and made vocal the great and long suffering grievances and spirit of protest among the West Indian peasantry." On the other hand, I noted his difficulties of temperament and training, inability to get on with his fellow workers and denied categorically that I had ever interferred in any way with his work. Later when he began to collect money for his steamship I characterized him as a sincere and hard working idealist but called his methods bombastic, wasteful, illogical and almost illegal and begged his friends not to allow him foolishly to overwhelm with bankruptcy and disaster one of the most interesting spiritual movements of the modern world. But he went ahead, wasted his money, got in trouble with the authorities and was deported. As I said at the time: "When Garvey was sent to Atlanta, no word or action of ours accomplished the result. His release and deportation was a matter of law which no deed or wish of ours influenced in the slightest degree. We have today, no enmity against Marcus Garvey. He has a great and worthy dream. We wish him well. He is free; he has a following; he still has a chance to carry on his work in his own home and among his own people and to accomplish some of his ideas. Let him do it. We will be the first to applaud any success that he may have."

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I felt for a moment during the war that I could be without reservation a patriotic American. The government was making sincere efforts to meet our demands. It had commissioned over seven hundred Negro officers; I had had a personal interview with Newton Baker, Secretary of War, and he had made categorical promises; Wilson had spoken out against lynching; and I had myself been offered a captaincy in the Intelligence Service, afterwards to be sure rather incontinently withdrawn as the higher command realized

just who I was. Nevertheless, I tried to stand by the country and wrote the widely discussed editorial "Close Ranks" in which I said to the Negroes: Forget your grievances for the moment and stand by your country.

I am not sure that I was right but certainly my intentions were. I did not believe in war, but I thought that in a fight with America against militarism and for democracy we would be fighting for the emancipation of the Negro race. With the Armistice came disillusion. I saw the mud and dirt of the trenches; I heard from the mouths of soldiers the kind of treatment that black men got in the American army; I was convinced and said that American white officers fought more valiantly against Negroes within our ranks than they did against the Germans. I still believe this was largely true. I collected some astonishing documents of systematic slander and attack upon Negroes and demands upon the French for insulting attitudes toward them, and when I published these documents in America the government started to interfere by refusing the Crisis mailing facilities; then realizing that this was an admission of guilt, they quickly withdrew their prohibition.

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I was especially upset by the mobs and lynchings during this time: by that extraordinary upheaval wherein for several hours black men fighting against a mob practically held the city of Washington in their hands; then the ~~horrible~~ riot and murders in Chicago. We fought back through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the columns of the Crisis, through lectures and articles with every force at hand. Mary Talbert started the Anti-Lynching Crusaders and with her help and that of the secretary, James Weldon Johnson, we raised a defense funde of $70,000 and put the Dyer Lynch Bill through the House of Representatives and on to the floor of the Senate. It was not until years after that I knew what

killed that anti-lynching bill. It was a bargain between the South and the West by which lynching was permitted on condition that the Japanese were excluded.

Court cases kept pressing upon us: there were the Elaine riots and the Arkansas cases; there was the Sweet case in Detroit and equally significant to my mind but to few other Negroes the Sacco-Venzetti case in Massachusetts. We continued winning court victories and yet somehow, despite them, we did not seem to be getting far. We added to the Grandfather Case of 1915 and the Segregation Case of 1917 the victories in the Arkansas cases, the white primary case and another segregation case in the high courts, in addition to the eventual freeing of Dr. Sweet and his family. Still injustice prevailed. In the case of the Mississippi flood the Red Cross allowed the Negroes to be treated as slaves and peons, and in Okolona the Episcopal church refused to prosecute a white murderer on its own school grounds. Above all there came disquieting situations among Negro students: a strike at Hampton, disturbed conditions at Wilberforce, turmoil at Howard and an uprising at Fisk which had to end with the deposition of a president. Into this latter battle I had to throw myself; to resurrect and republish the Fisk Herald and to fight until Fisk was free.

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It was thus a decade of infinite effort and discouraging turmoil. I suppose it had to be. I suppose that with the best will, it would have been impossible for me to concentrate on a few great lines of creative effort. I had to be a part of the revolution through which the world was going and to feel in my own soul the scars of its battle. Two things made a sort of finale to the decade: the fourth Pan African Congress held in New York in 1927 with Dantes Bellegarde, George Sylvain and other speakers; and there ~~was~~ news of the Congress of British West Africa which began its meetings in

1920 and forced the British government to the greatest step toward democratic method ever taken in black colonies. And finally to my surprise and quite against my best judgment there was given for me upon my return from Africa at the Cafe Savarin in New York, a dinner. Among the speakers were Heyward Broun, Walter Hampden and Mrs. Bethune and tributes were sent by Witter Bynner, Zona Gale and Eugene O'Neil. It was a very beautiful and touching tribute.

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Seventh Decade - The Teacher and Writer - 1928-1938 - 60-70 years of age.- Gradually in the last ten years of my life it has dawned upon me with increasing clarity just what the essential change in the world has been since the era of war and depression and how the tactics of those who live for the widest development of men must change accordingly. It is not a matter of change in ideals but of decisive change in the methods by which ideals are to be approximated. As I now look back, I see in the crusade waged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from 1910 to 1930 one of the finest efforts of liberalism to achieve human emancipation; and much was accomplished. But the essential difficulty with liberalism of the twentieth century was not to realize the fundamental change brought about by the world wide organization of work and trade and commerce. Karl Marx had emphasized in the 19th century the overwhelming influence of the economic activities of men upon their thought and action; but it was not until the 20th century that it became clearer and clearer to those who observed and thought, that modern business enterprise organized for private profit was throttling democratic government, choking art and literature and making work and industry a paradox by systematically increasing the number of unemployed and dislocating industry itself by periodic depressions.

During the decade, 1918-1928, the world tried to "recover" from the disaster of the World War. We strove to "restore prosperity", to "get back

to normalcy" and to return to the same sort of world as the one that had just committed suicide. After ten years of confused effort, it became increasingly clear that the disaster was far greater and deeper than most men dreamed, and that not recovery but fundamental change in the very bases of government and civilization faced us. With the world-wide depression, even the dullest began to conceive the size of the disaster that had overwhelmed mankind.

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Moreover the words of the prophets who for nearly a century had been warning mankind now began to sound clear: Freedom, that fine dream of the 18th century, had been during the 19th persistently interpreted as license for business enterprise, until it had not only reforged shackles for the human spirit, but actually re-established human slavery, first by transporting labor and then by making world-wide the domination of transporting capital. Armed rivalry for monopolizing wealth and services had led to commercial imperialism, world war and universal poverty. We were now faced with the enormously difficult task of reconstructing the economic foundations of civilization and building thereon a new heaven and a new earth for the free and creative spirit of man.

The first answer was the practically universal abandonment of democratic control in government and social development for oligarchy. This proved unexpectedly easy because already before the war, democracy was ~~already~~ so widely a form of words and pious belief and not a practical reality. We held to the forms of voting and popular election, but did not believe nor practice the substance. Throughout European culture, government had passed into the hands of industry, and industry was not controlled by democratic methods. When now the realities of the situation were posed to men, two radical solutions were suddenly resorted to: Russian communism and Fascism. They both did away with democracy, and substituted oligarchic control of government and industry of though and action. Communism ~~did this in accordance~~ aimed at eventual democracy and even elimination of the state, but sought this

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by
~~with~~ a dogmatic program, laid down 90 years ago by a great thinker, but largely invalidated by nearly a century of extraordinary social change. Fascism sought to take complete control of the state, ostensibly for the good of all the people, but practically for the good of the dominant classes. Both dictatorships were forced to consolidate their power by ~~force~~, assassination and mass propaganda of every sort.

All this in the years since the war I had been observing in every part of the world, and I had been trying desperately and unremittingly, to spy out in the Universal gloom a path for the American Negro. One thing I knew and knew well: we could not afford to sit and wait; we must actively and intelligently press forward toward goals consistent with the new ways of ~~the~~ a world about to be reborn ~~world~~. The problem of a minority group in a world torn by old and new national and racial division was of enormous difficulty: it was idle for us simply to repeat the old slogans of democracy in an oligarchic world; no matter how strongly, we with all forward looking thinkers, might envisage a rebirth of democracy, we knew or should know, that at present, our problem was economic rather than political reform; this economic reconstruction was now in progress -- amid turmoil and contradiction, beclouded by a thousand irrelevances and bedeviled by every art of selfishness, but nevertheless clearly in progress. My problem was How can American Negroes joing this movement and intelligently reenforce it, for their own good and the good of all men.

In the organization whose leadership I then shared, I saw few allies impressed as I was to an ever increasing degree, ~~of~~ as to the immediate necessity of a reorientation of objectives in order to make our original and unshakable ideals realizable. It was a problem not of change of goal but of method. I looked about for allies and looked where man ever looks in such crisis -- to Youth. I thought that just as a quarter century earlier, the N. A. A. C. P.

was recruited from clear-eyed and courageous young folk, so to day, a reorganization of our aims could be led by a similar group.

For this reason the Second Amenia Conference was called, seventeen years after the first. The first Amenia conference in 1916, met at a strategic time. It brought together on the beautiful farm of Joel Spingarn, where once John Burroughs had studied and dreamed men and women representing all elements of leadership in the Negro race, together with white friends of prominence and influence. It was an unusually successful effort and there on the old farm and around the dark still lake while there was war in Europe and unrest in the United States a hundred or more Negroes came together and a half dozen whites with messages from three presidents of the United States and other distinguished persons and we agreed upon a liberal program which included a plea for education, a warning against factionalism, a need for interracial understanding and a forward movement. Our essential agreement on a program of advance was gratifying and epoch-making. But as I now see, we did not then sufficiently appreciate the spade-work which had gone before and which for 10 years had been preparing the minds of Americans, black and white for a new deal in race relations and renewed effort toward racial equality.

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In 1933, the situation was different. We met at the beginning rather than at the end of a period of preparatory discussion. We were still mentally whirling in a sea of inconclusive world discussion. We could not really reach agreement as a group, because so many of us as individuals had not made up our minds on the essentials of coming social change. The attendance was sifted--perhaps too much so; outside of four of the Elder Statesmen, the median age was thirty--persons just out of college, their life work begun

but not settled. They were teachers, social workers, professional men and two artisans. The discussion was indeterminate and the resolutions contradictory; it was agreed that "The primary problem is economic" but the conclusion was that this problem could not be approached from the point of view of Race, but only from that of a united group of laborers cutting across racial lines. This was of course the intrusion of communisitic dogma--ideally right, and practically unworkable. If the workers of the world would unite in unselfish cooperation to uplift the laboring mass, the millenium would be in sight. But we cannot expect of the age-long under-privileged worker, that which the educated and advanced have not envisaged; namely, the ignoring of race prejudice at just the era when it is being artificially stimulated by every human device.

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Our program then must begin at home. Whatever just objection there be to racial efforts in a day when biologic races have been proven a myth, the reality of cultural groups like the American Negro, whether called "races" or what not, not only must be admitted but used as units of social uplift. I began then, despite the fact that the most courageous of the Negro youth seemed rushing down steep places into the sea of communistic dogma, without stopping to ask how far this dogma applied to our situation --I began advocating a program of economic organization within the Negro group, designed to prepare us for effective citizenship in the new industrial democracy which the world is slowly but surely approaching.

No sooner had I come to this conclusiong than I knew that I was out of touch with my organization and that the question of leaving it was only a matter of time. This was no easy decision; to give up the Crisis was like giving up a child; to leave the National Association was leaving the friends of a quarter of a century. But on the other hand staying meant silence and

a repudiation of what I was thinking and planning. My cutting away, therefore, from this work did not conform to any of the ordinary patterns. A good many of my friends and most onlookers are still puzzled. They tried to classify this break of ties as a question of dismissal, of quarrel, or incompatability of age and youth or other classifications of the sort. It was none of these. I could have stayed with the National Association to the end of my working days or at least as long as it continued to exist. There was no greater friction within its organization than is inevitable to every human machine; but there was a clear difference of point of view. The Association in the matter of segregation emphasized a part of its program more than it emphasized before. We had recognized and used segregation in the matter of schools and colleges, in matter of religion, in the matter of the officers' camp; but we had fought its further spread, ~~then advocated as the next best thing~~. At this point I came advocating a new segregation in economic lines; in precisely the lines of business and industry whither the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was not prepared to go. It was not an absolute difference of principle, but it was a grave difference of further procedure, and therefore I gave up my connection with the Association saying: "In thirty-five years of public service my contribution to the settlement of the Negro problem has been mainly candid criticism based on a careful effort to know the facts. I have not always been right, but I have been sincere, and I am unwilling at this late day to be limited in the expression of my honest opinions in the way in which the Board proposes. . . . I am, therefore, resigning from my position as Director of Publications and Research, Editor of the Crisis, member of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,

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and member of the Spingarn Medal Committee, - this resignation to take effect immediately." The Association was good enough to express in return appreciation of the work I had done while associated with it.

In the meantime I had already been turning to work which was in a sense a renewal of my early work and research from 1908-1918. Already as early as 1909 I had planned an Encyclopaedia of the Negro, had secured on my board of advisers Flinders Petrie, Sir Harry Johnston, Giusseppi Sergi, Dr. J. Deniker, William James and Franz Boaz; and on my proposed board of editors I had practically all the leading Negroes of the United States who were inclined toward research. But my change to New York and the work of starting the Crisis and then the World War put this quite out of my mind. The project was renewed by the Phelps Stokes Funds and today, backed by anthropologists all over the world, we are seeking a quarter of a million dollars to realize this dream. On the other hand was my interest in Reconstruction which had begun in 1910 was renewed. In that year I had read a paper on "Reconstruction and its Benefits" before the American Historical Association. At the suggestion of the president, Albert Bushnell Hart, and others like Dunning of Columbia this paper was published. Finally in 1932 I asked the Rosenwald Fund to give me funds by which I could finish it. They did and the book Black Reconstruction in America was published in 1935.

By that time I was teaching at Atlanta University. There again I was carrying out the thread of a long dream. Back as early as 1905 I had proposed to the several colored colleges of Atlanta the beginning of efforts toward uniting these various institutions into one university. We actually had a meeting in Rockefeller Hall but Miss Packard was definitely opposed.

She said crisply that if her head was going to be ~~taken~~ bitten off she would prefer to ~~bite~~ do it ~~off~~ herself. I turned then in 1909 to President Hope and we worked out an interchange of lectures. He wrote me February 16, 1910 "I hope and believe this is the beginning of new and larger things in an educational way among our Colored institutions." and later April 21, 1910 he added: "I feel a downright enthusiasm over the beginning that our two schools made this year and hope that, now that we have made a start and have some slight idea of what can be accomplished, the two schools may next year do larger things".

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John Hope and I had long been intimate and sympathetic friends and in the earlier part of this same year he had written me quite frankly a letter which I can now without betraying confidence quote:

"My impression is that friendship - not acquaintanceship or perfunctory intercourse but real friendship - is based not so much on agreement in opinion and policies and methods but upon downright confidence, upon simple faith, no matter what the view or appearances. You and I for nearly ten years have been friends. . . . You may remember that in the early and bitterly misunderstood efforts of the Niagara Movement, I was the only college president that ventured to attend the Harper's Ferry meeting to take part in its deliberations. You may remember, too, that while some may have answered the call to that seemingly radical meeting in New York last May, I was the only president, colored or white, of our colleges that took part in the deliberations of that meeting. I cite this to show that I have dared to live up to my views even when they threw me in the midst of the most radical. Furthermore, every man on our faculty does the same and will as long as I am head of the institution. . . . I write to ask you whether you have me in your heart - not on your calling list or your mailing list but in your heart - on your list of friends."

Years before I had resigned from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Hope had offered me a position in Atlanta University whenever I might wish to come and when the actual consolidation of these schools took place, he repeated the offer at various times. So that finally when the break came I returned to the renewed Atlanta University to carry out my independent lines of thought and express them in such writing and teaching as I might wish. In 1936, I seemed confirmed in the wisdom of my way by the panorama of the world which swept before me, in London and Paris, Berlin and Vienna; Moscow and Mukden; Peiping and Shanghai, Kyoto and Tokyo; and heavenly Hawaii.

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Finally I suppose upon a seventieth birthday one is presumed to have accumulated enough wisdom on the art of living to leave a wise word. There is not much that I feel moved to say; that little is this: I am especially glad of the divine gift of laughter; it has made the world human and lovable, despite all its pain and wrong. I am glad that the partial Puritanism of my upbringing, has never made me afraid of life. I have lived completely, testing every normal appetite, feasting on sunset, sea and hill, and enjoying wine, women and song. I have seen the face of beauty from the Grand Canyon to Capri, from the Alps to Lake Baikal; from the African bush to the Venus of Milo. Perhaps above all I am proud of a straightforward clearness of reason, in part a gift of the gods, but also to no little degree due to scientific training and inner discipline. By means of this I have met life face to face, I have loved a fight over and I have realized that the main fact of life is age and death.

This makes it the more incomprehensible for me to see persons quite panic stricken at the approach of their thirtieth birthday and prepared for

and above all I have done the work which I wanted to do and not merely that which men wished to pay me for. This is, I ween, the essential difference between Heaven and Hell.

Finally,

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dissolution at forty. Few of my friends have celebrated their fiftieth birthdays, and near none their sixtieth. Of course one sees some reasons: the disappointment at meagre accomplishment which all to some extent must share; the haunting shadow of possible physical decline; the fear of death. I have been fortunate in having health and wise in keeping it. I have never shared what seems to me the essentially childish desire to live forever. Life has its pain and evil -- its bitter disappointments; but in healthful length of days there is triumphal fulness of experience and infinite joy in seeing the most interesting of continued stories unfold. Not eternity but time is for the living:

"Mein Vermaechtniss, mein Vermaechtniss,
"Wie herrlich weit und breit!
"Die Zeit ist mein Vermaechtniss--
"Mein Acker ist die Zeit!"

A PAGEANT IN SEVEN DECADES, 1868-1938

by

W. E. B. DuBois

I have been asked to review my life and I have chosen to essay this from the aspect of an historical pageant of human kind in which I have been a more or less active spectator, and whose end and meaning I have sought to see. It is not easy to do this; deeds, facts and fancies flow so ceaselessly and, with occasional whirlpools, so smoothly on, that one grasps and arranges them and views them with difficulty. Temptation to topical treatment is barred by the alchemy of time which not simply prolongs life but successively changes all perspective and interpretation. I find it better then to group my years in decades from childhood to today; seeking in each term of ten years the more or less elusive unity that may lie therein and checking somewhat my present memory by such documents and remains as may partially recreate the past.

The First Decade - Childhood from 1868-1878 - 0-10 years.- The year of my birth was the year that the freedmen of the South were enfranchised and for the first time as a mass took part in government. Conventions with black delegates voted new constitutions all over the South; and two groups of laborers - freed slaves and poor whites - dominated the former slave states. It was an extraordinary experiment in democracy. Thaddeus Stevens, the clearest headed leader of this attempt at industrial democracy, made his last speech impeaching Andrew Johnson on February 16 and on February 23 I was born.

I had ~~in these first years~~ a pleasant childhood. I can remember no poverty although my family was certainly poor. I represented the third generation from three small land holding brothers on my mother's side and the fourth

generation from a West Indian planter on my father's. The outstanding thing in my earliest memory was the school. In a letter which I began to my grandmother in 1877, after conventional thanks for some present, I plunged right into the real subject "My school house stands a little way from Main Street." I remember it vividly; down a lane with a great choke-cherry tree on the right; on the left the wooden primary and grammar school and further on the right, the brick grammar and high school. I attended these schools regularly from five or six years of age until I was sixteen with hardly a day's absence.

The town and its surroundings were a boy's paradise: there were mountains to climb and rivers to wade and swim in; lakes to freeze and hills for coasting. There were orchards and caves and wide green fields; and all of it was the free property apparently of the children of the town. My family were pleasant and miscellaneous: the father was dead before I can remember; the mother brown and quietly persistent; the aunts and one uncle a bit consorious but not difficult to get on with; and then an endless vista of approving cousins. The town was shut in my its mountains and provincialism - cut off both from Boston and New York state.

My first glimpse of the outher and wider world was through Johnnie Morgan's news shop which occupied the front end of the post office. There newspapers and books were on display and I remember very early seeing pictures of "U. S." Grant and Tweed who was beginning his extraordinary career in New York state; and later of Hayes and the smooth and rather cruel face of Tilden. Of the great things happening in the United States at that time, we were touched only by the Panic of 1873; when my uncle came home from the little town east of us where he was the leading barber, he brought me, I remember, a silver dollar which was an extraordinary thing; Up to that time I had seen

nothing but paper money. I do not remember hearing anything said about the Fifteenth Amendment which became law in 1870; but there were a few new colored people, "contrabands," who came to town. One family particularly I liked, they were so jolly and darkly handsome.

Charles Sumner died and the Freedmen's Bank closed when I was but six years old, and when I was eight there came the revolution of 1876. But I hardly ~~comprehended~~ knew of it. On the other hand, of the world overseas: the Franco-Prussian War; the ups and downs of D'israeli and Gladstone; the opening of the Suez Canal; --of these things my little village said nothing nor did they mention the fact that the Medji Emperors of Japan ascended to new and ever growing power in the year I was born.

The Second Decade - Youth, from 1878-1888 - 10-20 year of age.- The United States in the decades 1870-1890 was an extraordinary country. Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur and Grover Cleveland were presidents. James G. Blaine was an aspirant who barely missed the highest office, and the country was reckless and prosperous; squandering its seemingly endless resources; tying east and west with railways; exploiting iron and coal and oil and making fortunes for a new and ruthless caste of business men who were cashing in on the cost of Civil War. The results of this I could easily see in my town. I grew up in the midst of definite ideas as to wealth and poverty; work and charity. Wealth was the result of work and saving and the rich rightly inherited the earth. The poor, on the whole, were to be blamed. They were lazy or unfortunate and if unfortunate their fortunes could easily be mended ~~with care.~~ by thrift and saving.

There were ~~as great~~ some differences of wealth in Great Barrington; there were mills and mill-owners; there were German and Irish factory hands. Singularly enough I knew the mill owners and their children much better than

I knew the workers. I was no flunky for the rich. My people always had a certain ~~singular~~ independence. They were by occupation small farmers, servants, laborers, barbers and waiters. They earned their way. I early came to understand that to be "on the town", the recipient of public charity, was the depth not only of misfortune but of a certain guilt. I presume some of my folk sank to that but not to my knowledge. We earned our way. I have a little post card dating from 1883 in which "Miss Smith," September 19, writes, "We would like to have you come certainly next Saturday as you did last week to do some splitting for us." This was a matter of splitting up kindling for two maiden ladies and was one of my ways of beginning financial independence. I remember well my first regular work as a high school lad: I went early of mornings and filled one or two of the so-called "base-burning" stoves with coal in a little millinery shop. I received twenty-five cents a week which represented the beginning of affluence. From then on, all through my high school course I worked after school and on Saturdays, mowing lawns, doing errands, and for a few months through the good will of Johnnie Morgan, I rose to be local correspondent of the Springfield Republican. For some time, too, I sent weekly letters to the New York Age, and before the A and P stores dealt in groceries and simply were selling tea I was one of their local agents. Thus in all sorts of little ways I managed to earn some money and never asked nor thought of gifts save in one case: my school principal suggested, quite as a matter of fact, that I ought to take the college preparatory course in High School which involved Latin and Greek. This meant a considerable expenditure for books but the wife of one of the mill owners, or rather I ought to describe her as the mother of one of my playmates, offered to furnish all the necessary high school books, which became my one charity.

The other class of rich folk with whom I came in contact were summer boarders who made yearly incursions from New York. I think I was most impressed by their clothes. Outside of that there was little reason so far as I could see to envy them. The children were not very strong and rather too well-dressed to have a good time playing. There were few slum areas in my town and almost no crime. The one ~~excess~~ indulgence was liquor drunkenness and there my mother quietly took a firm stand. I was never to enter a saloon. I never did. ~~It~~ Alcohol was ~~perhaps~~ almost the one reaction that this pleasant but rather drab little town had against the monotony of life, and rich and poor got drunk more or less regularly. I have seen ~~one of the~~ a mill owners staggering; and my own dignified ~~de~~ uncle used to come home now and then walking ~~exceedingly~~ very straight.

In one respect my training in this town has had rather momentous results. It was not good form in New England or in Great Barrington to express yourself volubly, to give way to ~~excitement~~ emotion; - people held themselves in. They were sparing even of their greetings. There was only on the street a curt "Good Morning" to those whom you know and no greetings at all for others. The result was that, because of this and probably from growing rare consciousness, I was early thrown in upon myself. I found it difficult and even unnecessary to approach other people and by that same token my own inner life grew perhaps the ~~more~~ richer. Later But the habit of repression often returned to plague me in after years for so early a habit could not easily be unlearned.

I entered the high school at the age of twelve and was graduated at the age of sixteen in 1884. I had during that time ~~some~~ my first chance to travel and to get little glimpses of the world. I was sent, for instance, by my mother across the state to see my grandmother and grandfather in New Bedford. I wrote back about this in 1883, "The house is white with green blinds. The

yard is full of flowers. Grandma is about my color and taller than I thought. I like her very much. Grandpa is short and rather thick set. I like him better than I thought I would. He says very little but speaks civilly when I say anything to him. Grandma says by and by he will talk more."

When I graduated from the high school we all had ~~orations~~ speeches and mine was on Wendell Phillips. He had died in February and I spoke in June, fired by new and unusual knowledge of his sort of man. Then there came in my life the first great change. My mother died and it was decided that I was too young to go to college. I suspect that money matters had something to do with it. At any rate instead of being able to go to Harvard, as I had fondly hoped, in the fall of 1884 ~~in the fall of 1884~~ I was given a job and promised that the next fall I should begin my college work.

The job brought me in curious touch with the world. There was a great uncle of mine, Tom Burghardt, whose tombstone I had seen often in the village graveyard. My family used to say in undertones that the money of Tom Burghardt helped to build the Pacific Railway and that it came in this wise: Nearly all his life Tom Burghardt was a servant in the Kellogg family, only the Kelloggs forgot to pay him but did give him a handsome burial. Then Mark Hopkins married into the family, presumably my uncle's unpaid wage, with other assets, and used ~~and~~ made millions in railways. His widow came back to Great Barrington and planned a mansion out of the beautiful blue granite which formed our hills. A host of workmen, masons, stonecutters, and carpenters were assembled and in the summer of 1884 I was made timekeeper for the contractors receiving the fabulous wage of a dollar ~~=~~ each day.

It was a most interesting experience and had bits of romance. There was the English architect who appeared on the scene and the colored steward who committed suicide when the architect married the widow; then came the

death of the widow and the passing of the Hopkin's millions into foreign hands. In the meantime the fabrication and growth of this marvelous palace proceeded, beautiful beyond anything that Great Barrington had seen; and always I could sit and watch it grow and handle delegated powers in dismissing workmen and rewarding them.

Finally in the fall of 1885 there came a proposal which made all my cousins and aunts raise their eyebrows. I was to have a scholarship to go South to Fisk University. The South had an unholy name in my village and the family was not at all sure that I ought to go. Only one black Burghardt had ever gone South since a Union soldier. But, ~~of course,~~ I never hesitated ~~but~~ I started out and went into Tennessee at the age of seventeen to become a sophomore at Fisk University. It was to me an extraordinary experience. I was thrilled to be for the first time among so many people of my own color or rather of such various and such extraordinary colors, which I had not seen before, but who seemed close bound to me by new and exciting ties. I had never seen such beautiful girls in my life or men who gave themselves such marked airs.

The three years here were years of growth and strength and expanding ambition. I learned new things about the world. I came in contact for the first time with a sort of violence that I had never realized in New England. I remember going down and looking wide-eyed at the door of a public building filled with buckshot where the white editor of the leading daily paper had been publicly murdered the day before. I was astonished to find many of my fellow students carrying firearms and to hear their stories of adventure. I suddenly determined that I was going out to teach during the summer vacations. It was not necessary. My scholarship would have supported me but it was adventure. I walked ~~out~~ into east Tennessee ten or more miles a day until at last in a little valley I found a place where they had had a Negro public school only

once since the Civil War and there for two successive terms ~~during the summer~~ summer I taught at $28 and $30 a month; paid immediately in promises and in cash three or four months later.

I began my writing and public speaking at Fisk. I wrote an article which the Century Magazine said, "We shall be glad to print 'The New Negro' if we may take our time and we are afraid we shall have to take a great deal." It did, for it hasn't been printed yet. For three years I was on the editorial staff of the Fisk Herald; as editor-in-chief the last year; contributing essays and one novel. I became a considerable orator and for a long time the older student of Fisk took deep joy in remembering the debate where in the very midst of impassioned periods I forgot my lines. The persistence, however, which I had learned in New England stood me now in good stead. The interlude at Fisk did not turn me from it. When I heard that Harvard was offering scholarships in various parts of the country I immediately wrote and to the astonishment of teachers and fellow students, not to mention myself, received Price Greenleaf aid of $300. I was graduated from Fisk in 1888 and took as my subject Bismarck. It showed my already growing interest in the wider world. I knew of the great jubilee of Queen Victoria, of the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War and the triumph of the Madhi in Khartoum. I had followed the fortunes of Gladstone and Salisbury and was filled with enthusiasm at the rise of the new German empire under Bismarck. So I talked of Bismarck and then turned back to the North. I was thinking, too, during those days of political developments and have a speech which I delivered in 1887 which has a certain present validity: Today the Democratic and Republican parties are virtually without principles. In spite of the vast number of vitally important issues before the country there is not one in regard to which they are not on the fence! The elections are disgraceful scrambles for office, and

the most unblushing bribery is carried on at the polls. This, by our votes, we are aiding and abetting. Having come forth from a personal slavery, we have voluntarily thrown ourselves into political serfdom. Instead of asking a man his conviction on the Blaine Bill, the Tariff, Lynch Law, or Civil Rights, you ask his party, and if he's got Republican pasted across his forehead, the legal representatives of seven millions of human beings will vote for him, be he Tom, Dick, or the Devil.

Third Decade - Education, from 1888-1898 - 20-30 years of age.- This decade covered the years of my education at Harvard and at Berlin and the beginning of my teaching career. The members of the Fisk Glee Club went to Lake Minnetonka, a resort in Minnesota, for the summer of 1888 with the idea of working in the dining room and giving concerts. I was to act as their business manager. During college I had developed rather as the executive and planner, the natural secretary of affairs rather than the ornamental president and chairman. The only difficulty about the Minnesota excursion was that I had never worked in a hotel in my life; I did not know how wait on table and therefore became one of the bus boys. It was so unusual a pageant to watch the dining room that I made no tips and for a long time had difficulty in getting enough to eat, not realizing that servants in great hotels are not systematically fed. But after the season I went on ahead and succeeded in making a respectable number of concerts for the students who followed me down all the way to Chicago; while I went on to Harvard to enter the junior class in the fall of 1888.

The Harvard of 1888 was an extraordinary aggregation of great men. Not often if ever since that day have so many distinguished teachers been together in one place and at one time. There was William James, the psychologist; Palmer in ethics; Royce and Santayanya in philosophy; Shaler in Geology

and Hart in history. The president was the cold, precise but exceedingly efficient Charles William Eliot and there were a doozen lesser lights. By extraordinary good fortune I was thrown into contact with most of these men. I was repeatedly a guest in the house of William James; of all teachers, he was my closest friend. I was a member of the philosophical club; I talked often with Royce and Shaler; I sat alone in an upper room and read Kant's Critique with Santayana; I became one of Hart's favorite pupils and was afterwards guided by him through my graduate course and started on my work in Germany. It was an extraordinary opportunity for a young man and I think I realized it. I evolved habits of work rather different from those of most of the other students. I burned no midnight oil. I did my studying in the daytime and had my day planned out almost to the minute. I spent a great deal of time in the library and did my assignments with persistent thoroughness and with a rather interesting pre-vision of the kind of work I wanted to do later. I have before me a theme which I wrote October 3, 1890, for Barrett Wendell, the great pundit of Harvard English. I said: "Spurred by my circumstances I have always been given to systematically planning my future, not indeed without many mistakes and frequent alterations, but always with what I now conceive to have been a strangely early and deep appreciation of the fact that to live is a serious thing. I determined while in the high school to go to college - partly because other men went, partly because I foresaw that such discipline would best fit me for life. I believe foolishly perhaps but sincerely that I have something to say to the world, and I have taken English 12, in order to say it well." Barrett Wendell rather liked that last sentence, and read it to the class.

I tried to take culture out into the colored community of Boston; I visited, joined clubs, lectured, and once actually gave the Birds of Aristophanes in a colored church on Thanksgiving night. The matter of meeting my college expenses presented some difficulties. I had scholarships for $300 for both college years but that was not enough. One year after careful calculation I found that I needed $50 more and noted with interest that this was exactly the stipend of the Boylston Prize in oratory. I had to have one of the prizes in order to make ends meet for the year and I got it. Then with a colored classmate, Clement Morgan, who was also a Boylston prize-man I made a tour of the summer resorts of New England. We gave readings in hotels, parlors and churches and did in this way much toward making our expenses. In my senior year the death of my last near relative, my grandfather, left me a fortune of $400. In 1890, I took my bachelor's degree from Harvard and was one of the six commencement speakers, taking as my subject Jefferson Davis. On the platform of Sanders Theatre were President Eliot, the governor of Massachusetts and the Bishop of New York. I am glad that the New York Nation could say July 3, 1890, that I handled the theme "with absolute good taste, great moderation, and almost contemptuous fairness."

I was graduated just at the beginning of the term of President Harrison when the trusts were dominating industry and the McKinley tariff making that domination easier. The understanding between the industrial North and the new South was being perfected and in 1890 a series of disfranchising laws were passed by the Southern States destined in the next six years to make voting by Southern Negroes practically impossible. Already I had received more education than most young white men, having been continuously in school from the age of six to the age of twenty-two. But I did not yet feel

prepared. I know that to cope with the new and extraordinary situation then building in the United States I needed to go further and that as a matter of fact I had just well begun in my training and in my knowledge of social conditions. On the other hand, I was quite penniless with no resources in wealth or friends. I applied for a fellowship in the graduate school. If I had not gotten it I should have had to go to work; but I was appointed Henry Bramfield Roger's fellow for a year and later the appointment was renewed so that from 1890-1892 I was a fellow in Harvard University studying in history and what would have been social science if Harvard had then recognized such a field.

I worked on my thesis, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade," taking my master's degree in 1891 and hoping to get my doctor's degree in another two years. Then came one of those tricks of fortune which seems partly due to chance but in this case undoubtedly due to a good deal of stubborn persistence. In 1882 the Slater Fund for the education of Negroes had been established and the board was in 1897 headed by ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes. President Hayes at John Hopkins University talked frankly in 1890 about the plans of the fund. He said among other things that they had wanted to find some young colored men to whom they could give a chance for graduate training but they had only been able to find "orators."

The statement was brought to my attention at a card party one evening and it not only made me good and mad but also set me thinking. I wrote President Hayes. I received a pleasant reply saying that they did not have any present plans for such scholarships. That really aroused me. I proceeded to get letters from every person I know in the Harvard Yard and places outside and literally deluged the unfortunate chairman of the Slater Fund. He wrote again and said that he was sorry but the plan had been given up;

that they might otherwise have given me some attention.

It has been my experience that most of my small successes have been due to steps that I have taken after all hope seemed was lost. I sat down and proceeded to write Mr. Hayes a letter that could be described as nothing less than impudent. I extended my plans and added to my written references. I intimated plainly that somebody was lying. President Hayes was undoubtedly disturbed aroused and almost apologized to me, reiterating his good faith and promising to take up the matter the next year with the board. Whereupon promptly the next year I proceeded to write the board: "At the close of the last academic year at Harvard, I received the degree of master of arts, and was reappointed to my followship for the year 1891-92. I have spent most of the year in the preparation of my doctor's thesis on the suppression of the slave trade in America. I prepared a preliminary paper on this subject and read it before the American Historical Association at its annual meeting at Washington during the Christmas holidays. The paper will shortly be published in their proceedings and a preliminary report of it may be seen in the Independent of January 7, 1892, pp. 10, 11; also in Congregationalist of about the same date. The first draft of the larger thesis was completed 28 March and it will be formally finished May 1, and, I hope, eventually published; besides this I have worked on a number of general studies. Properly to finish my education, a careful training in an European university for at least a year is in my mind and the minds of my professors, absolutely indispensable. I therefore desire, respectfully to lay these suggestions before you: First, that the board grant me aid to study at least a year abroad under the direction of the graduate department of Harvard or other reputable auspices. Second, if this be not practicable, that the board loan a sufficient sum for this purpose."

The Trustees of the Slater Fund granted my request and gave me $750, half gift and half loan, to study in Europe. I shall never forget my interview with ex-President Hayes in the old Astor House in New York, nor the extravagant shirt I immediately bought in celebration.

In the summer I sailed for Europe, saw Holland and the Rhine and lived in a fine German family in Eisenach with a group of gay young folk who made me realize that white folk were human.

Then In the fall I went up to Berlin. I wrote in my diary: "The fact is that after some years spent in American universities, I, God, and other folk have rendered it possible for me to study here. Whereof I am glad. Now it has chanced that to me Europe has ever been surrounded with a certain veil of mystery and fancy; a trimming of history and fairy tales, of culture and crowns, had always made it a bit difficult for me to realize the existence of a hard dry sod underneath it all. I take it that we Americans are very fortunate in having a great sea between us and this other world."

30-3-14

and Registered in the University, ~~the story which I set down at the time is perhaps worth repeating.~~ In groups of one hundred we were ushered into a room. "It was a large room, with high ceiling, and a row of four windows on one side in the deep recesses of which stood busts of Berlin's famous professors. The centre of the room was occupied by chairs, in which the students seated themselves; at the upper end was a long table about which perhaps a dozen officials were grouped. Near the left end was the present year's rector magnificus, the widely famous Rudolf Virchow, doctor of medicine, laws and philosophy, city councillor and member of the Reichstag. He is a meek and calm looking little man, white haired and white-bearded, with a kindly face and a pleasant voice. At smaller tables ranged before the windows, were the deans of the various faculties. The method of procedure was thoroughly, and, I think I may say, painfully, German. First the chief secretary at the side of the magnificent rector was invested with the pile of gymnasium diplomas and passports we had surrendered in the ante-room. Then he slowly read out the names, and as a student heard his name he disentangled himself and approached the table. Recognizing with some difficulty my Germanicized name I presented myself with trepidation at the bar. The stiff secretary

(it's quite the thing to be stiff in new Germany) with my help more clearly deciphered my name, ascertained under which faculty I wished to study, firmly declined to examine any of my sheepskins, and passed me over to the rector; Rector Virchow smiled benignantly, made some remark as to my faculty, and after filling out the blanks with some remarkably poor writing, presented me with a large 24 by 18 inch sheet of paper: this stated that a certain Guilelmus, (two i's,) had in the general goodness of his heart endowed the present Mr. Virchow with various powers; among these was that of making me (who was described with some infelicity of phrase as a "most ornamented young man") a legalized and licensed student of the University of Berlin."

~~Afterwards I was inscribed in the philosophical faculty and finally shook hands with the great Virchow.~~ I had again at Berlin as at Harvard unusual opportunity. Although a foreigner I was admitted my first semester to two semesters under Schmoller and Wagner both of them the most distinguished men in their line; and I received eventually from both of them pleasant testimony of my work. My work was in economics, history and sociology. I sat under the voice of the fire-casting Von Treitschke and heard him assert the general inferiority of mulattoes and mixed races; I wrote on American agriculture for Schmoller and discussed social conditions in Europe with teachers and students. But more especially I travelled; living cheaply I saved good sums for the numerous vacations. I went to the Hansa cities; I made the celebrated Hartzreise up to the Brocken in the spring. My Christmas vacation I spent in making a trip through south Germany along with a German-American and an Englishman. We visited Weimar, Frankfort, Heidelberg and Mannheim. During Christmas and New Years we stopped in a little German dorf in the Rheinfalz where I had an excellent opportunity of studying the peasant life closely and

comparing it with country life in the South. We visited perhaps twenty different families, talked, ate and drank with them; listened to their gossip and history, attended their assemblies, etc. We then went to Strassberg, Stuttgart, Ulm, München, Nürnburg, Prague and Dresden. In those places we stayed from one to five days, following our Baedeker closely, and paying much attention to the Munchner and Dresden art galleries. The ~~Christmas~~ trip cost about $80." Later I went down to Italy, to Genoa, Rome and Naples and over to Venice and Vienna and Budapest and finally up to Krakau where the father of a fellow student was the head of the Polish library and where I learned of the race problems of the Poles and then came by Breslau back to Berlin.

36-3-16

I have a curious document of a birthday which came in Berlin in 1893. "Today I am a quarter of a century old. It seems so strange - my boyhood and youth are but memories now and I am a full grown man. I wonder what the next quarter of a century will bring me - if it will be as rich in work and happiness as the past - as awfully full of fulfilled plans . . . . These twenty-five years of mine have been rich in personal history. I remember school days, the brook by Sumner's house, the attic rooms where we lived, the little stove that used to fall down and the window I proudly called a bay window. I remember little sorrows of life when I found no companions to play with and busied myself in making great plans for a toy with which I could play alone. I remember the gate where I looked into the great town - wonderful world to me then."

I returned to the United States by way of Paris where I stayed as long as possible and then having reduced myself almost to the last cent took passage to the United States in the steerage, quite penniless. It was by no means a pleasant trip but perhaps it was a good introduction to the new life

because now at last at twenty-six years of age and after twenty years of study I was coming home to look for a job and to begin work. I need not dwell on the difficulties of landing that job. It was a disturbed world in which I landed; 1892 saw the high tide of lynching in the United States; 235 untried Negroes being slaughtered in that one year. Cleveland had entered his second term in 1893 and the Chicago Exposition had taken place. The Dreyfus case had opened in France with his conviction and imprisonment and he was destined for twelve years to suffer martyrdom. The war between China and Japan broke out the year of my return and Nicholas II was ruling in Russia. I wrote everywhere offering my services and at last received three offers for work ~~eventually~~. On August 17, the chair of Latin and Greek at Wilberforce University, Ohio, with a salary of $800 was offered which I immediately accepted with gratitude. A little later there came an offer of a position at Lincoln Institute in Missouri at $1050 but I stuck to my first promise; and finally August 25 I received this telegram from Tuskegee, "Can give you mathematics if terms suit. Will you accept. Booker T. Washington." It would be interesting to speculate just what would have happened if I had accepted the last offer instead of the first.

Wilberforce was a small denominational colloged married to a state normal school. The church was too poor to run the college, the State did not want the normal school, and there were consequently enormous difficulties in both church and state politics. Into this situation I landed with the cane and gloves of my German student days; with my rather inflated ideas of what an university ought to be and with a terrible plainness of speech that was continually getting me into difficulty; when, for instance, very suddenly and without warning the student leader of a prayer meeting announced that

Professor DuBois would lead us in prayer. I simply answered, "No, he won't," and as a result nearly lost my job. It took a good deal of explaining to the board of bishops why a professor in Wilberforce should not be able anytime to lead in extemporaneous prayer. I was really saved by the fact that I was so willing to do endless work when the work seemed to me worth doing. My program for a day at Wilberforce looked almost as long as a week's program today. I taught Latin, Greek, German and English and wanted to add sociology to it but the college demurred refused. I had charge of the most unpleasant of the duties of discipline and did outside work in study and investigation; I met many new friends: First of all, my wife; then my good friend Charles Young, not long graduated from West Point; Charles Burroughs was a student in my classes; Paul Lawrence Dunbar who came over from Dayton to read to us. I had known his work but was astonished to find that he was a Negro.

We younger teachers had a hard team fight at Wilberforce and soon saw that we were licked. It was impossible for me especially to stay for I had talked too plainly and acted too independently. When, therefore, a temporary appointment came from the University of Pennsylvania it was a message from heaven. I was offered work for one year as "assistant instructor" for $600. I accepted forthwith and in addition to that showed my faith in life by getting married. My wife was one of the Wilberforce students and lived in Iowa where the marriage took place in the fateful year 1896. In that year the great battle of Adua occurred when Abyssinia overthrew Italy and when England suddenly seeing two black nations in ascendency threw her army back into the Sudan and recaptured ~~after thirteen years~~ Khartoum. The next year year when my ~~little boy~~ son was born there burst in the United States the free silver controversy of Bryan and McKinley and it was that year that President Dunstead

of Atlanta University asked me to come to Atlanta and take charge of the work in sociology and of the new conferences on the Negro problem which the University was inaugurating.

Fourth Decade - Research and Propaganda - 1898-1908 - 30-40 years of age.- This fourth decade was the real beginning of my life work. My education was finished and I had travelled in the world. The two years at Wilberforce being a sort of uneasy prelude, and I began with my advent into the University of Pennsylvania a planned career which had an unusual measure of success and yet was in the end pushed partly aside by forces which, if not beyond my control, were certainly of tremendous weight. My vision was in the beginning clear. The Negro problem called for systematic investigation and intelligence. The world was thinking wrong about races because it did not know. The ultimate evil was ignorance and its child, stupidity. The cure for it was Knowledge based on Study. The opportunity opened at the University of Pennsylvania was exactly what I wanted. I had tried to teach social science at Wilberforce outside my overloaded program but they did not want it. At the University of Pennsylvania I ignore the pitiful stipend. It made no difference to me that I was put down as an "assistant instructor" and even at that my name never actually got into the catalogue; it goes without saying that I did no instructing and rather to my dismay I found as much jealously and politics in this great white institution as in the smaller black one. But here at least I had a clear cut job. The city of Philadelphia at that time had a social theory, and the theory was that this great, rich and famous municipality, founded by godly Quakers, was going to the dogs because of the crime and venality of its Negro citizens. These Negroes lived largly centered in a slum at the lower end of the seventh ward. Philadelphia wanted to prove

all this by figures and I was the man they picked to do it. Of this thought and Plan I neither knew nor cared, I was simply asked to study, know and tell. I saw here a chance to study an historic group of black folk and to show exactly what their place was in the community. I did the work despite extraordinary difficulties both within and without the group. The Negroes resented being studied at all and especially by a colored stranger; the whites endured the study as a gesture toward an answer they already knew. I made a study of the Philadelphia Negro so thorough that it has withstood the criticism for forty years. It was as complete a scientific answer as could have been given under the limitations of time and money; it showed the Negro group as a symptom and not a cause; as a striving, palpitating human group and not an inert, sick body of crime; it traced, analized, charted and counted. It left few untouched queries. At the end of that study I announced with a certain pride my general plan of studying the Negro problem and published papers on the matter in the Annals of the American Academy in 1898.

With this program clearly in mind I came to Atlanta University. There was at the last moment a curious little hitch based on that old matter of extemporaneous public prayer. Dr. Dunstead and I compromised on the Episcopal prayer book and afterward I added certain prayers of my own. I am not sure that they reached heaven but they certainly reached my audience. Without thought or consultation I rather preemptorily changed the plans of the first two Atlanta Conferences. They had been conceived as conferences on city problems contrasting with the increasingly popular conferences on rural problems held at Tuskegee. But I was not thinking of more conferences. I was thinking of a comprehensive plan for studying a human group and if I could have carried it out as completely as I conceived it, the American Negro would

have contributed to the development of social science in this country an unforgettable body of work. Social scientists were at that time thinking in terms of theory and of vast and tenuous laws; while I had for study a concrete group of living beings set off by themselves and capable of almost laboratory experiment. I laid down a program of a hundred years, in which taking annually aspect after aspect of the group life of Negroes for a decade, we could repeat and broaden and concentrate our attention; sharpen our tools of investigation and improve our methods, so that we would accumulate an increasing living body of scientifically ascertained fact to make the so-called Negro problems and through them the problems of all social living clearer and surer and more definite.

Something of this was accomplished. For thirteen years we poured forth a series of studies limited, incomplete, only partially conclusive, and yet so much better done than any other attempt at such work anywhere else in the world that they gained attention in America, Europe, Asia and Africa. Nevertheless, at the very time when they were beginning to achieve widening success there cut across this plan of science a red ray of emotion which could not be ignored.

I remember when it first, as it were, pulled me off my feet.

A poor Negro in central Georgia, Sam Hose, had killed his landlord in a wage dispute. He could not be found for days; then at last a new cry was raised that he had raped the landlord's wife. It was obviously and clearly a trumped-up charge to arouse the worst passions of the countryside and the mob roared. I wrote out a careful and reasoned statement concerning the evident facts and started down to the Constitution carrying in my pocket a letter of introduction which I had to Joel Chandler Harris. I did not get

there. On the way the news met me. Sam Hose had been lynched and they said that his knuckles were on exhibition at a grocery store on Mitchell Street. I turned back to the University. I suddenly saw that complete scientific detachment in the midst of such a South was impossible. Nevertheless, I tried to keep my mounting indignation without bounds. I went on with my studies but together with other black Georgians, W. J. White, John Hope, H. R. Butler and others, I sent out memorials and petitions and protests. One in 1899 said, "Race antagonism and hatred have gone too far in this State; let us stop here; let us insist that they go no further; let us countenance no measure or movement calculated to increase that deep and terrible sense of wrong under which so many today labor. May the Twentieth century of the Prince of Peace dawn upon an era of generous sympathy and forbearance between these two great races in Georgia, and not upon a season of added injustice and antipathy." Another, a year or so later, said, "'From each according to his ability - to each according to his needs' is the ideal of modern society, and in the light of this dictum, there is not a boy in Georgia today so poor or so black as not to deserve from the State free common school training." And a third which came out of a great Macon mass meeting: "Popular government in the United States is not a failure, but it is having in these days a severe and critical trial. Its success in the future depends upon the ability of great classes of men to rise above prejudice and do strict justice to their followmen. And today strict justice in Georgia demands free common school training for every single child of the State."

With all this I stuck to my scientific work. I helped prepare in 1900 a sociological exposition of the American Negro ~~an exhibit~~ for the Paris Exposition which gained a grand prize for the exhibit and a gold medal for myself. I attended at that time a first Pan-African

Conference in London with Bishop Walters where I met the Colensos and Samuel Coleridge Taylor. I was elected a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1900 and made a fellow in 1904. I not only published the conference reports yearly but wrote magazine articles in the World's Work, and in the Atlantic Monthly where I ~~had as~~ was fellow contributor with Woodrow Wilson. I testified before Congressional Commissions in Washington and appeared on the lecture platform with Walter Page, afterwards war ambassador to England. I had wide correspondence with men of prominence in America and Europe: Lyman Abbott of the Outlook; E. D. Morel, the English expert on Africa; Max Weber of Heidelberg; Professor Wilcox of Cornell; Bliss Perry of the Atlantic Monthly; Horace Traubel, the great protagonist for Walt Whitman; Charles Eliot Norton and Talcott Williams. I began to be regarded by some as having definite information on the Negro to which they might listen with profit.

At the same time, ~~however,~~ there was cause for increasing apprehension. First of all, and for me most astonishing, we could not get money for our work in the Atlanta Conferences and our studies of the Negro problem. My theory had been that just as soon as the world saw the value of our studies the raising of funds would be the easiest thing in the world. I received for the whole thirteen years that I was then at Atlanta University an annual salary of only $1,200. The whole cost of the conference and studies never exceeded $5,000 a year and usually it was considerably less. The work was done at first in a spare bedroom of my apartment and finally in the attic of Stone Hall where adequate but rather inaccessible rooms were provided. I had no skilled assistants and yet my dream was still splendid. If in a properly equipped institution I could have gathered four or five well equipped young students, some tabulating machines and a small corps of traveling investigators we could at a cost of $10,000 to $25,000 a year have absolutely

reconstituted the bases of fact and argument concerning the American Negro. But we could not get $5,000 even; and then to make the situation worse there came the controversy with Booker T. Washington which turned from me and from Atlanta University the sympathy of most men who had money to give.

It was no controversy of my seeking; quite the contrary. I was in my imagination a scientist and neither a leader nor an agitator; I had nothing but the greatest admiration for Mr. Washington and Tuskegee and I had applied in 1894 at both Tuskegee and Hampton for work; if the telegram from Tuskegee had reached me before the Wilberforce bid I should doubtless have gone there. Certainly I knew no less about Mathematics than I did about Latin and Greek. But no sooner was my work at Atlanta University under way than pressure began to be placed upon me to leave here and go to Tuskegee. There again I was not adverse in principle to Tuskegee, except that I had started a job and wanted to continue it; surely if my work was worth support it was worth support at Atlanta University as much if not more than elsewhere. I remember that a letter came from Wallace Buttrick late in 1902 asking that I attend a private conference in New York with Felix Adler and William H. Baldwin, Jr., George Foster Peabody and Robert Ogden. The object of the conference was ostensibly the condition of the Negro in New York City. I went to the conference and I did not like it. Most of the more distinguished persons were not present. The conference itself amounted to little, but I was whisked over to William H. Baldwin's Long Island home and there what seemed to me to be the real object of my coming was disclosed. Mr. Baldwin was at that time slated to be president of the Pennsylvania Railway; he was the rising industrial leader of America; also he was a prime mover of the Tuskegee board of trustees. Both he and his wife insisted that my place was at Tuskegee; that

Tuskegee needed the kind of development that I had been trained to give. I could not help being impressed and I promised to think the matter over. Later I had two personal interviews with Mr. Washington. He encouraged me to talk but he said very little himself. I could get no clear understanding of just what I was going to do at Tuskegee if I went. I was given to understand that the salary and accomodations would be satisfactory. Later in the year I went to Bar Harbor for a series of speeches in behalf of Atlanta University and while there met Jacob Schiff, the Scheffelins and Morriam of Webster's dictionary. I had dinner with the Scheffelins and their mother the daughter of John Jay and again was urged to go to Tuskegee.

But by that time my mind was made up. I was growing increasingly uncomfortable under Mr. Washington's various statement of his program; his depreciation of the value of the vote; his evident dislike of Negro colleges and his general attitude which seemed to place the onus of blame for the race problems upon the Negro himself rather than upon the whites. I attended several conferences at Hampton and found myself consenting by silence to a systematic attack on Negro colleges. I determined on a decisive step. I had been asked sometime before by A. C. McClurg and Company of Chicago if I did not have material for a book and I suggested a social study which should be perhaps a summing up of the work of the Atlanta Conferences or at any rate a broad scientific treatise which required some time. They asked, however, if I did not have some essays that they might put together and issue immediately and they instanced the articles in the Atlantic Monthly and other places. I demurred because essays usually fall so flat. Nevertheless, I got together a series of my fugitive pieces and added a frank evaluation of Booker T. Washington and sent them on. The Souls of Black Folk was

published in 1903 and in 1938 it is still selling. ~~It~~ settled definitely any further question of my going to Tuskegee, but it also aroused apprehension. Various friends of the Negro desired to keep Negro thought from splitting into a pro-Washington and an anti-Washington camp. After all, Mr. Washington had accomplished much and a new basis of understanding on the Negro seemed to most white people in sight. Every effort must be made to preserve unity of effort. I was asked in 1903 to join Mr. Washington and his friends in a conference to be held in New York to talk of a common program. I assented and as I wrote to Kelly Miller: "I think this will be a chance for a heart to heart talk with Mr. Washington. I propose to stand on the following platform:

1. Full political rights on the same terms as other Americans.
2. Higher education of selected Negro youth.
3. Industrial education for the masses.
4. Common school training for every Negro child.
5. A stoppage to the campaign of self-depreciation.
6. A careful study of the real condition of the Negro.
7. A national Negro periodical.
8. A thorough and efficient federation of Negro societies and activities.
9. The raising of a defense fund.
10. A judicious fight in the courts for civil rights.

"Finally, the general watch word must be, not to put further dependence on the help of the whites but to organize for self help, encouraging "manliness without defiance, conciliation without servility."

The matter dragged on with some argument as to who should be invited. The general invitation to the conference went out in October, 1903, when Mr. Washington sent out the following circular letter: "You will perhaps recall that about the middle of last February I addressed you a letter concerning a private conference to be attended by about fifteen or eighteen of our most prominent men, representing various sections of the country and various race

interests, for the purpose of considering quietly all the weighty matters that now confront us as a race. The meeting was not called at the time hoped for in my last correspondence for the reason that there was delay and some disappointment in providing funds for the expenses of the meeting. That feature has now been provided for in a way that will not make those who attend the conference feel obligated to any individual or organization and leave them free for open and frank discussion.

"I very much hope that you can now see your way clear to attend such a conference in New York City to be held, if possible, on the 6th, 7th, and 8th of January, 1904."

The conference took place in Carnegie Hall, New York, ~~January 6, 7, 8, 1904~~. There was some plain speaking but it was overborne by almost fulsome praise of Mr. Washington from the lips of various invited guests like Andrew Carnegie and Lyman Abbott. It ended in the appointment of a committee of three, of which I was one, who were to select a sort of racial steering committee called the Committee of Twelve. Nothing really came ~~from~~ of this. The two other members of the committee organized it in my absence, placed the full power in the hands of Mr. Washington who was to carry on the work with funds whose source I did not know. I resigned forthwith and was pretty roundly condemned for my lack of "cooperation", but I was indignant at what seemed to me an effort to buy agreement and smother dissent under a dictatorship.

Things now began to move swiftly. In Boston a new colored weekly newspaper, the Boston Guardian was organized by two young radicals: Monroe Trotter and George Forbes. They were bitter in their attacks upon Mr. Washington and I got myself in hot water by publishing a statement in the Guardian concerning the venality of certain Negro papers whom I charged had sold out and

were viciously attacking every Negro who did not agree with Mr. Washington. It was a charge which I could not support by concrete facts but it was true in the sense that there had been organized at Tuskegee a literary bureau to emphasize Mr. Washington's ideas in the Negro press and to stop the widespread criticism against him. The methods used are common today: distribution of advertising; sending out of special correspondence and distributing other favors; but it seemed to me then that this kind of propaganda was monstrous and dishonest and I resented it. On the other hand, the public expression of this resentment caused many people to think that I was wild and unfair in my statements and beyond that it undoubtedly made it increasingly difficult for Dr. Bumstead to raise funds for Atlanta University. In the fall of 1904 the printing of our conference report was postponed by the trustees until special funds could be secured. I did not at the time see the handwriting on the wall. I did not realize how strong the forces were back of Tuskegee and how they might interfere with my plan of scientific study of the Negro.

My first thought was in order to state our case and honest criticism we needed a journal. I had already helped an A. U. graduate to establish a printing press in Memphis. Out of this might arise a vehicle for both opinion and fact which would help me carry on my scientific work and at the same time be a forum of reform less radical than the Guardian and more rational than the rank and file of Negro papers now so largely arrayed with Tuskegee. I wrote to Jacob Schiff reminding him of having met him in Bar Harbor in 1903. "I want to lay before you a plan which I have and ask you if it is of sufficient interest to you for you to be willing to hear more of it and possibly to assist in its realization. The Negro race in America is today in a critical condition. Only united concerted effort will save us from

being crushed. This union must come as a matter of education and long continued effort. To this end there is needed a high class journal to circulate among the intelligent Negroes, tell them of the deeds of themselves and their neighbors, interpret the news of the world to them and inspire them toward definite ideals. Now we have many small weekly papers and one or two monthlies and none of them fill the great need I have outlined. I want to establish therefore for the nine million American Negroes and eventually for the whole Negro world a monthly journal."

Mr. Schiff wrote back courteously saying: "Your plans to establish a high class journal to circulate among the intelligent Negroes is in itself interesting and on its face has my sympathy. But before I could decide whether I can become of advantage in carrying your plans into effect, I would wish to advise with men whose opinion in such a matter I consider of much value.

Nothing came of this because, as I might have known most of Mr. Schiff's friends were strong and sincere advocates of Tuskegee. Then came a new and surprising turn to the whole situation which in the end quite changed my life. In the early summer of 1905 Mr. Washington went to Boston and arranged to speak in a colored church to colored people, a thing which he did not often do in the North. Trotter and Forbes, editors of the Guardian determined to heckle him and make him answer certain questions with regard to his attitude toward voting and education. William H. Lewis, a lawyer whom I had introduced to Mr. Washington, had charge of the meeting and the result was a disturbance magnified by the newspapers into a riot which resulted in the arrest of Mr. Trotter and eventually he served a term in jail. Later I explained to Mr. George Foster Peabody in answer to a query, my own connection with and

attitude toward this occurrence. "I did not arrive in Boston until after the Zion Church disturbance. Before seeing the account in the morning papers, I had no inkling or suspicion in any way of the matter. I did not know Mr. Washington was in Boston or intending to go there as I had just left him at Tuskegee. I had had no correspondence with Mr. Trotter for six months save in regard to a boarding place. When I arrived in Boston and heard of the meeting I told Mr. Trotter and Mr. Forbes in plain terms my decided disapproval of the unfortunate occurrence and my conviction that it would do harm." Although I was unable at that time to defend Mr. Washington's position as I once had, I nevertheless took occasion to address a meeting of men at Mr. Trotter's home and remind them of the vast difference between criticizing Mr. Washington's policy and attacking him personally. Nevertheless, brought into close contact with Mr. Trotter for the first time my admiration for his unselfishness, pureness of heart and indomitable energy even when misguided, grew."

Trotter was headstrong but sincere. He must not be made a martyr.

However, when Mr. Trotter was jailed my indignation overflowed. I sent out from Atlanta in June, 1905, "a call to a few selected persons 'for organized determination and aggresive action on the part of men who believe in Negro freedom and growth.' I propose a conference during that summer 'to oppose firmly present methods of strangling honest criticism, to organize intelligent and honest Negroes, and to support organs of news and public opinion." Fifty-nine men from seventeen different states signed a Call for a meeting near Buffalo, New York, during the week of July 9, 1905. I went to Buffalo and hired a little hotel on the Canada side of the river at Fort Erie and waited for the men to attend the meeting called for July 11, 12, 13 and 14. If sufficient men had not come to pay for the hotel, I should

certainly have been in bankruptcy and perhaps in jail; but as a matter of fact, twenty-nine men, representing fourteen states, came. The Niagara Movement was organized January 31, 1906, and was incorporated in the District of Columbia with the following principles:

1. Freedom of speech and criticism.
2. Unfettered and unsubsidized press.
3. Manhood suffrage.
4. The abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and color.
5. The recognition of the principles of human brotherhood as a practical present creed.
6. The recognition of the highest and best human training as the monopoly of no class or race.
7. A belief in the dignity of labor.
8. United effort to realize these ideals under wise and courageous leadership."

The Niagara Movement created furor and the most disconcerting criticism. I was accused of acting from motives of envy of a great leader and being ashamed of the fact that I was a member of the Negro race. The leading weekly of the land, The New York Outlook, pilloried me with scathing articles and the Negro weeklies, with few exceptions, went mad. But the movement went forward. The next year, 1906, instead of meeting in secret we met publicly at Harper's Ferry, the scene of John Brown's raid and had, in significance if not numbers, one of the greatest meetings that American Negroes have ever held. We made pilgrimage at dawn barefooted to the scene of Brown's martyrdom and we talked some of the plainest English that has been given voice to by Black men in America.

Now the fat was in the fire and my career as a scientist was beginning to be swallowed up in my role as master of propaganda. This was not at all to my liking. I was no natural leader of men. I could not slap people on the back and make friends of strangers. I could not easily break down an inherited reserve and a cold, biting, critical streak. Nevertheless, having put my hand to the plow I could not turn back. The Niagara movement met with less momentum in Boston in 1907 and in Oberlin in 1908 and then practically became merged into a new and enveloping movement which started with a conference in 1909 and was incorporated as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1911.

While now I was being swept on in this current to a new and different mode of expression, I continued to cling to my scientific work. In 1906, I outlined that work to Andrew Carnegie hoping to interest him in the Atlanta Conferences and reminding him that I had been presented to him and Carl Schurz some years before. I said: "I enclose herewith a report on Negro Crime, which is the ninth annual report published by the conference. The object of this Conference is the systematic and exhaustive study of the American Negro, in order that in the future philanthropists and others who seek to solve this serious set of problems may have before them a carefully gathered body of scientifically arranged facts to guide them.

"The studies mentioned above have been widely used; they are in all the large libraries of the world including the British Museum, the Library of Congress, Harvard University, etc. They have been commended by periodicals like the Outlook, The Nation, The London Times, the Spectator, and the Manchester Guardian; they have been favorably spoken of by men like G. Stanley Hall, Walter F. Willcox, Talcot Williams, and most of the teachers of economics and sociology in American Colleges." There was no response but still I pushed on.

I approached the United States Commissioner of Labor in 1906 with proposal for a study of Lowndes County, Alabama. I was going to take a single county of a former slave state with a large majority of Negroes and make a social and economic study from the earliest times where documents were available, down to the present; supplemented by studies of official records and a house to house individual canvas. I plied Commissioner Neill with plans and specifications until at last he authorized the study. Helped by Monroe Work now at Tuskegee Institute and R. R. Wright now a bishop of the A. M. E. Church and a dozen or more local employees I settled at the Calhoun School and began the study. It was carried on with all sorts of difficulties including the greeting of my agents with shot-guns in certain parts of the county; but it was eventually finished. The difficult schedules were tabulated and I think myself that it was the most complete study of the sort that has ever been made. It included maps of the chronological division of the land; studies of the distribution of labor; investigations of the relation of landlord and tenant; a review of the political organization and of the family life and distribution of the population. I went to Washington and I spent some weeks there revising and perfecting it. It was accepted by the government and $2,000 paid for it, most of which went back to Atlanta University in repayment of funds which it had kindly furnished me to carry on the work. But the study was not published. I finally approached the bureau and tried to find out when it would be published and was told that the bureau had decided not to publish the manuscript since it "touched on political matters". I was astonished and disappointed but after a year I went back to them again and asked if they would allow me to have the manuscript published since they were not going to use it. They told me it had been destroyed.

And to complete this strange picture while I was down in Lowndes County finishing this study there came the news of the Atlanta riot. I took the next train for Atlanta and my family. On the way I wrote the Litany of Atlanta.

Meantime I had started in Memphis with the help of two graduates of Atlanta University the little printing shop that I have mentioned and from this was published a weekly paper called The Moon beginning in 1906. The Moon was in some sort precursor of the Crisis. It was published for a year in Memphis and then the printing office given up and in 1907 in conjunction with two friends in Washington there was issued a minature monthly called the Horizon. The Horizon was published from 1907 to 1910 and in the fall of 1910 the Crisis was born.

And so my work in Atlanta and my dream of the settlement of the Negro problem by science faded. I began to be acutely conscious of the difficulty which my attitudes and beliefs were making for Atlanta University. I thought that my withdrawal would unloose funds from the General Education Board and other sources which would make the University secure and perhaps even permit the carrying on of the conference in other hands. For a while I thought of withdrawing in 1906 when I was offered the position of assistant superintendent of schools of Washington, D. C. But even there fear of my "radicalism" took the matter up even to President Theodore Roosevelt and the offer while never withdrawn was not pressed. Finally after the conference of 1909 in New York the new organization of The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was formed and I was asked to come as Director of Publications and Research. ~~with the idea that something of my research work was to go on and thus the other idea, that my activities would be so held in check that the Association would not develop as an organ of attack upon Tuskegee.~~

The Fifth Decade - Editor - 1908-1918 - 40-50 years of age.- The span of my life from 1908-1918 is chiefly the story of the Crisis Magazine under my editorship but it had also an astonishing variety of subsidiary interests and activities.

Beginning a little before this period I continued my visits to Europe. I went in 1900 and again by the grace of an English friend in 1907; I took part in the great Races Congress in 1911 and went again in December, 1918, just after the Armistice. This close touch with Europe and European developments had much to do with my understanding of social problems and trends of the world. I followed the development of English imperialism and the forces in England, France, Italy and Germany which resulted in the Balkan War, the World War and eventually the Russian Revolution. In the United States I studied the political developments from the free silver controversy led by Bryan, through the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and Taft and especially the Bull Moose campaign and the election of Wilson.

I kept on writing and publishing not with as much concentration of effort as I ought to have, but with some effectiveness. In 1907 appeared "The Negro in the South" - from lecturers, two by myself and two by Mr. Washington. In 1909 I published "John Brown", one of the best written of my books, but one which arouse unfortunate ~~antagonism~~ jealousy. In 1915 I published my little volume on "The Negro". To this must be added part of a bulletin in the twelfth census and several magazine articles; and, of course, eight years of the Crisis.

I was active in the organization of the new National Association for the Advancement of Colored People but carefully avoided the temptation of becoming its executive head. I still clung to my idea of investigation in

lines which would temper and guide my exposition of a racial philosophy and for that reason I determined from the beginning to make my work of the Association not that of executive secretary but editor of an official organ to be established. There was opposition to this from the first. First of all, organs of this sort were known to be usually costly and the organization had no money. Secondly, organs were of doubtful efficiency. My good friend, Albert E. Pillsbury, Attorney-General of Massachusetts, wrote and said feelingly: "If you have not decided upon a periodical for heaven's sake don't. They are as numerous as flies" and he meant to conclude about as useful. I came to New York to occupy a bare office; ~~occupied~~ associated with a treasurer who said frankly, "I don't know who is going to pay your salary. I have no money;" with a secretary who was scared of her job and jealous of her power; and with a generally critical if not hostile public which expected the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to launch upon a bitter attack upon Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee.

My first job was to get the Crisis going and arriving in August I finally got the first copy off the press in November, 1910. It came at the psychological moment and its success was phenomenal. From the one thousand which I ventured to publish first it went up a thousand a month until by 1918 (due, of course, to special circumstances) we published and sold over a hundred thousand copies.

With this organ of propaganda and defense we were able to organize one of the most effective assaults of liberalism upon reaction that the modern world has seen. We secured extraordinary helpers: great lawyers like Moorfield Storey and Louis Marshall; earnest liberals like Villard, Milholland, John Haynes Holmes, Mary Ovington, Jane Addams, the Spingarns,

Charles Edward Russell and William English Walling. We gained a series of court victories before the highest courts of the land which perhaps never have been equalled, beginning with the overthrow of the vicious Grandfather Clauses in 1915 and the breaking of the backbone of segregation in 1917. Above all we could, through the Crisis and our officers, our secretaries and friends, place consistently and continuously before the country a clear-cut statement of the legitimate aims of the American Negro and the facts concerning his condition. We organized his political power and made it ~~effective~~ felt and we started a campaign against lynching and mob law which was the most effective ever organized and ~~eventually brought~~ at long last seemed to bring the end of the evil in sight.

With these efforts came other activities. I lectured widely in nearly every state in the Union. ~~I promoted literature and art through pageants, a little theatre movement and prizes offered by the Crisis.~~ I furnished information to people everywhere on all sorts of subjects closely and remotely connected with race problems, and carried on from time to time studies and investigations. ~~On the whole I should criticize this period of my life for too great dissipation of energy; too little concentration upon main objectives; and yet I suppose that under the circumstances this was impossible.~~ I was held more responsible for the success of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People than I cared to confess to myself; than most other people wanted to admit. I had to spread myself over a whole field of activities when I should have done great deal better work if I could have confined myself to writing and study.

The development of the Crisis where most of my writing was done was interesting and difficult. It was impaired first and last by lack of trained business management. For the most part I was my own business manager which

meant the loss of much time in learning and details. Then there was the delicate matter of policy; of how far I should express my own ideas and reactions in the Crisis or the studied judgment of the organization. From first to last I thought strongly, and as I still think rightly, to make the opinion expressed in the Crisis a personal opinion; because as I argued, no organization can express definite and clear cut opinions; so far as this organization comes to conclusions it states them in its annual resolutions but the Crisis states openly the opinion of its editor so long as that opinion is in general agreement with that of the organization.

This of course was a dangerous and delicate matter bound eventually to break down in case there was any considerable divergence of opinion between the organization and editor. It was perhaps rather unusual that for two decades the two lines of thinking ran so largely together. If on the other hand the Crisis had not been in a sense a personal organ and the expression of myself, it could not possibly have attained its popularity and effectiveness. It would have been the dry kind of organ that so many societies support for purposes of reference and not for reading. It took, on the part of the organization, a great deal of patience and faith to allow me the latitude that they did for so many years; and on the other hand I was enabled to lay down for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a clear, strong and distinct body of doctrine that could not have been built up by majority vote. It was probably inevitable that in the end a distinct and clear cut difference of opinion on majority policies should lead to the dissolution of this interesting partnership.

One of the first difficulties that the National Association met was the case of its attitude toward Mr. Washington. I carefully tried to avoid

any exaggeration of differences of thought; but to discuss the Negro question in 1910 was to discuss Booker T. Washington and almost before we were conscious of the inevitable trends we were challenged from Europe. Mr. Washington was in Europe in 1910 and made some speeches in England in his usual conciliatory lines. John Milholland who had been so dominant in the organization of the National Association immediately wrote me and said that American Negroes must combat the idea that they were satisfied with conditions. I, therefore, wrote an appeal to England and Europe.

"If Mr. Booker T. Washington, or any other person, is giving the impression abroad that the Negro problem in America is in process of satisfactory solution, he is giving an impression which is not true. We say this without personal bitterness toward Mr. Washington. He is a distinguished American and has a perfect right to his opinions. But we are compelled to point out that Mr. Washington's large financial responsibilities have made him dependent on the rich charitable public and that, for this reasons, he has for years been compelled to tell, not the whole truth, but that part of it which certain powerful interests in America wish to appear as the whole truth. In flat contradition, however, to the pleasant pictures thus pointed out, let us not forget that the consensus of opinion among eminent European scholars who know the race problem in America from De Tocqueville down to Von Halle, De Laveleys, Archer and Johnston, is that it forms the gravest of American problems. We Black men who live and suffer under present conditions, and who have no reason, and refuse to accept reasons, for silence, can substantiate this unanimous testimony."

In furtherance of this statement and in anticipation of the meeting of the Races Congress Mr. Milholland arranged that I should go early to the

conference and make some addresses. The plan simmered down to an proposed address before the Lyceum Club, the leading woman's group of London and there it ran against the opposition of an American woman who wrote: "I think there is serious objection to entertaining Dr. DuBois at the Lyceum." The result was a rather acrimonious controversy, in which I tried gently to withdraw but was unable to and finally led by Her Highness the Ranee of Sarawak and Dr. Etta Sayre a luncheon was held at the Lyceum Club with a bishop and two countesses and several knights and ladies and with Maurice Hewlett and Sir Harry Johnston.

The Races Congress would have marked an epoch in the racial history of the world if it had not been for the World War. As it was, it was a great and inspiring occasion bringing together representatives of numerous ethnic and cultural groups and bringing new and frank conceptions of scientific bases of racial and social relations of people. I had a chance twice to address the Congress and to write one of the two poems which greeted the assembly.

Returning to the United States I was plunged into the Bull Moose campaign. I thought I saw a splendid chance for a third party movement on a broad platform of votes for Negroes and industrial democracy. Sitting in the office of the Crisis I wrote out a proposed plank for the Progressives to adopt at their Chicago meeting: "The Progressive party recognizes that distinctions of race or class in political life have no place in a democracy. Especially does the party realize that a group of 10,000,000 people who have in a generation changed from a slave to a free labor system, re-established family life, accumulated $1,000,000,000 of real property, including 20,000,000 acres of land, and reduced their illiteracy from 80 to 30 per cent., deserve

and must have justice, opportunity and a voice in their own government. The party, therefore, demands for the American of Negro descent the repeal of unfair discriminatory laws and the right to vote on the same terms on which other citizens vote."

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This was taken to Chicago by Joel E. Spingarn and advocated by two other directors of the Association, Dr. Henry Moskowitz and Jane Addams. They worked in vain for its adoption. Theodore Roosevelt would have none of it. He told Mr. Spingarn frankly that he should be "careful of that man DuBois" who was in Roosevelt's opinion a dangerous person. The Bull Moose Convention not only refused to adopt a plank anything like this but refused to seat most of the colored delegates; elected a Southern "lily white" to run on the ticket with Mr. Roosevelt and finally succeeded in making Woodrow Wilson president of the United States.

Immediately Bishop Walters and myself conceived the idea that Mr. Wilson might be approachable. I proposed to throw the weight of the Crisis against Roosevelt and Taft and for Wilson, and Bishop Walters went to see him. He secured from Woodrow Wilson a categorical expression over his signature "of his earnest wish to see justice done the colored people in every matter; and not more grudging justice, but justice executed with liberality and cordial good feeling". "I want to assure them that should I become President of the United States they may count upon me for absolute fair dealing, for everything by which I could assist in advancing the interests of their race in the United States." In this effort to divide the Negro vote which was successful to an unusual degree, we were cruelly disappointed when the democratic Congress met. There was the greatest flood of discriminatory bills

both in Congress and among the states that has probably ever been introduced since the Civil War. Only united and determined effort defeated bills against intermarriage and for other discriminations in eight states and while most of the proposed legislation in Congress was kept from the statute books, the administration carried out a segregation in the various departments which we had to fight for years and vestiges of which even remain today.

In other respects our lines were cast in difficult places. The Socialists began to consider the color question and to discriminate against the membership of colored people in the South, lest whites should not be attracted. Mr. Villard tried to get the President to appoint a National Race Commission to be privately financed to the extent of $50,000 but nothing could be done; and suddenly war and revolution struck the world: the Chinese Revolution in 1912; the Balkan War in 1913 and finally in 1914 the World War.

In that very year the National Council of Social Agencies met in Memphis without daring to discuss the color question but Spingarn and I went down to Memphis and held open meetings advertising "for all who dared hear the truth." We had an interesting time. Finally the World War touched America; with it and in anticipation of it came a sudden increasing of lynching including the horrible burning at Dyersburg; there ran renewed efforts at segregation; the refusal to let Negroes volunteer; the whole extraordinary difficulties of the draft and the question of Negro officers. The Association itself hesitated. It did not want openly to advocate segregation but Spingarn, chairman of the board of the Crisis, went ahead and the students of Howard and other schools backed our efforts. We finally succeeded in arranging for an officers camp at Des Moines where seven hundred officers were eventually given commissions. At the same time there was the increased migration of Negroes

This success and the death of Booker T. Washington in 1915 led to the first Amenia Conference and united the American Negro in one program of advance.

to the North, the riots at East St. Louis and the rebellion of Negro soliders at Houston; the shelving of Colonel Young and the alleged German plots. It ~~was in 1918 that I was fifty years of age and had my first experience of birthday celebration.~~ The Crisis had reached a monthly circulation of 68,000 and during the year I had a little dinner with Glendowen Evans, Margaret DeLand and William James.

30-3-43

The Sixth Decade - Editor and Traveler - 1918-1928 - 50-60 years of age.- I review the sixth decade of my life with some misgivings and difficulties of judgment. It was in many respects a culmination and yet again it represented as it seems to me now, a vast dissipation of energy which might to better purpose have been concentrated in fewer lines. I am not altogether sure of this. There were so many things to do; so many paths that presented themselves as duties which must be followed that I was perhaps more or less helpless in the grasp of forces mightier than my will. Because after all the decade following the War was a time of tremendous crises and changes and no single life could escape the paradox and confusion to which all life, and especially life in culture lands, was subjected.

My career had at this time a certain sense of drama. I had never before seen Theodore Roosevelt but in November, 1918, I presided at a meeting in Carnegie Hall where he made his last public speech, appearing together with Irwin Cobb and a representative of the French High Commission. I remember my introduction "I have the honor to present Theodore Roosevelt." Then on my fiftieth birthday there was a public celebration and many kindly messages. John Hope wrote: "How glad I am that your fiftieth birthday is going to be such a happy one because you can look back on so much good work done. But not the good work alone. What you may look back upon with greatest comfort is good intention."

And Albert Bushnell Hart wrote a word which one quotes with a certain diffidence: "Out of his fifty years of life I have followed a good thirty - and have counted him always among the ablest and keenest of our teacher-scholars, an American who viewed his country broadly."

~~And~~ Finally I prized most highly the tribute of President Bumstead: "First of all, let me express the keen satisfaction I take in having been the one chiefly responsible, perhaps, for bringing Doctor DuBois to Atlanta University." "I cannot but smile when I think of the objections and misgivings of some of our trustees and other friends when he came." "We wanted a professor of sociology with special reference to investigating conditions concerning the Negro; and I said that Doctor DuBois was the one man, white or black, far and away best fitted for the position. But how about his religion - he's studied in Germany - perhaps if you scratch him, you'll find an agnostic. Now it is true that Atlanta University has always had a pronounced religious, though undenominational, life - a life ... ~~inherited from the New England people represented by its founders; and it has always looked to its teachers, so far as possible, to help to maintain it~~ - so I must needs have some assurances on this point. But, as Doctor DuBois will remember, they were not very easy to get. He seemed to be one of those persons who, when asked about their religion, reply that they "have none to speak of". But though reluctant to speak of his religion or to say what he would do at Atlanta, I observed that at the time of my interview with him he was living with his newly wedded bride in the centre of the Negro slums of Philadelphia, doing the beneficent work to which Provost Harrison had called him, and I thought there were some indications of genuine religion in that fact."

"So, in spite of objections and misgivings, Doctor DuBois came to Atlanta University, and we held him there for thirteen years notwithstanding several offers to go elsewhere and get double the salary that we could afford to pay him. His work became a memorable part of the history of the Institution."

36-3-45

The most important work of the decade as I now look back upon it was my travel. Before 1918 I had made three trips to Europe; but now between 1918 and 1928 I made four trips of extraordinary meaning: to France directly after the close of the war and during the Congress of Versailles; to England, Belgium, France and Geneva in the earliest days of the League of Nations; to Spain, Portugal and Africa in 1923 and 1924; and to Germany, Russia, and Constantinople in 1927. I could scarcely have encompassed a more vital part of the modern world picture than in these stirring journeys. They gave me a depth of knowledge and a breadth of view which was of incalculable value for realizing and judging modern conditions, and above all the problem of race in America.

But this was only part of my work: in the United States I was still fighting the battle of liberalism against race prejudice; trying to adjust war and post-war problems to the questions of racial justice; trying to show from the injustices of war time what the new vision must encompass; fighting mobs and lynchings; encouraging Negro migration; helping women suffrage; encouraging the new rush of young blacks to college; watching and explaining the political situation and traveling and lecturing thousands of miles and in hundreds of centers. In addition to this I was encouraging the writing of others and trying to help develop Negro art and literature. Beside editing the Crisis continuously I published ~~The Negro in 1915~~; ~~Dark Water~~ "Darkwater" in 1920;

The Gift of Black Folk in 1924; the article on Georgia "In These United States" in 1924, and the concluding chapter in The New Negro in 1925 beside a number of magazine articles. Most of the young writers who began what was called the renaissance of Negro literature in the twenties, began from their first publication in the Crisis magazine.

Above all in these days I made two efforts toward which I look back with infinite satisfaction: the two year attempt in the Brownie's book to furnish a little magazine for Negro children in which my efforts were ably seconded by Augustus Dill and Jessie Fausett; and most especially my single handed production of the pageant "The Star of Ethiopia". The pageant was an attempt to put into dramatic form for the benefit of large masses of people, a history of the Negro race. It was first attempted in the New York celebration of Emancipation in 1913; it was repeated with magnificent and breath-taking success in Washington with 1200 participants; it was given again in Philadelphia in 1916; and in Los Angeles in 1924.

Finally in New York I attempted a little theatre movement which went far enough to secure for our little group ~~helped by the acting of Ira Reid~~ second prize in an international competition. In 1918 I was asked rather suddenly by the N. A. A. C. P. to go to Europe right after the Armistice, to investigate the treatment of Negro soldiers and keep the record straight; and then ~~secondly~~ at the behest of a group of American Negroes I considered that the interests of Africa ought to be represented during the peace efforts following the war. With infinite difficulty and through the cooperation of Blaise Diagne the French Deputy from Senegal I succeeded in gathering in February, 1919, at the Grand Hotel in Paris a Pan-African congress of fifty-seven delegates including sixteen American Negroes, twenty West

Indians and twelve Africans. Both France, Belgium and Portugal were represented by officials. This was to my mind but a beginning and in 1921 I returned and held a Second Pan-African Congress in London, Brussels and Paris from August 28 to September 6. There were 115 accredited delegates from twenty-six different groups including thirty-five from the United States, thirty-nine from Africa and the rest from the West Indies and Europe. Among the speakers were Sir Sidney now Lord Olivier; Florence Kelly; Bishop Burse; Paul Otlet often called the father of the League of Nations; Senator La Fontaine of Belgium; Dr. Vitellian, former physician of Menelik of Abyssinia; General Sorolas; Blaise Diagne; Norman Leys and others. The attention which the congress evoked all over Europe was astonishing. It was discussed in the London Times, Observer and Daily Graphic; in the Paris Petit Parisian, Matin and Temps; in the Manchester Guardian and in practically all the daily papers of Belgium. It led to heated debate in Brussels touching the rights of these delegates to discuss the relation of colonies and it emphasized in the minds of all of us the consequent importance of such discussions.

Two of us visited the League of Nations and the International Labor Office with petitions and suggestions. In 1923 a third Pan African Congress, less broadly representative than the second, but nevertheless of some importance was held in London, Paris and Lisbon; and thence I went to Africa and for the first time saw the homeland of the black race.

It was the time when the U. S. had disappointed Liberia by not granting her a promised loan and a gesture of good will was in order. At the suggestion of William H. Lewis I was therefore designated by cable as special minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to represent President Coolidge at the inauguration of President King. In the presence of the diplomatic and consular representatives of England, France, Germany, Spain, Belgium,

Holland and Panama I had the honor to tell the President of Liberia: "Your Excellency:. . . I am sure that in this special mark of the President's favor, he has had in mind the wishes and hopes of Negro Americans. He knows how proud they are of the hundred years of independence which you have maintained by force of arms and by brawn and brain upon the edge of this might continent; he knows that in the great battle against color caste in America; the ability of Negroes to rule in Africa has been and ever will be a great and encouraging reinforcement."

At the London meeting of the third Pan African Congress, Harold Laski, H. G. Wells, and Sir Sidney Olivier spoke, and Ramsey MacDonald had promised to speak to us but was hindered by the sudden opening of the campaign which eventually made him prime minister of England. Among other efforts, at this time we held conferences with members of the Labor Party of England at which Mrs. Sidney Webb, Mr. Cleynes and others were present. We emphasized the importance of labor solidarity between white and black labor in England, America and elsewhere. In Portugal our meeting was attended by cabinet ministers and deputies and though small was of great interest.

To return again to the fight in the United States, there arose early in this decade the case of Marcus Garvey. I heard of him first when I was in Jamaica in 1915 when he sent a letter "presenting his compliments" and giving me "a hearty welcome to Jamaica, on the part of the United Improvement and Conservation Association". Later he came to the United States. In his case, as in the case of others, I have repeatedly been accused of enmity and jealously, which have been so far from my thought that the accusations have been a rather bitter experience. In 1920 when his movement was beginning to grow in America I said in the Crisis that he was "an extraordinary

leader of men" and declared that he had "with singular success capitalized and made vocal the great and long suffering grievances and spirit of protest among the West Indian peasantry." On the other hand, I noted his difficulties of temperament and training, inability to get on with his fellow workers and denied categorically that I had ever interferred in any way with his work. Later when he began to collect money for his steamship I characterized him as a sincere and hard working idealist but called his methods bombastic, wasteful, illogical and almost illegal and begged his friends not to allow him foolishly to overwhelm with bankruptcy and disaster one of the most interesting spiritual movements of the modern world. But he went ahead, wasted his money, got in trouble with the authorities and was deported. As I said at the time: "When Garvey was sent to Atlanta, no word or action of ours accomplished the result. His release and deportation was a matter of law which no deed or wish of ours influenced in the slightest degree. We have today, no enmity against Marcus Garvey. He has a great and worthy dream. We wish him well. He is free; he has a following; he still has a chance to carry on his work in his own home and among his own people and to accomplish some of his ideas. Let him do it. We will be the first to applaud any success that he may have."

I felt for a moment during the war that I could be without reservation a patriotic American. The government was making sincere efforts to meet our demands. It had commissioned over seven hundred Negro officers; I had had a personal interview with Newton Baker, Secretary of War, and he had made categorical promises; Wilson had spoken out against lynching; and I had myself been offered a captaincy in the Intelligence Service, afterwards to be sure rather incontinently withdrawn as the higher command realized

just who I was. Nevertheless, I tried to stand by the country and wrote the widely discussed editorial "Close Ranks" in which I said to the Negroes: Forget your grievances for the moment and stand by your country.

I am not sure that I was right but certainly my intentions were. I did not believe in war, but I thought that in a fight with America against militarism and for democracy we would be fighting for the emancipation of the Negro race. With the Armistice came disillusion. I saw the mud and dirt of the trenches; I heard from the mouths of soldiers the kind of treatment that black men got in the American army; I was convinced and said that American white officers fought more valiantly against Negroes within our ranks than they did against the Germans. I still believe this was largely true. I collected some astonishing documents of systematic slander and attack upon Negroes and demands upon the French for insulting attitudes toward them, and when I published these documents in America the government started to interfere by refusing the Crisis mailing facilities; then realizing that this was an admission of guilt they quickly withdrew their prohibition.

I was especially upset by the mobs and lynchings during this time: by that extraordinary upheaval wherein for several hours black men fighting against a mob practically held the city of Washington in their hands; then the horrible riot and murders in Chicago. We fought back through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the columns of the Crisis, through lectures and articles with every force at hand. Mary Talbert started the Anti-Lynching Crusaders and with her help and that of the secretary, James Weldon Johnson, we raised a defense funds of $70,000 and put the Dyer Lynch Bill through the House of Representatives and on to the floor of the Senate. It was not until years after that I knew what

killed that anti-lynching bill. It was a bargain between the South and the West by which lynching was permitted on condition that the Japanese were excluded.

Court cases kept pressing upon us: there were the Elaine riots and the Arkansas cases; there was the Sweet case in Detroit and equally significant to my mind, but to few other Negroes the Sacco-Venzetti case in Massachusetts. We continued winning court victories and yet somehow, despite them, we did not seem to be getting far. We added to the Grandfather Case of 1915 and the Segregation Case of 1917 the victories in the Arkansas cases, the white primary case and another segregation case in the high courts, in addition to the eventual freeing of Dr. Sweet and his family. Still injustice prevailed. In the case of the Mississippi flood the Red Cross allowed the Negroes to be treated as slaves and peons, and in Okolona the Episcopal church refused to prosecute a white murderer on its own school grounds. Above all there came disquieting situations among Negro students: a strike at Hampton, disturbed conditions at Wilberforce, turmoil at Howard and an uprising at Fisk which had to end with the deposition of a president. Into this latter battle I had to throw myself; to resurrect and republish the Fisk Herald and to fight until Fisk was free.

It was thus a decade of infinite effort and discouraging turmoil. I suppose it had to be. I suppose that with the best will, it would have been impossible for me to concentrate on a few great lines of creative effort. I had to be a part of the revolution through which the world was going and to feel in my own soul the scars of its battle. Two things made a sort of finale to the decade: the fourth Pan African Congress held in New York in 1927 with Dantes Bellegarde, George Sylvain and other speakers; and there was news of the Congress of British West Africa which began its meetings in

1920 and forced the British government to the greatest step toward democratic method ever taken in black colonies. And finally to my surprise and quite against my best judgment there was given for me upon my return from Africa at the Cafe Saverin in New York, a dinner. Among the speakers were Heyward Broun, Walter Hampden and Mrs. Bethune and tributes were sent by Witter Bynner, Zona Gale and Eugene O'Neil. It was a very beautiful and touching tribute.

Seventh Decade - The Teacher and Writer - 1928-1938 - 60-70 years of age.- Gradually in the last ten years of my life it has dawned upon me with increasing clarity just what the essential change in the world has been since the era of war and depression and how the tactics of those who live for the widest development of men must change accordingly. It is not a matter of change in ideals but of decisive change in the methods by which ideals are to be approximated. As I now look back, I see in the crusade waged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from 1910 to 1930 one of the finest efforts of liberalism to achieve human emancipation; and much was accomplished. But the essential difficulty with liberalism of the twentieth century was not to realize the fundamental change brought about by the world wide organization of work and trade and commerce. Karl Marx had emphasized in the 19th century the overwhelming influence of the economic activities of men upon their thought and action, but it was not until the 20th century that it became clearer and clearer to those who observed and thought, that modern business enterprise organized for private profit was throttling democratic government, choking art and literature and making work and industry a paradox by systematically increasing the number of unemployed and dislocating industry itself by periodic depressions.

During the decade, 1918-1928, the world tried to "recover" from the disaster of the World War. We strove to "restore prosperity", to "get back

to normalcy" and to return to the same sort of world as the one that had just committed suicide. After ten years of confused effort, it became increasingly clear that the disaster was far greater and deeper than most men dreamed, and that not recovery but fundamental change in the very bases of government and civilization faced us. With the world-wide depression, even the dullest began to conceive the size of the disaster that had overwhelmed mankind.

Moreover the words of the prophets who for nearly a century had been warning mankind now began to sound clear: Freedom, that fine dream of the 18th century, had been during the 19th persistently interpreted as license for business enterprise, until it had not only reforged shackles for the human spirit, but actually re-established human slavery, first by transporting labor and then by making world-wide the dominion of transporting capital. Armed rivalry for monopolizing wealth and services had led to commercial imperialism, world war and universal poverty. We were now faced with the enormously difficult task of reconstructing the economic foundations of civilization and building thereon a new heaven and a new earth for the free and creative spirit of man.

The first answer was the practically universal abandonment of democratic control in government and social development for oligarchy. This proved unexpectedly easy because already before the war, democracy was ~~already~~ so widely a form of words and pious belief and not a practical reality. We held to the forms of voting and popular election, but did not believe nor practice the substance. Throughout European culture, government had passed into the hands of industry, and industry was not controlled by democratic methods. When now the realities of the situation were posed to men, two radical solutions were suddenly resorted to: Russian communism and Fascism. They both did away with democracy, and substituted oligarchic control of government and industry of though and action. Communism ~~did this in accordance~~ aimed at eventual democracy and even elimination of the state, but sought this

by
with a dogmatic program, laid down 90 years ago by a great thinker, but largely invalidated by nearly a century of extraordinary social change. Fascism sought to take complete control of the state, ostensibly for the good of all the people, but practically for the good of the dominant classes. Both dictatorships were forced to consolidate their power by force, assassination and mass propaganda of every sort.

All this in the years since the war I had been observing in every part of the world, and I had been trying desperately and unremittingly, to spy out in the Universal gloom a path for the American Negro. One thing I knew and knew well: we could not afford to sit and wait; we must actively and intelligently press forward toward goals consistent with the new ways of a world about to be reborn world. The problem of a minority group in a world torn by old and new national and racial division was of enormous difficulty: it was idle for us simply to repeat the old slogans of democracy in an oligarchic world; no matter how strongly we, with all forward looking thinkers, might envisage a rebirth of democracy, we knew or should know, that at present, our problem was economic rather than political reform; this economic reconstruction was now in progress — amid turmoil and contradiction, beclouded by a thousand irrelevances and bedeviled by every art of selfishness, but nevertheless clearly in progress. My problem was How can American Negroes joing this movement and intelligently reenforce it, for their own good and the good of all men.

In the organization whose leadership I then shared, I saw few allies impressed as I was to an ever increasing degree, as to the immediate necessity of a reorientation of objectives in order to make our original and unshakable ideals realizable. It was a problem not of change of goal but of method. I looked about for allies and looked where man ever looks in such crisis — to Youth. I thought that just as a quarter century earlier, the N. A. A. C. P.

was recruited from clear-eyed and courageous young folk, so to day, a reorganization of our aims could be led by a similar group.

30-3-55

For this reason the Second Amonia Conference was called, seventeen years after the first. The first Amonia conference in 1916, not at a strategic time. It brought together on the beautiful farm of Joel Spingarn, where once John Burroughs had studied and dreamed men and women representing all elements of leadership in the Negro race, together with white friends of prominence and influence. It was an unusually successful effort and there on the old farm and around the dark still lake while there was ware in Europe and unrest in the United States a hundred or more Negroes came together and a half dozen whites with messages from three presidents of the United States and other distinguished persons and we agreed upon a liberal program which included a plea for education, a warning against factionalism, a need for interracial understanding and a forward movement. Our essential agreement on a program of advance was gratifying and epoch-making. But as I now see, we did not then sufficiently appreciate the spade-work which had gone before and which for 10 years had been preparing the minds of Americans, black and white, for a new deal in race relations and renewed effort toward racial equality.

In 1933, the situation was different. We met at the beginning rather than at the end of a period of preparatory discussion. We were still mentally whirling in a sea of inconclusive world discussion. We could not really reach agreement as a group, because so many of us as individuals had not made up our minds on the essentials of coming social change. The attendance was sifted--perhaps too much so; outside of four of the Elder Statesmen, the median age was thirty--persons just out of college, their life work begun

but not settled. They were teachers, social workers, professional men and two artisans. The discussion was indeterminate and the resolutions contradictory; it was agreed that "The primary problem is economic" but the conclusion was that this problem could not be approached from the point of view of Race, but only from that of a united group of laborers cutting across racial lines. This was of course the intrusion of communisitic dogma--idoally right, and practically unworkable. If the workers of the world would unite in unselfish cooperation to uplift the laboring mass, the millenium would be in sight. But we cannot expect of the age-long under-privileged worker, that which the educated and advanced have not envisaged; namely, the ignoring of race prejudice at just the era when it is being artificially stimulated by every human device.

Our program then must begin at home. Whatever just objection there be to racial efforts in a day when biologic races have been proven a myth, the reality of cultural groups like the American Negro, whether called "races" or what not, not only must be admitted but used as units of social uplift. I began then, despite the fact that the most courageous of the Negro youth seemed rushing down steep places into the sea of communistic dogma, without stopping to ask how far this dogma applied to our situation --I began advocating a program of economic organization within the Negro group, designed to prepare us for effective citizenship in the new industrial democracy which the world is slowly but surely approaching.

No sooner had I come to this conclusiong than I knew that I was out of touch with my organization and that the question of leaving it was only a matter of time. This was no easy decision; to give up the Crisis was like giving up a child; to leave the National Association was leaving the friends of a quarter of a century. But on the other hand staying meant silence and

a repudiation of what I was thinking and planning. My cutting away, therefore, from this work did not conform to any of the ordinary patterns. A good many of my friends and most onlookers are still puzzled. They tried to classify this break of ties as a question of dismissal, of quarrel, or incompatability of age and youth, or other classifications of the sort. It was none of these. I could have stayed with the National Association to the end of my working days or at least as long as it continued to exist. There was no greater friction within its organization than is inevitable to every human machine; but there was a clear difference of point of view. The Association in the matter of segregation emphasized a part of its program more than it emphasized before. We had recognized and used segregation in the matter of schools and colleges, in matter of religion, in the matter of the officers' camp; but we had fought its further spread, ~~then advocated as the next best thing~~. At this point I came advocating a new segregation in economic lines; in precisely the lines of business and industry whither the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was not prepared to go. It was not an absolute difference of principle, but it was a grave difference of further procedure, and therefore I gave up my connection with the Association saying: "In thirty-five years of public service my contribution to the settlement of the Negro problem has been mainly candid criticism based on a careful effort to know the facts. I have not always been right, but I have been sincere, and I am unwilling at this late day to be limited in the expression of my honest opinions in the way in which the Board proposes. . . . I am, therefore, resigning from my position as Director of Publications and Research, Editor of the Crisis, member of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,

and member of the Spingarn Medal Committee, - this resignation to take effect immediately." The Association was good enough to express in return appreciation of the work I had done while associated with it.

In the meantime I had already been turning to work which was in a sense a renewal of my early work and research from 1908-1918. Already as early as 1909 I had planned an Encyclopaedia of the Negro, had secured on my board of advisors Flinders Petrie, Sir Harry Johnston, Giusseppi Sergi, Dr. J. Deniker, William James and Franz Boas; and on my proposed board of editors I had practically all the leading Negroes of the United States who were inclined toward research but my change to New York and the work of starting the Crisis and then the World War put this quite out of my mind. The project was reviewed by the Phelps Stokes Funds and today, backed by anthropologists all over the world, we are seeking a quarter of a million dollars to realize this dream. On the other hand was my interest in Reconstruction which had begun in 1910 was renewed. In that year I had read a paper on "Reconstruction and its Benefits" before the American Historical Association. At the suggestion of the president, Albert Bushnell Hart, and others like Dunning of Columbia this paper was published. Finally in 1932 I asked the Rosenwald Fund to give me funds by which I could finish it. They did and the book Black Reconstruction in America was published in 1935.

By that time I was teaching at Atlanta University. There again I was carrying out the thread of a long dream. Back as early as 1905 I had proposed to the several colored colleges of Atlanta the beginning of efforts toward uniting those various institutions into one university. We actually had a meeting in Rockefeller Hall but Miss Packard was definitely opposed.

She said crisply that if her head was going to be taken off she would prefer to bite it off herself. I turned then in 1909 to President Hope and we worked out an interchange of lectures. He wrote me February 16, 1910 "I hope and believe this is the beginning of new and larger things in an educational way among our Colored institutions." and later April 21, 1910 he added: "I feel a downright enthusiasm over the beginning that our two schools made this year and hope that, now that we have made a start and have some slight idea of what can be accomplished, the two schools may next year do larger things".

John Hope and I had long been intimate and sympathetic friends and in the earlier part of this same year he had written me quite frankly a letter which I can now without betraying confidence quote:

"My impression is that friendship - not acquaintanceship or perfunctory intercourse but real friendship - is based not so much on agreement in opinion and policies and methods but upon downright confidence, upon simple faith, no matter what the view or appearances. You and I for nearly ten years have been friends. . . . You may remember that in the early and bitterly misunderstood efforts of the Niagara Movement, I was the only college president that ventured to attend the Harper's Ferry meeting to take part in its deliberations. You may remember, too, that while some may have answered the call to that seemingly radical meeting in New York last May, I was the only president, colored or white, of our colleges that took part in the deliberations of that meeting. I cite this to show that I have dared to live up to my views even when they threw me in the midst of the most radical. Furthermore, every man on our faculty does the same and will as long as I am head of the institution. . . . I write to ask you whether you have me in your heart - not on your calling list or your mailing list but in your heart - on your list of friends."

Years before I had resigned from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Hope had offered me a position in Atlanta University whenever I might wish to come and when the actual consolidation of these schools took place he repeated the offer at various times. So that finally when the break came I returned to the renowned Atlanta University to carry out my independent lines of though and express them in such writing and teaching as I might wish. In 1936, I seemed confirmed in the wisdom of my way by the panorama of the world which swept before me, in London and Paris, Berlin and Vienna; Moscow and Muksden; Peiping and Shanghai, Kyoto and Tokyo; and heavenly Hawaii.

Finally I suppose upon a seventieth birthday one is presumed to have accumulated enough wisdom on the art of living to leave a wise word. There is not much that I feel moved to say; that little is this: I am especially glad of the divinte gift of laughter; it has made the world human and lovable, despite all its pain and wrong. I am glad that the partial Puritanism of my upbringing, has never made me afraid of life. I have lived completely, testing every normal appetite, feasting on sunset, sea and hill, and enjoying wine, women and song. I have seen the face of beauty from the Grand Canyon to Capri, from the Alps to Lake Baikal; from the African bush to the Venus of Milo. Perhaps above all I am proud of a straightforward clearness of reason, in part a gift of the gods, but also to no little degree due to scientific training and inner discipline. By means of this I have met life face to face, I have loved a fight, and I have realized that the main fact of life is age and death.

This makes it the more incomprehensible for me to see persons quite panic stricken at the approach of their thirtieth birthday and prepared for

dissolution at forty. Few of my friends have celebrated their fiftieth birthdays, and near none their sixtieth. Of course one sees some reasons: the disappointment at meagre accomplishment which all to some extent must share; the haunting shadow of possible physical decline; the fear of death. I have been fortunate in having health and wise in keeping it. I have never shared what seems to me the essentially childish desire to live forever. Life has its pain and evil -- its bitter disappointments; but in healthful length of days there is triumphal fulness of experience and infinite joy in seeing the most interesting of continued stories unfold. Not eternity but time is for the living:

"Mein Vermaechtniss, mein Vermaechtniss,
"Wie herrlich weit und breit!
"Die Zeit ist mein Vermaechtniss--
"Mein Acker ist die Zeit!"

36-3-101

47-12-69

8:34

PROGRESS BY POVERTY

During the last ten years almost for the first time, the American people have looked Poverty squarely in the face. There were plenty of poor people in this land before 1929 but as a nation we did not like to admit it. We clung long to our idea that this was primarily the land of wealth where everybody who would could be well-to-do; where people of fair ability could become millionaires; and where, on the whole, poverty was the fault of the poor.

Indeed, in those days we almost regarded poverty as a sort of crime. We arranged our laws so that the unemployed, the vagrants and wanderers could be put in jail and charged with misdemeanor. But today we have come to what seems to me the much saner and truer attitude. We realize that this is a world where most men are poor and most men are going to be poor. We may and must dispute the degree of that poverty; we are widely resolved to combat hunger, malnutri-

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tion and compulsory ignorance. But that the question of food, shelter and clothing is going to be a major problem for most Americans of the future, is something that we have got to admit. In other words the nation has met Poverty the Stranger, and begun to inquire about his ancestry and search his stature and lineaments so as never again to forget him or ignore him.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not teaching contentment with poverty, but rather bringing to your minds the fact that here is a situation which we must face. We no longer ignore it. We cannot forget it. No sooner have we faced Poverty the Stranger, than we recognize Poverty the Enemy. We know perfectly well that so long as poverty is dire and widespread there can be no effective attack upon sickness and crime; because sickness and crime primarily and fundamentally are the children of poverty. From this we realize that there is some-

thing basically wrong with our organization of life in this country and we have discussed it in all sorts of ways and proposed many remedies; but of that aspect I am not speaking tonight. I am rather insisting that whatever the cause and cure for poverty may be, and no matter how great its evil, we are living in the midst of it and for that reason we have got to assume toward it an attitude and a philosophy and not merely give ourselves over to nerves. In other words having met as a nation Poverty the Stranger; and having recognized in him Poverty the Enemy, I am asking you to consider this same poverty from another aspect and that is Poverty the Friend.

There is no doubt that poverty has its place in the world. I do not mean extreme want, starvation and hurtful deprivation - of this there is no defense and if it endures and spreads, civilization ceases. But on the other hand, it is not too much to say, that no human being is fit to live who has not known

what poverty is; who has not known exactly what it means to be hungry, what it means not to be sure of tomorrow's food, to be at times uncomfortably and inadequately housed and clothed. It is not well that this experience should go so far as to cripple souls and bodies; but no one is fit to handle the wealth and opportunities of the world who does not know in his own life what their absence means and what their presence demands in thought and effort.

In a situation like ours today, with many millions unemployed, with many more millions on the margin of subsistence and perhaps a majority of us haunted by an unnamed fear; there are certain gifts that poverty brings, certain warnings and incentives that are priceless. First of all, it curbs and restrains our self-righteousness. We are not so sure that it is our desert that raises us above want; our own effort that makes us efficient, or our sin that drags us down; we

recognize vast forces within and without us, above and beneath, before which our puny might is helpless. Only in the mighty striving together of all men and powers, can we cope with evil and disaster.

Again today we begin to know the real meaning of Leisure. There are people who for the first time in their life are facing the problem of leisure. It is not to be sure the kind of leisure which they had pictured to themselves. The leisure of former American imagination was something that came after a man had satisfied all his wants, certainly all his physical wants; and then having nothing else to do, he looked around the world and straightly became bored. He became querulous and dissatisfied. He wanted to work just to keep busy; so as not to think, not to reflect. The leisure which comes to us today is different from that. Today leisure is thrust upon millions. It is leisure that we would rather not have if

we could substitute for it hard work, interesting work, work that brought adequate income. Nevertheless, this leisure of unemployment and poverty is not wholly evil; it brings us real pause, we can stop and look at the world slowly and reflectively. We can realize that man was made for thought and feeling as well as action. That life is more than meat and the body more than raiment. We can bring back all the pictures of memory. We can, despite discomfort and distaste, become acquainted with ourselves and fulfill the first great law of philosophy - know thyself. We ~~even~~ have a chance, as seldom before, to become aware of the marvelous physical world in which we live. Even in the crowded city we can look at sunsets, we can see clouds, trees and waters; we can watch the infinite change and vagaries of the weather.

But above and beyond that, we can become acquainted with human beings. It is astonishing even in great cities how little we know of our fellow ~~human beings~~ men and how little we want to know. Isolation has become characteristic of city life. In the midst of crowds we are alone and we often pride ourselves on the numbers of persons whom we do not know and the few we accept as acquaintances and friends. Ordinarily and among the mass of men, the stranger is the potential enemy. He is under suspicion. Attempts at friendliness on his part are met with studied coldness. We are almost afraid lest on cars and in the streets we should wear so pleasant a countenance that someone would want to speak to us or think that we wanted to know them.

But it goes even further than this. We have what the Germans so thoughtfully call shaden-freude, joy in the ill luck of others. We seem to think that not only do we have a certain personal advantage from the bad luck of others but that our

good luck is some way dependent upon the hurt of others. This, of course, comes down to us through a long social history; from the time when beast-like men fought for place and food and their survival depended upon the starvation and death of others. But we have advanced many thousand years from that day. Our happiness today is dependent and will in the future be increasingly dependent, upon the widest cooperation among men of intelligence and good will. And this will be easy only as we come to know and understand and sympathize with larger and larger numbers of our fellow human beings. Today the common misfortune of poverty is increasing this common humanity of men. They no longer stand simply as symbols: the employer, the boss, the hired girl, the merchant, the pedler, the ditch digger, the man on the street. All these have a chance in our leisure time and theirs to take on the flesh and blood of human beings. We stare at them and study them.

They suffer; they strive; they despair; they are sick and hungry. If we have a sense of humor, we laugh at them but it is a kindly laugh. We do not sneer and censure. We make new and rather unexpected friends and find friendliness where we did not ~~expect~~ await it. Above all we gain a certain tolerance. We are not so sure that the criminal was absolutely good for nothing; or that the shiftless man was simply lazy. We begin to realize the problem of the prostitute and of the thief and to cover all mankind with a veil of broad and broader charity.

Then beyond that we have (in our lack of work) unusual opportunity for knowledge, for study and learning. Perhaps in the parks and in public concerts we can actually sit still and listen to music as we never have before. We can find in the blending of silence and sound, not simply physical excitement but spiritual balm. We can consider the meaning of things; the geography and economy of the city's existence; the ~~meaning~~ place of work, the essence of wealth, the organization of government. Above all we can read. Now reading is an occupation which hitherto

has taken very little of the time of Americans. There is no civilized country which does so little reading as America and pays so little for it. Where an American book sells 10,000 copies a Russian may sell 100,000. Where an Englishman pay $10 for his magazine, we are peeved because we get it for a dollar and surprised if it is not worth the dollar we pay for it. We demand in newspapers broad jokes and caricature and distortion of truth and we get what we demand.

Now in this new leisure which has been forced upon Americans, there is a chance for them to learn to read; and finding the newspaper sections of the library overcrowded, they may drift into the book section and discover books. They begin to become acquainted with that heritage sent down from the past, which is much more valuable than all the property and homes and jewels which we are seeking rather desperately now to guard. Here are the accumulated thoughts of man; sifted

down to the best and broadest and most eternal; and we not only can read them; curiously enough in our poverty and unemployment we have time to read them. We have time to linger over them and re-read their words and to gather from them and from our new experience with want, and with the suffering of our fellows, and the disappointments of men, a new and deep knowledge of life. We have a chance to build a philosophy of living and without philosophy there is no real life.

A philosophy of life is a reasoned theory of the facts and surrounds of human beings. It raises us above hysteria, envy and hatred. We begin to see straight and to think clearly. We resist the temptation to let our life drift and disintegrate in the face of misfortune. Gradually and in the end we especially refuse to be misled by the temptation of gambling and chance. Perhaps chance has played its part in making us poor and without work. Perhaps too, certain indefensible kinds

of gambling have placed wealth and power in hands that do not deserve them. But the cure for gambling in high places is not gambling among the poor; neither the glittering chances of the Irish Sweepstakes nor the disreputable and utterly unfair numbers game is going to answer our present problem of poverty. Rather these things by and large take from the poor even the little that they have and poverty cannot cure itself by feeding on poverty.

Men who face life squarely, no matter what their misfortune, have always the knowledge that they are not alone. It is a great and endless army that has travelled the world in misery from the dawn of history down to our day. And today we in America no matter what our trials can look across the world to people facing far greater evil than we. There are the hunted and murdered, the maimed and starving in Spain. There are the suffering in Asia, not simply in China but in Japan; not simply in

countries which are at war but in countries like India where there is a situation called peace and yet where thousands regularly starve. There are the haunted homes after the earthquake in Chile; and we who sit in a city where at least some effort is made to relieve want, can think of the unrelieved need of the black and white tenant farmers of the South.

Despite the tendency undoubtedly strong to yield to wide despair in face of such disaster, we who see it and know it, know also that Courage is not simply a matter of drums and uniforms, of artifically inspired enthusiasm. It is rather in the midst of misfortune, to keep one's soul serene; to refuse to fret; to do the best under all circumstances and not to refuse or decry the seemingly cheap gifts of poverty: leisure, reading, thinking, knowing human beings. We can even go further than this and before the very wreck of a life, we can look death squarely in the face; death without trumpets, sermons and flowers - just sleep and rest.

Equitably and pleasantly we can realize that as we have been born, we are going to die; that this world is not simply one of pleasure but one of suffering even under the best of circumstances.

We may get even far enough to revise our ambitions. The ambitions of most Americans have been curiously childlish: they like to show off with a big ~~[illegible]~~ income, large house and loud clothes. We want ~~big~~ vast cities, tall buildings, and swift ~~[illegible]~~ cars, even at the expense of little souls, narrow prejudices and low desires. We want to spend money as though it made no difference how much we spent; as though we were not wasting the fruit of others' bitter toil; as though there were no end to our resources. With this bitter experience of poverty, we are forced to change all that. A class of Americans are appearing willing frankly to acknowledge to their neighbors that they cannot afford certain expenditures; that they are too poor to do this and to do that and that Poverty is no disgrace.

While we are all increasingly certain that the more grievous and dangerous aspects of dire poverty must be abolished, we have on the other hand slowly ceased to think of displacing poverty with the idea of wealth which we used to have. We used to conceive wealth as large and even riotous ability to expend even in the face of surrounding starvation, tuberculosis and syphilis; we dreamed and read greedily of excess of luxury and over-indulgence and our highest ambition was income to make us, in the old New England sense of the word, "independent" of our fellows.

We are thinking today of wealth not as independence but as more careful and orderly cooperation with our fellowmen. We conceive that a man's income should be a matter of public knowledge, public conern and intelligent public decision; so that no one would have a right to what he did not honestly earn or would be able to escape through ability to conceal his property sharing equitably the public

burdens. We want a world that is wealthy in the sense that the mass of human beings are enabled to have what is necessary for their health and development and are not only compelled but eager to give for this such work and effort as they have at their command. And that, as a result, we may have for the democracy of the future, healthy, well-trained and intelligent beings, schooled in poverty and unwilling to accept any income which is not for the best interests of the whole land.

It is fitting that today we should remind ourselves of this progress by poverty because we are celebrating the birth of a man born in poverty, famous for his sympathy with human beings and for his unceasing desire to put every ounce of his effort into a determination to raise the status of the lowest and most unfortunate. Abraham Lincoln was born of a shiftless father and an illegimate mother. He

was born in a cabin with mud floor, less comfortable than a Western barn. He knew hunger and dirt. He knew hard and unremitting work and rags. He was self-educated with all the imperfections and unfinished results of such training. He was ugly and gawky. His Civil War name in the South was the Gorilla.

But Abraham Lincoln knew human beings and what they experienced in this world. He had for them an unbounded and limitless sympathy. Time after time he turned away from work and almost from duty to help the unfortunate. And then too, he knew how to laugh and how to joke. His humor bubbled up in the midst of misery. His moods were ever a challenge to over-pompous men. With this training and this character he could and did withstand contempt, neglect and envy. He was called almost suddenly to high place, to the bitter surprise and indignation of the best people of his country, who did not hesitate to express their disappointment.

He undertook a thankless task of work and endurance and was damned as much for what he did as for what he did not do. He led a war to preserve slavery and then

freed four million slaves because as he frankly said "Abandon all the posts now garrisoned by black men; take two hundred thousand men from our side and put them in the battlefield or cornfield against us, and we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks. . . . My enemies pretend I am now carrying on this war for the sole purpose of abolition. So long as I am President, it shall be carried on for the sole purpose of restoring the Union. But no human power can subdue this rebellion without the use of the emancipation policy, and every other policy calculated to weaken the moral and physical forces of the rebellion."

In the day of his hard won triumph he was murdered by an aristocrat and as he lay dead, his life of suffering and deprivation, of endless, thankless striving was carven in the deep lines of his countenance and his sagging shoulders pressed down upon his ungainly body. Progress by poverty made Abraham Lincoln a great man. May it keep us from becoming small.

8:57

1939

Orchestra Hall
Chicago, Illinois
February 12,1939

Progress by Poverty

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

During the last ten years almost for the first time, the American people have looked Poverty squarely in the face. There were plenty of poor people in this land before 1929 but as a nation we did not like to admit it. We clung long to our idea that this was primarily the land of wealth where everybody who would could be well-to-do; where people of fair ability could become millionaires; and where, on the whole, poverty was the fault of the poor.

Indeed, in those days we almost regarded poverty as a sort of crime. We arranged our laws so that the unemployed, the vagrants and wanderers could be put in jail and charged with misdemeanor. But today we have come to what seems to me the much saner and truer attitude. We realize that this is a world where most men are going to be poor. We may and must dispute the degree of that poverty; we are widely resolved to combat hunger, malnutrition and compulsory ignorance. But that the question of food, shelter and clothing is going to be a major problem for most Americans of the future, is something that we have got to admit. In other words the nation has met Poverty the Stranger, and begun to inquire about his ancestry and search his stature and lineaments so as never again to forget him or ignore him.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not teaching contentment with poverty, but rather bringing to your minds the fact that here is a situation which we must face. We no longer ignore it. We cannot forget it. No sooner have we faced Poverty the Stranger, than we recognize Poverty the Enemy. We know perfectly well that so long as poverty is dire and widespread there can be no effective attack upon sickness and crime;

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because sickness and crime primarily and fundamentally are the children of poverty. From this we realize that there is something basically wrong with our organization of life in this country and we have discussed it in all sorts of ways and proposed many remedies; but of that aspect I am not speaking tonight. I am rather insisting that whatever the cause and cure for poverty may be, and no matter how great its evil, we are living in the midst of it and for that reason we have got to assume toward it an attitude and a philosophy and not merely give ourselves over to nerves. In other words having met as a nation Poverty the Stranger; and having recognized in him Poverty the Enemy, I am asking you to consider this same poverty from another aspect and that is Poverty the Friend.

There is no doubt that poverty has its place in the world. I do not mean extreme want, starvation and hurtful deprivation - of this there is no defense and if it endures and spreads, civilization ceases. But on the other hand, it is not too much to say, that no human being is fit to live who has not known what poverty is; who has not known exactly what it means to be hungry, what it means not to be sure of tomorrow's food, to be at times uncomfortably and inadequately housed and clothed. It is not well that this experience should go so far as to cripple souls and bodies; but no one is fit to handle the wealth and opportunities of the world who does not know in his own life what their absence means and what their presence demands in thought and effort.

In a situation like ours today, with many millions unemployed, with many more millions on the margin of subsistence and perhaps a majority of us haunted by an unnamed fear; there are certain gifts that poverty

brings, certain warnings and incentives that are priceless. First of all, it curbs and restrains our self-righteousness. We are not so sure that it is our desert that raises us above want; our own effort that makes us efficient, or our sin that drags us down; we recognize vast forces within and without us, above and beneath, before which our puny might is helpless. Only in the mighty striving together of all men and powers, can we cope with evil and disaster.

Again today we begin to know the real meaning of Leisure. There are people who for the first time in their life are facing the problem of leisure. It is not to be sure the kind of leisure which they had pictured to themselves. The leisure of former American imagination was something that came after a man had satisfied all his wants, certainly all his physical wants; and then having nothing else to do, he looked around the world and straightly became bored. He became querulous and dissatisfied. He wanted to work just to keep busy; so as not to think, not to reflect. The leisure which comes to us today is different from that. Today leisure is thrust upon millions. It is leisure that we would rather not have if we could substitute for it hard work, interesting work, work that brought adequate income. Nevertheless, this leisure of unemployment and poverty is not wholly evil; it brings us real pause, we can stop and look at the world slowly and reflectively. We can realize that man was made for thought and feeling as well as action. That life is more than meat and the body more than raiment. We can bring back all the pictures of memory. We can, despite discomfort and distaste, become acquainted with ourselves and fulfill the first great law of philosophy - know thyself. We have a chance, as seldom before, to become aware of the marvelous physical world in which

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we live. Even in the crowded city we can look at sunsets, we can see clouds, trees and waters; we can watch the infinite change and vagaries of the weather.

But above and beyond that, we can become acquainted with human beings. It is astonishing even in great cities how little we know of our fellow men and how little we want to know. Isolation has become characteristic of city life. In the midst of crowds we are alone and we often pride ourselves on the numbers of persons whom we do not know and the few we accept as acquaintances and friends. Ordinarily and among the mass of men the stranger is the potential enemy. He is under suspicion. Attempts at friendliness on his part are met with studied coldness. We are almost afraid lest on cars and in the streets we should wear so pleasant a countenance that someone would want to speak to us or think that we wanted to know them.

But it goes even further than this. We have what the Germans so thoughtfully call shaden-freude, joy in the ill luck of others. We seem to think that not only do we have a certain personal advantage from the bad luck of others but that our good luck is some way dependent upon the hurt of others. This, of course, comes down to us through a long social history; from the time when beast-like men fought for place and food and their survival depended upon the starvation and death of others. But we have advanced many thousand years from that day. Our happiness today is dependent and will in the future be increasingly dependent, upon the widest cooperation among men of intelligence and good will. And this will be easy only as we come to know and understand and sympathize with larger and larger numbers of our fellow human beings. Today the common misfortune of poverty is increas-

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ing this common humanity of men. They no longer stand simply as symbols: the employer, the boss, the hired girl, the merchant, the pedler, the ditch digger, the man on the street. All these have a chance in our leisure time and theirs to take on the flesh and blood of human beings. We stare at them and study them. They suffer; they strive; they despair; they are sick and hungry. If we have a sense of humor, we laugh at them but it is a kindly laugh. We do not sneer and censure. We make new and rather unexpected friends and find friendliness where we did not await it. Above all we gain a certain tolerance. We are not so sure that the criminal was absolutely good for nothing; or that the shiftless man was simply lazy. We begin to realize the problem of the prostitute and of the thief and to cover all mankind with a veil of broad and broader charity.

Then beyond that we have in our lack of work unusual opportunity for knowledge, for study and learning. Perhaps in the parks and in public concerts we can actually sit still and listen to music as we never have before. We can find in the blending of silence and sound, not simply physical excitement but spiritual balm. We can consider the meaning of things; the geography and economy of the city's existence; the place of work, the essence of wealth, the organization of government. Above all we can read. Now reading is an occupation which hitherto has taken very little of the time of Americans. There is no civilized country which does so little reading as America and pays so little for it. Where an American book sells 10,000 copies a Russian may sell 100,000. Where an Englishman pays $10 for his magazine, we are peeved because we get it for a dollar and surprised if it is not worth the dollar we pay for it. We demand in newspapers bread jokes and carica-

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Now in this new leisure which has been forced upon Americans, there is a chance for them to learn to read; and finding the newspaper sections of the library overcrowded, they may drift into the book section and discover books. They begin to become acquainted with that heritage sent down from the past, which is much more valuable than all the property and homes and jewels which we are seeking rather desperately now to guard. Here are the accumulated thoughts of man; sifted down to the best and broadest and most eternal; and we not only can read them; curiously enough in our poverty and unemployment we have time to read them. We have time to linger over them and re-read their words and to gather from them and from our new experience with want, and with the suffering of our fellows, and the disappointments of men, a new and deep knowledge of life. We have a chance to build a philosophy of living and without philosophy there is no real life.

A philosophy of life is a reasoned theory of the facts and surroundings of human beings. It raises us above hysteria, envy and hatred. We begin to see straight and to think clearly. We resist the temptation to let our life drift and disintegrate in the face of misfortune. Gradually and in the end we especially refuse to be misled by the temptation of gambling and chance. Perhaps chance has played its part in making us poor and without work. Perhaps too, certain indefensible kinds of gambling have placed wealth and power in hands that do not deserve them. But the cure for gambling in high places is not gambling among the poor; neither the glittering chances of the Irish Sweepstakes nor the disreputable and utterly unfair numbers game is going to answer our problem of poverty. Rather these things by and large take from the

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poor even the little that they have and poverty cannot cure itself by feeding on poverty.

Men who face life squarely, no matter what their misfortune, have always the knowledge that they are not alone. It is a great and endless army that has travelled the world in misery from the dawn of history down to our day. And today we in America no matter what our trials can look across the world to people facing far greater evil than we. There are the hunted and murdered, the maimed and starving in Spain. There are the suffering in Asia, not simply in China but in Japan; not simply in countries which are at war but in countries like India where there is a situation called peace and yet where thousands regularly starve. There are the haunted homes after the earthquake in Chile; and we who sit in a city where at least some effort is made to relieve want, can think of the unrelieved need of the black and white tenant farmers of the South.

Despite the tendency undoubtedly strong to yield to wide despair in face of such disaster, we who see it and know it, know also that Courage is not simply a matter of drums and uniforms, of artificially inspired enthusiasm. It is rather in the midst of misfortune, to keep one's soul serene; to refuse to fret; to do the best under all circumstances and not to refuse or decry the seemingly cheap gifts of poverty: leisure, reading, thinking, knowing human beings. We can even go further than this and before the very wreck of a life, we can look death squarely in the face; death without trumpets, sermons and flowers - just sleep and rest. Equitably and pleasantly we can realize that as we have been born, we are going to die; that this world is not simply one of pleasure but one of suffering even under the best of circumstances.

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We may get even far enough to revise our ambitions. The ambitions of most Americans have been curiously childish: they like to show off with a big income, large house and loud clothes. We want vast cities, tall buildings, and swift cars, even at the expense of little souls, narrow prejudices and low desires. We want to spend money as though it made no difference how much we spent; as though we were not wasting the fruit of others' bitter toil; as though there were no end to our resources. With this bitter experience of poverty, we are forced to change all that. A class of Americans are appearing willing frankly to acknowledge to their neighbors that they cannot afford certain expenditures; that they are too poor to do this and to do that and that Poverty is no disgrace.

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We are thinking today of wealth not as independence but as more careful and orderly cooperation with our fellowmen. We conceive that a man's income should be a matter of public knowledge, public concern and intelligent public decision; so that no one would have a right to what he did not honestly earn or would be able to escape through ability to conceal his property sharing equitably the public burdens. We

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want a world that is wealthy in the sense that the mass of human beings are enabled to have what is necessary for their health and development and are not only compelled but eager to give for this such work and effort as they have at their command. And that, as a result, we may have for the democracy of the future, healthy, well-trained and intelligent beings, schooled in poverty and unwilling to accept any income which is not for the best interests of the whole land.

It is fitting that today we should remind ourselves of this progress by poverty because we are celebrating the birth of a man born in poverty, famous for his sympathy with human beings and for his unceasing desire to put every ounce of his effort into a determination to raise the status of the lowest and most unfortunate. Abraham Lincoln was born of a shiftless father and an illegitimate mother. He was born in a cabin with mud floor, less comfortable than a Western barn. He knew hunger and dirt. He knew hard and unremitting work and rags. He was self-educated with all the imperfections and unfinished results of such training. He was ugly and gawky. His Civil War name in the South was the Gorilla.

But Abraham Lincoln knew human beings and what they experienced in this world. He had for them an unbounded and limitless sympathy. Time after time he turned away from work and almost from duty to help the unfortunate. And then too, he knew how to laugh and how to joke. His humor bubbled up in the midst of misery. His moods were ever a challenge to over-pompous men. With this training and this character he could and did withstand contempt, neglect and envy. He was called almost suddenly to high place, to the bitter surprise and indignation of the best people of his country, who did not hesitate to express their dis-

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appointment.

He undertook a thankless task of work and endurance and was damned as much for what he did as for what he did not do. He led a war to preserve slavery and then freed four million slaves because as he frankly said "Abandon all the posts now garrisoned by black men; take two hundred thousand men from our side and put them in the battlefield or cornfield against us, and we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks. . . . My enemies pretend I am now carrying on this war for the sole purpose of abolition. So long as I am President, it shall be carried on for the sole purpose of restoring the Union. But no human power can subdue this rebellion without the use of the emancipation policy, and every other policy calculated to weaken the moral and physical forces of the rebellion."

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THE ECONOMIC PLIGHT OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

One may usually hear several different theories of the present economic condition of American Negroes; the reasons for it and the remedies. One of the most common is current among Negroes themselves as well as among white folk: Negroes are shiftless; they do not seize the main chance; they do not work hard and continuously; their homes are ill-kept and the condition of Negro quarters in cities is proverbial. Especially the young folk are not as careful and steady and responsible as their fathers.

Such criticism easily turns into matters of racial difference. The argument has often run thus: Europe, America, the white world has a tremendous technical mastery. They have invented and brought into common use miracles of mechanical efficiency. By this token they are a superior race and when compared to Asiatics and Negroes and indeed to the great majority of people on earth they are so naturally and evidently superior that it goes without saying that other folk are going to be found in a subordinate economic condition and are destined to stay there because of sheer lack of ability. When, therefore, one finds in the United States poor and ignorant Negroes largely unemployed and in many cases unemployable you see simply the results of racial selection evident in all the world and destined to continue indefinitely.

Out of this fatal assumption, however, we have been rather violently startled by the extraordinary exhibit of race hate in modern Germany. It came when science with increasing unanimity was decrying the biological evidences of distinct races and the inevitable heritage of racial characteristics. It was exhibited first against a people whose racial and cultural affinity to the Germans extended over many centuries and whose economic status was high and it reached the degree of cruelty and fury which leaves the world still gasping. That racial doctrine and other analogous doctrines includes curiously enough the Poles, the Slavs, Negroes and certainly by implications most Asiatics. This means that with the triumph of Hitlerism or even with failure entirely to subdue him and his ideas, which seems the most likely outcome, the world is in for a recrudence of race hate with all of the economic difficulties which this brings in its train. It is, therefore, necessary that in this land, where more than in any other diverse races have met, mingled and worked together, we should try with all speed to evolve a spirit of interracial tolerance.

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Contrasting with these rather cynical and superficial racial explanations of the Negro's position are certain historical reasons. It is said that one must remember that the present generation of Negroes in the United States is only seventy-five years removed from legal chattell slavery. Now when one has said the best that one can concerning slavery it is a condition which if continued long enough is bound to attack and undermine all of the human virtues which go for thirift, independence, inventiveness. Slavery of necessity kept most of its victims in ignorance; it gave little incentive to excell; it could not make their meagre reward depend upon their efforts and it took away practically all of the powerful incentives to ambition. The results then of enslaving a single group of people for nearly three centuries must show long after less than a century of emancipation.

To this other psychological causes must be added. The state of slavery and the incidence of emancipation go deep down into the human consciousness and emotions and give rise to assumptions, hatred and cultural patterns which persist long after legal emancipation. Consequently the black race in America meets discrimination and bitter discrimination based upon the facts of its past history. It meets a disinclination on the part of a large number of employers to give them work or to advance them according to ability. It is under any circumstances difficult to judge the ability of human beings and if you are convinced beforehand of their limitations your judgment also is liable to change with difficulty. They too, and much more important in modern industrial competition for the better paid jobs and indeed today for any job is severe. The white worker, therefore, is not only faced with the difficulty of getting employment at a living wage but with the competition of black workers who are forced for purposes of sheer survival to accept wages which are below the standards of decent

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living, the white workers, therefore, finds himself not simply fighting for an adequate amount of food, clothing, shelter and education but against a competitor who, to his mind, disgraces the very vocation of work, is below the human standards which ought to be established and deserves to be driven away, starved and even killed. The white workers appeal to public opinion: hire your own folk, disown the inferior interloper; establish separate places, separate standards, separate and different conditions for black workers everywhere.

It is not necessary to pause in order to assess just the relative value and importance of these various criticisms of the American Negro as a worker. It is only necessary to remember that here you have a nation within a nation of thirteen million people, a body of folk as large as the population of Yugoslavia, and nearly twice as large as the combined population of Denmark and Norway

who are not today for the most part able to earn a decent living in the United States.

A rough calculation of Negro incomes which I essayed in 1939 had to be largely guess work because of lack of data; and yet it seemed to indicate that of over 2,800, 000 Negro families in the United States, 1,200,000 were receiving less than $500 a year and 1,000,000 between $500 and $1,000; leaving 600,000 families with $1,000 a year, of whom only one-tenth reveived more than $2,500. This estimate is not accurate but I believe that it is not an unfair indication of the truth.

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Our first task should be to inquire more narrowly into the historical reasons for these conditions. We may start with the three agricultural crops of the early eighteenth century: sugar, tobacco and cotton. They were sources of such great profit and accumulation of surplus wealth. There were in such general demand and came to be transported so widely a cross the earth that they ushered in a new era of capitalistic production beginning in England and extending

to Europe and America. The processing of raw material through the application of machinery and covering long periods of production made the regular advance of wages to hired laborers necessary. These crops began to change the face of the industry and commerce of the world.

At the bottom of these groups were a mass of transported black laborers whose cheap remuneration and maintenance made the profit of raising these crops abnormally large. And by the beginning of the nineteenth century colonial imperialism based on slavery bagan to change except in America. It proved more profitable and a lesser affront to the protesting conscience of the world,to use cheep labor in its own home: Asia and Africa, rather than transport it with loss and cruelty half across the world. Colonial imperialism, therefore, began to be built upon the serfdom of colored labor, and that it itself makes a whole chapter of modern history.

In this paper we are concerned chiefly with the United States where slavery was already established and where there were millions of black workers forming the basis of a profitable and expanding agriculture and industry. These workers, on the other hand,were coming in indirect and direct competition with the growing mass of white laborers, artisans and farmers; with immigrants from Ireland and Germany and native born Americans. What could be done to resolve this situation?

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There were at first many remedies proposed. The favorite one was the colonization of American black folk so as to complete and maintain segregation in areas and countries for colored labor. The domination of the white exploiter could be more complete and a hierarchy of nations so arranged that Europe and America would dominate. This colonization of Negroes from America failed to have any particular affect because of the continued demand for Negro labor in the United States as basis of the Cotton Kingdom. The fugitive slave took advantage of that by transfering his labor from the low wage of the South to the higher

wage of the North. This, however, brought him again in nearer competition with white labor, with Irish immigrants, with German artisans, with native American farmers and led to riots and discrimination and a stiffening of opposition of slavery and slave territory.

Through Civil War the problem of emancipation forced itself to the front. Not that the war was fought for the purpose of freeing of slaves. Quite the contrary. It was fought for limitation of the slave area and adopted national Union as its slogan. But to maintain national union the political ambition of the South had to be curbed by force of arms. Armies need and must have supplies, laborers, and soldiers. The supplies could be bought by the wealth of the North but the labor force could not be furnished and it was difficult even to keep the army filled with soldiers except by the unpopular draft. There was, however, an

evident alternative which forced itself upon the unwilling national administration. The Negro could be used as laborers to support the army. They not only could be used as laborers; they must be used or else sent back to reenforce the resistance of the South. Turning then from its initial policy of restoring to their former masters the slaves who flocked into the Union Army the national administration began to use them as laborers. Then lacking the necessary number of white soldiers they used them as soldiers to hold points which they had seized in Southern territory: the coast of South Carolina, New Orleans, the captured parts of the middle Mississippi and areas in Tennessee. The next step was both logical and necessary. Negro troops were used as shock troops to make possible the junction between the armies of Grant and Banks and control the Mississippi; to withstand the bloody attack of the defense around Richmond and toward the end in nearly all military movements of the Northern armies. The result, of course had to be emancipation and the gratitude of the North for the help of the freedman was great and earnest. What now should

have been done and what the wisest leadership advocated, was the long and careful education of the freedmen and his children at the expense of the Federal Government; the furnishing of land and tools and some minimum capital to these people long expoited of all the results of their labor and valuable helpers in the preservation of the union of the country. But the nation at that time was tired of war and expense and was beginning to react as nations always do from the efforts of organized fighting. It was at first moved to let the whole matter drop with giving the Negro nominal and legal freedom and then leaving them at the mercy of their former masters. This deal, however, was a little too raw and affronted the conscience of the nation. A temporary Freedmen's Bureau for the protection and social uplift of the slaves was organized but it was supported on funds furnished largely by the slaves themselves. It received no adequate federal support. It was never

properly organized and it existed from year to year and day to day without being made a part of permanent federal policy. Crippled and incomplete as it was, it did a marvelous job in starting the freed slave toward the status of a wage laborer and protecting him against the more outrageous forms of oppression. Before, however, the Freedmen Bureau became a permanent policy of the government, there arose another scheme for using the Negro which so resembled philanthropy and included so much of democracy, that many Americans confounded it with them. That scheme was based on the fact that the negro could as an immediate voter offset the increased political power of the reincorporated Southern states.

Singularly enough this increased power of the South rested on the very fact that the Negro had been emancipated. Each Negro now counted as one in the Southern basis of representation in Congress whereas as a slave he had counted as three-fifths of a man. This would send in time thirty new representatives to Congress ostensibly representing the Southern population but really representing only the whites. The Negro vote could keep that political power from reducing

the tariff upon which the new National industry depended; from increasing the national debt by paying for the slaves and the cost of secession or from upsetting the gold standard.

Moreover, with that political power he would have a chance to protect himself against the machincations of his former masters.

This was the scheme which was put through in 1868. It was successful in curbing any attack of the South upon organized industry and it broke the political power of Southern agriculture. It gave the Negroes the beginning of education and some chance as a free laborer. But on the other hadn it greatly increased racial friction and emphasized the Negro scapegoat as a cause of economic disaster; and when Northern capital began to invade the South it found

it and its interest to help organize two competiting groups of laborers white and black both striving in part for the same jobs. Immediately the whole South began a movement to deprive black labor of political power while leaving it of necessity in the hands of white laborer. The North acquiesced.

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This roughly was the situation when Booker T. Washington, as the leader of the Negro group, began to be troubled about its economic situation. They were threatened by law and violence; they were losing in economic competition with the white workers much of the kinds of work where they had formerly dominated. Mr. Washington relieing on the support of Northern financial interests proposed a compromise: he advised that the Negro say nothing about his political rights, not that Mr. Washington advocated disfranchisement. He did not. But it was a fact and he advised its temporary recognition. Then he advised positive effort on the part of the Negro and his friends to educate the Negro especially for work and for skilled work; for a better grade of farming and for land ownership. He met opposition in this program from a samll but growing class of Negroes mostly the

the young educated contigent. They maintaned that industrial education given at the lower levels of only inculcating present skills did not furnish the American Negro that educated leadership in economics, politics and social progress which was absolutely necessary. They pointed out that skills changed and sometimes rapidly and that the Negro must be in position to think for himself and guide his own development.

There appeared also, although less vocal at the time, determined opposition among white laborers who were now uniting into strong unions; and were determined to exclude Negroes from the better paid work. Not only that but the unions almost without exception girded themselves as a solid phalanx to exclude the Negro from any new skills, from learning the use of any new mechanical contrivances and from entering into the improved techniques of modern life.

Thus with few exceptions the Negro could not work in electricity, could not work in radio, was largely excluded in the moving picture industry and in the industries surrounding the airplane. He was not thought of in the new public utilities and continually the advance of America in efficient contrivances for catering to human wants was taking place without employing the Negro and on the other hand by confining him to decadent and low-paid skills. So far as possible the trades unions and many vocational authorities united in forbidding the state to teach industry to Negroes except in lines of domestic service and farming.

To see what the results of this movement were we must remember other happening which followed Negro economic exclusion. No sooner was the Washington philosophy dominant in the last decades of the nineteenth century than a movement took place throughout all the Southern states beginning with Mississippi in 1890 and ending with Georgia in 1909 to complete and make legal the disfranchisement of the Negro vote in the South. This was followed by a legal

caste system of segregation and discrimination on common carriers, in civil rights and public service. Public opinion became habituated to a color caste system which supplemented this legal basis.

On the other hand, in general industry mass production and monopoly became widespread; skills changed, the factory system extended and agriculture found increasing difficulty in obtaining normal profits or paying reasonable wages. One can see the result of this historical development in the occupations of American Negroes. There were in 1930 five and a half million Negroes at work. They were employed in the following occupations. (The proportions have changed somewhat in the last ten years but not radically.) There were in 1930 two million Negro farmers. A small proportion of them were land holders, most of them were tenants and farm laborers. This large group of Negro workers were

bound to the soil for historic reason. They were in many cases only partially free; their right to move from the plantation where they were working was hindered by law and custom; their wages were in part regularly and often paid in kind and their general condition was bad with low standards of living, little educational and cultural opportunity and caste restrictions which interferred with ambition and self-expression. The plight of these agricultural laborers has seriously worsened in the last ten years so that the number of farmers today among Negroes is less than it was ten years ago and their condition so diffecult that it is hard to say what is going to become of them unless united effort on the part of the federal and state governments and philanthropic organizations come to their rescue.

In part, of course, this plight of the Negro farmer is only one phase of the plight of the farming industry throughout the world. The raiser of raw material has been for years at a severe disadvantage over against organized industry, the power and collusion of manufacturers and the common carrier. This is recognized in the great effort which the United States has put forth under the New Deal to rescue the mass of American farmers from complete catastrophe. The benefits of these New Deal efforts have reached the Negro farmer but only here and there and with great difficulty. He is still the major economic atastrophe of the United States. Negro land holders during this period of depression decreased from two hundred twenty thousand to one hundred eighty thousand.

Next to the farmers come a million and a half Negro servants. They represent, of course, widely different conditions both of income, work and status. On the whole they are quite unorganized, quite outside the efforts at relief, security and rehabilitation the nationa, the states and the community have initiated. They represnet particularly among the mass of women servants the last resort of workers to support families where the man is unemployed and where there is not other remunerative effort in sight. Most of these servants, therefore, are as economically hopeless in their condition as the Negro farm tenants.

There were one hundred thousand miners who again faced the difficulties of a line of work suffering from our present industrial organization and one hundred thousand or more white collar workers who suffer from difficulties in obtaining admission to government service, public utilities and industry where they might be capable of work ing but almost sure to meet color discrimination.

This accounts for over three and a half million, by far the larger portion of Negro workers. To these may be added nearly one and a half million other workers. They form the workers in factories and handicrafts and the workers in transport. In their case the difficulties and different. The work which they do is important onthe whole, well-paid and this is the place if any where the results of industrial training should show. But skilled Negro workers in these lines meet two difficulties: first the change in the character of skilled work his is characteristic of this industrial effort and secondly, the efforts of organized labor to monopolize skills. The men who were trained in the days of Booker Washington's emphasis upon industrial training received for the most part industruction in carpentry, masonry, blacksmithry, forging, sewing, printing, painting, tailoring and

various lines of farming. In nearly all these lines of work methods have changed: the planing mill has partly displaced the carpenter; the type-setting machine has transformed the work of the printer; machinery of various sorts has changed the vocation of the blacksmith and iron worker; the garment trades have organized sewing and tailoring; farming has its new techniques and machinery and in nearly every line of work skills have changed.

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Not only this but the power of the organized craft unions has vastly increased and has been used for the most part to exclude Negroes as such. The railway unions, without exception, exclude the admission of a Negro as a member no matter what his skill or experience. The list of other unions excluding Negroes includes the boiler makers and shipbuilders, the machinists, the pilots, the railway mail associations, the wire weavers and the telegraphers while in a large number of the other strong unions obstacles are regularly put in the way of Negro members. This means that those Negroes who are working in factories and

in the handicrafts are for the most part common laborers and only in a minority of cases skilled workmen. There have been changes in the last decade; there are a larger number of skilled men working in steel, automobile shops and some other lines of work. Certain unions under the CIO have facilitated Negro membership but on the whole the Negro skilled worker meets not only the difficulty of all skilled workers in getting well-paid employment in industry but the additional and almost fatal exclusion by the stronger trades unions.

In addition to that we have two hundred thousand Negroes in various kinds of business. For the most part this includes insurance and retail trade and it meets the difficulty of investing and credit facilities so far as insurance companies are concerned and additional difficulties in policy, the same kind of trouble that the white insurance companies had in other days. The Negro retail

distributor is confronted with the competion of chain stores and the difficulties of wholesale methods and prices.

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In professional service there were some one hundred fifty thousand Negroes. The include ministers, teachers, doctors, lawyers and dentists. They are usually except in the case of the older generation of ministers well-trained men but they face one peculiar difficulty and that is they serve for the most part their own group and consequently their success depends entirely upon the economic status of their constituents. So long, therefore, that two million Negro farmers, a million and a half servants and a million and a half factory and transport workers, nearly nine-tenths of all Negro workers are in economic difficulties with low income they cannot support adequately a professional class.

It will thus be seen by considering the history and conditions of the Negro worker that no theories of race differences or inherent peculiarities are necessary to explain the plight of the American Negro worker. That plight

is due in the first place to the general public opinion of America. Just so long as an American public thinks that Negroes ought not to live on the economic plane of white people and that their admission to places of power, influence, and efficiency is in some obscure way a threat to the white race just so long the American Negro is going to work under a severe economic handicap.

In addition to that so long as the laborers persist in the attitude that their object is to make such alliance with the exploiting employers that they can sharge his profits at the expense of under-paid common labor just so long the Negro along with the mass of white laborers is going to be the victim of this union policy. Onthe other hand, if general industrial organization of common labor is carried out by the CIO, without yielding to racial and social prejudice, that movement will in the long run do something to change public opinion

and to mitigate the growing friction between economic classes. A demand then for the union of the two branches of the labor movement, the A F of L and CIO, is really in essence a demand that the basic idea of one or the other of these organizations be surrendered. It would be a calamity to have broad industrial labor organization surrender to the demands of closed craft unionism.

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Finally, there is a third partial remedy. While Negroes are seeking to change public opinion by logical appeal and to force their way into the closed shop they can undoubtedly do a great deal through organization of their power as consumers. They can try so far as possible to cease spending their money where they are not allowed to work. They can mass their expenditures so as to get better prices, better quality of goods and wider employment. And theycan at least begin the effort to make their demand for goods and services, which is large despite their small income, become the basis of efforts in production and service

which will raise their economic level. Such movements in themselves cannot settle the economic race problem in the United States in defiance of an unfriendly public opinion and of an only partially sympathetic labor movement by consumer and producers cooperation among thirteen million people can have vast influence on public opinion on the one hand and on the labor movement on the other. It is especially the kind of movement which looks forward to the widespread economic change which is coming after the war and which is bound to include an increase inconsumers consciousness as contrasted with our present producers economy.

If the present war closes leaving the problem of the status of the colored races and colonial peoples untouched, then it is idle to believe that the couses of

future wars will have been removed. Our great danger is that in considering the peace for which we all yearn, we are more or less unconsciously thinking of peace between European peoples and would be willing to buy that peace by a more equitable distribution among those peoples, of opportunity to exploit the rest of the world. The right of peoples in Asia, Africa and the island to have a decisive voice in their own destiny; to say how far their industry and their education shall serve them and not Europe and white America, would mean that the income and profits of the white peoples of the world would be decreased. It is a grave question, if after a war of phenomenal destruction, there could be found in the white world enough of the spirit of sacrifice and enough keenness of foresight, to realize that only by foregoing the extraordinary profit of colonial exploitation and yielding the beginnings of industrial and political democracy to the colored world can peace on earth become a reality.

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2302 Montisello Terrace

13 June 1940

THE FUTURE OF WILBERFORCE
by
W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

I first saw Wilberforce University in September, 1894. Only two months previously I had returned from the University of Berlin and had finished there a continuous education which lasted from my sixth to my twenty-sixth birthday. I was at the time full of ideals, quick and arrogant in judgment, with many personal idiosyncrasies. I walked onto this campus, carrying my gloves in one hand and my cane in the other, according to the best fashion of the German student of that day. Yet I was not altogether impossible; I was comparatively indifferent, for instance, to the matter of money. This was the first salaried job that I had ever held and yet I refused an offer of $1,050 at another institution for the $800 offered here, be-

cause Wilberforce meant something to my imagination. I had heard its name since I was a child. On May 24, 1856 one of the midnight endorsers who made the purchase of Wilberforce possible was John Du Bois a member of a family from which I descend. I taught at Wilberforce two years: Greek, Latin, German and English and begged in vain to add Sociology to the load; I married a Wilberforce girl; I made here life-long friends like Paul Laurence Dunbar and Charles Young; and for the forty-six years since my first coming, I have known every president of Wilberforce University and visited the campus at least once during their administrations, and in some cases many times. At one of the sessions of the older Board of Trustees I was elected an honorary alumnus.

Notwithstanding all this, I was from the moment I stepped on this campus until today, an outspoken critic of Wilberforce. This was true not because I disbelieved in Wilberforce or underrated its work, but for exactly the opposite reason. From the first, I had for Wilberforce the very highest ideals: I wanted for it nothing cheap, second hand, or inferior; I pictured growing up here a great university, not simply Negro, Not simply American, but a University in the full sense of those famous institutions of learning with which I had been connected for six years in the United States and in Europe. With all the impetuosity of youth, I had not the slightest doubt of the possibility of building up such an institution here. I can imagine the astonishment with which persons heard my first lecture here. It was a sort of inaugural address attending my advent as professor after the German fashion, in which I outlined with perfect confidence the plan of an institution, unlimited in breadth and efficiency. My dreams were not wholly built on air. I took into account the extraordi-

nary geographical situation of Wilberforce: practically in the longitudinal center of the Negro population of the United States, and yet in latitude North of Mason and Dixon's line. I was thrilled by the natural beauty of this place and uplifted by the romantic history of its founding. Because of this very dream and high ideal, I was from the first bitter and uncompromising at every act which did not agree with, and every plan that did not lead toward the sort of institution I had in mind.

The result was that after only two years' experiment I left Wilberforce. I was not kicked out but that was only because I moved before the inevitable swing of the boot. Eventual dismissal was certain and I had sense enough to see it. But notwithstanding that my interest in this school instead of waning, if anything, increased; my criticism of its shortcomings has never ceased and equally I have never lost my belief in its possibilities.

I come, therefore, again, in my role of open and frank critic of Wilberforce University and in an attempt to guide its possible future. I would have you believe that there lurks in what I am going to say, nothing of personal pique or disappointment. There is nothing that I desire of Wilberforce University. I have no scores to settle. For the most part those with whom I was intimately associated while here are long since dead. I never saw President Walker until today. I do not know the head of the combined normal and industrial department. Some few of the teachers I do know but for the most part I have not seen or heard from them for near a decade. In a sense then I come both as an old friend and yet to most of you as a stranger; but to all as one who knows the history of Wilberforce University, who has followed this history with intense and vivid interest and who speaks with only one idea in mind: that, rising out of the muddle and dispute, failure and promise of the present situation, there should eventually arise a Wilberforce which would be recognized by any

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standard as one of the great institutions of learning in the United States.

As you know quite as well as I, this is not the case today. I am deeply disappointed that it is not. Even as I left here as a teacher in the summer of 1896, I firmly believed that a half century would see the institution established in accord with some of the ideals that I had and had expressed. This has not happened. I come back forty-six years after to find the institution still desperately lacking in most things that a great university demands.

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The scientific output of this institution in books and articles, in literature and art, in technical efficiency and economic organization falls so far below the standard of great schools that one searches almost in vain for tangible evidence of scientific work done by Wilberforce professors and graduates. There are some to be sure but they stand out in the midst of a great desert. You have not produced great

scholars or scientists, great technicians nor great thinkers, and yet there is no earthly reason why you should not have done this. Let me illustrate by the case of one of the smaller colored colleges. In two decades of work between 1919 and 1939 the teachers and graduates of West Virginia State College published thirty-three books and monographs, one hundred fifty-five articles and prepared thirty-one unpublished manuscripts, a total of two hundred nineteen pieces of scientific work which is, if I mistake not, at least ten times the output of Wilberforce. One encouraging effort in recent days, the Wilberforce University Quarterly, I hailed with new hope, but I fear now this will be a casualty of the late war. The quality of educational work done here for more than half a century has never until recently, ~~and then tentatively,~~ received recognition as being in accord with the standards of the nation. You have not so established yourself in this country as to make it unnecessary for a first class student to apologize for attending Wilberforce University rather than Ohio State or the University of Chicago. You have been content for a half century to do second-grade work and to make voluminous and frequent excuses therefore.

In addition to this, and perhaps in a sense even more significant, is the situation of this surrounding community. Forty years ago, Xenia was an important manufacturing and commercial center. Wilberforce was a prosperous farming district. One had a right to believe in 1895 that the middle of the twentieth century would see here in southern Ohio, a thriving economic center with prosperous manufactures and commercial enterprises and with a large and growing colored community here of home owners, farmers, merchants, scientists and technicians; not only comfortable and self-supporting but a respected and integral part of the economic and social organization of the Middlewest. I know the blighting effect of war and depression and difficulties of economic maladjustment race prejudice; and yet it seems to me that it apparently has not occurred to this community that any development of the sort was possible under Wilberforce leadership. In appearance and character, in occupation and ambition, the Wilberforce community looks like a center

of stagnation, lack of ambition and in a certain chilling sense, lack of hope. The surrounding country and Xenia have deteriorated and when a few weeks ago I wanted to get a through-train from Chicago to Xenia the nearest I could get was Dayton. That would have been a joke in 1900. On the other hand, the physical expansion of Wilberforce has been great in the amount of land controlled, in the number of buildings, in the size of its student body. Buildings like this hall, like the library and several of the dormitories are striking evidence of growth and yet even here you who have seen the marvelous physical expansion that has taken place in other Negro institutions throughout this country know that Wilberforce is behind. In the growth of its faculty, in the caliber of its teaching and facilities for teaching Wilberforce has also grown but here it has lagged far behind similar institutions.

There is one other thing that may seem to you unimportant and aside but it looms to vast size in my thought; and that is, the way in which you have conceived and the way in which you have treated, the natural beauty of your surroundings. Here is a

lovely undulating land with beautiful trees, grass and wild flowers, with roads winding naturally between the hills and with little brooks and rivers murmuring day and night through broad meadows. As it seems to me you have looked upon this beauty as a thing to be leveled, flattened and scarred. That your ideal would be something slick and square, with brooks hushed, rivers put underground and hills pressed down into the earth. Consider, for instance, the ravine, one of the loveliest natural possibilities of Greene County. It begins with the old main road of Wilberforce and stretches down, widening and deepening to the green meadows and river below. It is a God-created center of natural beauty and development, a potential amphitheatre, a focus around which a university could be ranged, set in the very midst of this community. It was this murmuring vale of healing waters that back in the early nineteenth century attracted people of leisure to Tawawa Springs to drink in its crystal clarity and loll in leisure under the great branches of its oaks and elms. Since then this community has done everything

that it could to shame and obliterate the ravine. In my day already they were using it as a refuse dump. Later they made it the center of a sewage disposal area; but recently they have piled mud in its center to make an extra road. I can remember how once as young teachers protesting against the beginning of profanation of this marvelous beauty spot, we planned to give Shakespeare's "Midsummer's Night Dream" in the ravine ranging the auditors upon its sloping sides and playing in its flower covered depths. We wanted to raise money for a library. The library in 1896 occupied a room half the size of this rostrum. It was kept locked. I chased Professor Scott over this campus for a week to get the key. We determined to transfer the library to the little used double parlors and to raise funds for this by this pageant in the ravine. The way our plan was stopped was prophetic: a powerful bishop in 1896 had decided to appoint his good-for-nothing son as a professor in this school. We stopped our midsummer night's dream to stage a ~~church-wide~~ strike and protest. In the end we won temporarily; the eventual loss of our jobs became merely a matter of time.

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Why now has Wilberforce failed as an institution of learning to reach the heights toward which it must eventually climb if it survives, and why as a community has it failed to become neat, prosperous, beautiful and self-supporting? You know the answer which the average white citizen of Ohio gives to this question: he simply says "Negroes!" That would not disturb me so much in itself, were it not for the fact that the average colored citizen of the nation is coming to say the same thing. Literally dozens among the best Negroes of Ohio with whom in recent years I have talked concerning Wilberforce have all come to the fatalistic conclusion that you cannot expect an ideal development in education or community life here simply because colored people are in control. If I believed that I would not be here. But I do not believe it. And I do not believe it, because I have had opportunity in the last quarter century to see at first hand the kind of development which is taking place in Negro institutions of learning where the same problems that you face here are being attacked and solved.

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I have already told you that ~~at the same time~~ when I was offered work at Wilberforce University, a position at what was then Lincoln Institute in Jefferson City, Missouri was open for me. I refused the larger salary offered there because Lincoln Institute at the time was the well-known plaything of graft and petty politics. The president of the Institute could only hold his job by handing over to members of the trustee board a part of the money which the Institute was overcharged by the merchants who sold it supplies. Appointments to positions in the Institute were matters of petty political deals, personal likes and dislikes and pool-room politics. There were no standards of instruction or educational accomplishment, and there were cheap buildings with a small enrolment of students who came because they could go nowhere else. Today Lincoln University of Missouri is not yet re-born but its birth pains are distinctly audible. It has driven partisan politics out of the institution. It has killed several presidents in the process but the deed is about done. It has secured a steadily increasing income, more adequately paid professors, new buildings and better prepared

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students.

I saw last year the Florida Colored State College at Tallahassee after an interval of twenty-five years. I was astonished. From a ramshakle agglomeration of few buildings, few teachers and indifferent students it has today manificent buildings and a thousand college students; and while its salaries are still too low and its standards of scholarship not as high as they must be, it is a growing and developing college. The same can be said of Virginia State College at Petersburg; the thoughtful planning of that campus, the disappearance of the eye-sore which was long its main building, the number of well-trained men who have regularly and consistently been appointed to the faculty and given security of tenure and encouragement for graduate study and scientific work, is one of the finest pieces of academic accomplishment in the South.

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The possible relation of a college to its community is illustrated at Prairie

View, Texas. So astonishing has been this development that when recently a white president of a great Northwestern state wanted to know how his institution could best get into helpful touch with its community, the trustees of the General Education Board referred him to the Texas Colored State College at Prairie View. The president of that college is in close connection with every secondary school in the state; he has records of every Negro student about to be graduated from every high school in Texas; he is continuously studying the economic condition of colored folk in every part of the state; he is bringing them regularly to Prairie View for conference and discussion at the rate of over ten thousand actual visitors a year. Adjoining the campus is today being developed a settlement of a score of 140 acre farms financed by the Federal Government, and for that settlement, industry and occupations outside of farming and teaching are already being carefully planned and carried out.

Or suppose we turn to some of the older institutions: Fisk, Howard and Atlanta University. A record of the books and articles published by professors and

graduates of these institutions in the last year form a contribution to American literature recognized over the whole country. These books are reviewed in the leading periodicals of the nation; the research of their laboratories is recognized even in Europe; the standards of scholarly accomplishment are being set just as high as those in white institutions. In other words, what can be done at Wilberforce is already being done by colored folk in all parts of the nation and in no case have these people had the natural and geographical advantages, the social freedom and the political power that you have here.

Not in race nor character, not in ability nor power do the failures of Wilberforce find root. What are then the main reasons of the difficulties which have beset your path? We ourselves in moments of depression are prone to blame our blood for every failure and misfortune, but to know the truth we must address ourselves first to the historical rise of this institution and see what obstacles it has encountered and how it has tried to surmount them and what the results of these efforts in our day have been.

Looking into the historical threads that were woven into the web of this institution | I can descry three sets of human beings | whose efforts have made Wilberforce | and who have been responsible in large part for its successes | and its failures. First came three extraordinary figures: Daniel Payne, John Mitchell and Benjamin Lee. If ever three saints strove without thought of self and with utter devotion to the highest ideals which they could conceive | to build here a worthy monument for your worship, | these were the men. | Two of them I knew personally and one died but the year before I came to Wilberforce, | leaving a memory singularly vivid and green. | It is not often that it is given any group of human beings | to command the services of three such men. Daniel Payne, the little bishop, short, slight, shrivelled, was a man of plodding learning, of austere personal morality, of unflinching firmness and indefatiguable energy; no thought of himself or of his own interest ever stood for a moment between him and what he thought best for Wilberforce University, | for the African Methodist Church, | and for the Negro race. | John G. Mitchell, large, calm and placid, starved for thirty-seven

years to make a real theological seminary here, living always serenely above the clouds, with a firm and unshakeable belief in a higher world and in its intimate causal relations with this earth. | Benjamin Lee came later. He was a more practical man | who knew evil, looked it squarely in the face | and fought it doggedly; | he was intensely earnest, solemn in soul and action, impatient of dishonesty, greed and sensuality | and always striving desperately to do | and make others do | what seemed to him exactly the right thing. With these three men, this college started on a high and ideal plane | with little money but with great and unselfish hopes.

There came afterward, connected in various ways with this institution and with the church, three hammers: powerful, ambitious but ruthless men who represented force and driving power | unhampered by ideals; who had no inhibitions of learning or social standards | but drove a way through all sorts of obstacles; and under their leadership both the church and the school lurched now forward and now back. Contemporaneous with

these men ~~were~~ later were three politicians, who represented compromise and adjustment. They were victims rather than leaders; they were the buffers between Ideals of Power, Good and Evil, Theory and Practice. They handled the Church and the State, the public and the school, the teachers and the students. Many were gifted men who had to do unpleasant things and devise devious paths in a crooked world. One man, who belonged to this class of leaders was president of this school when I came, Samuel T. Mitchell.

Samuel Mitchell faced a most difficult problem. Another sort of man, a man like Payne, Mitchell or Lee would have ~~faced~~ handled his problem differently, ~~with stern unbending ideals, with unwavering faith and unchecked energy~~. But Mitchell was more ~~modern~~ subtle and faced a more complex modern world. He was a small, handsome man with captivating manners. He influenced men; he was extraordinarily successful in conference and personal meeting; he stooped to conquer. He came to the presidency of Wilberforce in 1884 and remained until the last year of the nineteenth century. I once blamed Samuel Mitchell severely for his course of action. But time and experience have explained much, if not all. He

faced the same problem that you face: how can the church of a poor working people support an increasingly costly system of education? Mitchell worked hard to increase income and in his administration it rose fifty per cent higher than ever before. But at that it was miserably inadequate. He must get more, but how?

During his day the problem of the church and education was apparently settled but in fact was beginning momentous change. It went without saying before 1900, that churches should promote education, establish colleges and conduct universities. The Union of church and education seemed in that day logical and almost inevitable. Already, however, the burden of supporting education with limited church funds and expanding church programs was beginning to be felt and, the alternative had long seemed to be the accumulation of endowments. Thus most of our greater universities like Harvard, Yale and Princeton starting as denominational schools gradually accumulated endowment funds sufficient to make them independent of the churches and the connection was gradually severed.

Wilberforce had long kept before her this ideal of endowments but there was no precedent then of rich white folk amply endowing a colored institution and there were no rich Negroes. But poor Negroes

The AME Church tried to relieve this situation by heroic efforts to increase its gifts to education. With the appointment of a Secretary of Education in 1884, the AME Church responded so that by 1900 it was raising $20,000 a year. This was a notable effort. ~~Bishop Payne in the thirteen years of his presidency had raised about $10,000 a year for Wilberforce. Lee and Mitchell had increased this to $15,000 a year but this was not nearly enough.~~ If all the money raised for education in the Church could have been concentered upon Wilberforce, which was Payne's original idea, the situation would have been well in hand. But in 1904, the church educational fund was being distributed among twenty-five institutions, including ten colleges which averaged less than $3,000 a school. But particularism was too strong: every bishop, each district, each state wanted in a Negro Needed its school. The cost of raising funds for Wilberforce both

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in actual money and effort became prohibitive.

Moreover, at this time throughout the nation the state was coming in and beginning to support higher education. This support was not altogether effective because it involved a great deal of petty politics and selfish bargaining and consequently low standards in teaching appointments and in scholarship. No one then could have foreseen that in the course of less than a half century, higher education would be very largely in the hands of the state with the prospect that before long the privately endowed or church-supported institution will have largely disappeared.

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Samuel T. Mitchell finding increasing difficulty in raising funds and yet the educational demand expanding, conceived the shrewd bargain of 1889. With his inimitable charm and ability to fascinate and convince, he succeeded in the face of the prohibitions of the state constitution and in spite of the dust fears of church leaders, in bringing about a certain sort of union between the State of Ohio and the African Methodist Episcopal Church for the support of Wilberforce. As we can now see, it was a dangerous

compromise and the time may come when we will look back upon this as the cause of the eventual collapse of this institution. But that will only be if in the face of continued friction and upheavals that have followed the bargain, we throw up our hands, refuse to look facts in the face and fail to grasp the plow that is before us and the real furrow that can yet be run.

What have been the results of this consolidation of the AME school, Wilberforce University, and the State of Ohio as owner of the combined normal and industrial department at Wilberforce? First of all there has been a serious combination of the church and politics. From 1856 to 1889, Wilberforce had become the political capital of the AME Church and its nation-wide membership. Here the little Bishop, Daniel Payne, as senior prelate of the church ruled. Power became concentrated in his hands, through his extraordinary moral purity, his unselfish ideals and his indomitable energy. All of the rulers of the Church came to Wilberforce to consult him; Bishops' Councils were held here; general officers and general policies were decided upon. The senior bishop knew the characters of everybody in the church: when this man aspired to the bishopric - No,

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said the little bishop, he is not an honest man! No, he is not a moral man! No, he is lazy and selfish and will not work!

When Bishop Payne died, it meant that what had been an ecclesiastical dictatorship in strong, honest, unwavering hands became a matter of wide intrigue, manipulation and political arrangement. The well-being and interests of Wilberforce became inextricably intermingled with the interests, and often the selfish personal interests, of the church leaders. The so-called board of trustees of Wilberforce University was a body of hundreds of men distributed all over the United States, only a minority of whom ever came to any meeting and c a me then, most of them, because of church politics and not because of their interest in Wilberforce.

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I remember vividly the first meeting of the trustees while I was here. As they began to swarm in I took my cane and gloves and went to the woods for a long walk.

"Where have you been?" asked my colleagues.

"To the woods," I answered, innocently.

They threw up their hands. "That's not the thing to do; when trustees come to Wilberforce," they said. And they were right.

When now President Mitchell in his effort to raise funds projected this pditically-minded Wilberforce into State politics and thus more than doubled the available income of the school, it was natural for ministers, bishops and presidents of Wilberforce to dabble further in partisan politics until they have helped emphasize that very interference of politics with education which it has been the desperate effort of state universities all over America for fifty years to avoid.

This situation did not however develop immediately in the case of Wilberforce. As Mitchell conceived the consolidation there was to be one head of the combined institutions; the state institution was to be in fact a department of Wilberforce University, although the legal phrase had it "at Wilberforce University."

Italics

The policy which has developed concerning the relation of the state department and the university is interesting to review: first came the logical action, back to which the State and the University must revert if this institution is to grow and develop properly, that is, the president of the university was also superintendent of the combined normal and industrial department. This is the only way in which one institution with a single policy can be built up. President Mitchell was at the head of both departments from the beginning of State aid until 1896, — seven years.

Such a combination, however, presupposes that the interests of the State as well as the University not only be combined but carefully looked after by the single head, so that neither party to the combination would feel under-rated or cheated. The feeling arose under President Mitchell that the State was being used simply for its money and as an unimportant adjunct to the University.

The next step of the State was characteristic but not radical. It appointed a separate head for the State department, but chose for the position a man long connected

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with Wilberforce University, the son of one of its founders and absolutely loyal to its ideals, J. P. Shorter. Shorter was a strict administrator and careful business man and he supplemented President Mitchell's ability to handle persons and compose differences by his own accuracy and executive methods. This went on for fourteen years and the two parts of the institution worked in considerable, if not perfect harmony. The main difficulty which now began to show itself and later was emphasized was that the Normal and Industrial Department had more money than the university, and yet was the subordinate partner.

Then soon after the advent of President Scarborough, there came a momentous change: the State appointed as superintendent a well-trained young man as an educator and also experienced as executive and business man. President Scarborough, on the other hand, was a scholar and a theorist in no way designed for the details of administration and with little liking for it. The inevitable happened; the real presidency of Wilberforce was gradually transferred to the State side. The Normal department went

forward by leaps and bounds. It bought lands and built buildings; It organized its curriculum; it paid its teachers good salaries; it developed far-sighted plans; while the University hung on as a sort of poor relative of the dominant owner and was really supported by State charity. When the administrations changed in 1920, and Gregg came as president, while Joyner retired, there came a third policy irregularly and less clearly developed: the head of the normal department became more and more a fiscal officer and neither a trained educator nor a conspicuous executive. This tended to separate the two institutions and friction arose and multiplied. Almost, it can be said, two separate and rival institutions appeared here ~~distinct in plan and aim~~ - one with power and no money, the other with money and no clear policy.

It was almost inevitable during the years from 1900 to 1940 that into this situation petty State politics should begin to intrude, and this was in no small part the fault of the AME Church and of Wilberforce University itself. From the time that Samuel T. Mitchell found that political manipulation could bring funds to Wilberforce, from

that time on the temptation on the part of the Church to work this source was difficult to withstand. Bishops, presiding elders, ministers and presidents of the institution became politicians and worked for what they thought was either their own advantage or the advantage of Wilberforce. Other colored people in the state not connected with the AME Church saw no reason why they should not share the spoils. The caliber of the persons appointed to the board by the State gradually decreased. In earlier years some of the best known people of the state, white and black, served upon the board of the normal and industrial department. They were replaced as time went on by persons who, whatever their other qualifications were, had often never attended college, knew little about college problems and certainly had not been trained or experienced in the technical work of administering an institution of education.

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Throughout the United States it has been found that in state universities, this tendency has had to be met and fought and stopped. In the University of Wisconsin, the University of Michigan, the University of Illinois, Indiana University, in all the

Negro land grant colleges, and in other institutions it has taken the voters a quarter of a century to learn that appointments in an institution of learning cannot be used to reward political support or to give jobs to friends, or as matters of personal sympathy.

Education is a great and serious end. It has to do primarily not with soils and crops, not with stone and iron, but with the souls of your own children and thus with the future of the Negro race in America. It is becoming one of the greatest functions of government. If it is seduced, and cheapened, and ruined by putting in charge of it people, who however worthy they may be personally in many respects, are ignorant of the difficult technique of carrying on the training of youth, the whole program is ruined. This is the sort of thing that has happened and is happening to Wilberforce University. Perverted standards have come in. In the eyes of many quite honest people it seems to be natural that the teaching jobs at Wilberforce should be handed around to

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people whom they like and taken away from people they don't like. The question as to what sort of man ~~he~~ one is: whether truthful or a liar; dignified or a clown; an earnest worker or a lazy wastrel does not concern them. They do not inquire whether the candidate knows his subject and knows how to teach it. They assume without reflection that there should be appointed to the faculty and upon the trustee board anybody who is a friend to the governor; that if there is a person at Wilberforce or elsewhere who has been unfortunate, who has suffered, who has not received the consideration that he ought to, that a perfectly legitimate way to settle this difficulty is to appoint him professor ~~of psychology~~ or dean ~~of the social sciences~~ even though everybody knows he cannot perform his duties because of congenital unfitness or crass ignorance.

Nor do these perverted standards stop here. Indeed they did not begin here. In the case of the church and the university, it has become a sort of unwritten law that the bishop of this district should be a sort of super-president; that he should rule the University and at the same time dictate to the board of trustees and also enter into political understanding with

the State. This puts the president in an impossible position: he must placate the bishop of Wilberforce; he must be on good terms with bishops of other districts, who are furnishing funds for Wilberforce; he must keep in touch with the officials of the State; he must try to bring into line the man whom the State for any reason, political or personal, appoints at the head of the Normal and industrial department; and then incidentally he must keep a faculty and a body of students at their proper tasks. No human being can successfully occupy such a place.

Here then is the situation that confronts us. What is to be done about it? When some years ago, the professor of history in Howard University, Charles Wesley, was considering ~~the matter of~~ accepting the presidency of Wilberforce University, I wrote him hurriedly and said: Under no circumstances accept the presidency of Wilberforce unless at the same time you are made head of the combined normal and industrial department.

The path of progress before Wilberforce is clear and inevitable: first there must be one head to this institution. Anything else, spells friction, lost effort and eventual disaster. It will be difficult to bring this about. There will have to be a re-arrangement of trustee boards and new understanding with State officials. This can only be done by a determined effort on the part of the colored people of Ohio, the AME Church and Wilberforce University to convince the world that what they want here is not jobs for their friends or religious bigotry or the settlement of personal grudges, but a great institution of learning primarily for the Negro race and eventually for the nation; that to this end they propose to subordinate every selfish interest; that they plan to work in accordance with the best advice of the most influential people of Ohio, white and black. That they will consider no political bargain on the part of either Church or State, but with high and unselfish ends unite to rebuild Wilberforce.

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There must be, I repeat, as the beginning of reorganization, one head to this combined institution, appointed after thorough consultation and understanding between

State and Church and the best educational advice of Ohio. That man must undertake this work as a life-time job and not as a mere stepping-stone on his way to the bishopric. As the best guarantee for this, he would best not be a clergyman at all. But minister or layman, he must hold the scales of perfect justice between the Church on the one hand and the State on the other, handling all funds in method and intent with absolute and unswerving honesty. His controlling board of trustees should be nominated by the Church and appointed by the governor and should represent fairly the interests of the colored people of Ohio and the interests of education in the whole state. In accordance with the best and only rule of administration this board should confine itself to settling general policy and should leave the appointment and dismissal of teachers to the president and then hold him alone responsible for the good conduct and efficiency of this University.

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This calls for a union of high effort, can you make it? You, the school, the community, the State?

I have noted in your president's report the insistence that Wilberforce University is a Christian institution. This is an old note. It has been sounded again

and again with all kinds of variations for nearly a hundred years. It was a matter of emphasis when I was here near a half century ago and it did not impress me. It did not impress me because it was all too evident that what most people at Wilberforce called Christianity was a childish belief in Biblical fairy tales, a word-of-mouth adherence to dogma, and a certain sectarian exclusiveness. It often seemed to me when I lived here a miserable misapprehension of the teaching of Christ. I do not attempt in the slightest way to interfere with anyone's sincere and deep-seated belief. If a man believes that faith in Jonah and the whale is necessary to his soul's salvation, I shall not gainsay him. But I do believe that the generation of young folk before me and the world-at-large have some clear and definite ideas of what real religion calls for and I believe that the citizens of Ohio want tangible proof of certain matters before they will continue to support Wilberforce.

Today in plain English if Christianity means anything, it means honesty, unselfishness and hard work. It means honesty in the handling of funds whether they are the pennies of black waherwomen or the thousands of the State appropriation. It

mean, the absolute wiping out of petty graft, of waste and of stupid carelessness. In addition to this Christianity means sympathy. The realization of what it costs a human being to live and support a family in decency; the realization that a man cannot do scientific research and scholarly work on a $1,000 a year; the realization that teachers and students are human beings who suffer and strive and fail. Above all Christianity means unselfishness; the willingness to forego in part one's personal advantage and give up some personal desires for the sake of a larger end which will be for the advantage of a greater number of people. And finally, Love is God and Work is His Prophet.

Frankly, I have never found at Wilberforce University any outstanding evidence of this kind of Christianity. Once upon a time it was here, and that is why I recall the role of the Three Saints who put their lives into this institution. It has since then, time and time again, been openly, crassly and impudently contradicted by dishonesty, cruelty and utter selfishness.

May I illustrate: when I was asked to come to Wilberforce in 1894, it was to teach Latin and Greek. I did not know much about them, but I knew that Scarborough was head of the department and I was glad and willing to work under his tutelage. Imagine my astonishment, when I arrived at Wilberforce, to find that I was head of the department; that one of your periodical quarrels had taken place, and the president had transferred Scarborough to the Theological department to teach nobody for nothing; while I, a student of sociology, was the whole department of Latin and Greek in the University. This illustrates better than anything I can say the utter stupidity of such action. Scarborough may have been a difficult man to get along with. I do not know. But he knew Latin and Greek better than most American teachers. Laying aside all personal likes and dislikes he should have been kept ~~in this~~ at that job. And the opposite is also true: If he had known no Greek and been a poor teacher and an unworthy man, he certainly did not belong in a theological seminary. To appoint a man to position because of sympathy is just as wrong as to dismiss him from the work he is best fitted to do.

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Unless, therefore, the Christianity which you vaunt here is going to be the sort I have described you will have endless difficulty in extricating Wilberforce from its plight. On the other hand, if this institution handles its funds honestly, is sympathetic and decent in the treatment of its teachers, and unselfish in the establishment of the high aims, and if it can do real scientific work in education; then with one head to the combined institution you have begun reconstruction. But here you cannot sit still. Eventually this preliminary treaty of peace between State and Church must go forward toward a complete and definitive consolidation.

The first possible path is that next, the Church gradually withdrawing from its present dependence upon the State and the establishment of an independent, self-controlled and self-supported institution. This appeals to many of you. (It is in many respects a great and fine ideal) The difficulty with this program, and the inevitable difficulties, is its cost and the preliminary change in machinery which it involves. Such an institution must become first independent not of but in the Church. The local bishop must loose his strangle-hold upon the president. The General Conference and Board of Bishops must

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likewise stand aside ~~in~~ Content with general oversight and ~~not insist on~~ refraining from continual interference. The school must cease to be a mere stepping-stone to the bishopric. It must exist for itself. ~~The~~ Its own board of trustees must be in supreme control and they must in accordance with universal practice in modern education put the actual executive responsibility upon the president. At the same time that the Church thus withdraws from intermeddling with the institution and that the trustees put on its executive officer responsibility and the power at the same time the Church must furnish vastly increased funds, and here is the rub. Can the Church do it and will it?

There was once a legend that Mark Hopkins, a log and a boy could constitute a college. That legend is no longer valid. The boy needs today a library and a large and costly library with a competent and well-trained staff, not 3 girls - white slaves. Without it, he cannot get a modern education. The boy needs laboratories carefully planned, systematically conducted, with materials and tools; and laboratories cost a lot of money. The boy must have not one but a dozen instructors; they must be not merely good men who can read and write, but good men with

long, thorough training in the accumulating and widening knowledge of their fields of instruction. For these and a dozen other different reasons the cost of conducting a first class college today as compared with fifty years ago has risen enormously. Ignoring for the moment the millions of dollars a year that are spent at Harvard and Columbia, let us turn our attention to colored colleges remembering that the AME Church has never been able to raise for education ~~including gifts~~ as much as $100,000 in a single year and usually much less. It has raised As compared with that let us remember that it costs $275,000 a year to run Fisk University; over $300,000 a year to run the Atlanta University system; $365,000 a year to run Virginia State College, while Prairie View College costs $420,000; Howard University costs $600,000 a year and Southern University of Louisiana $650,000 a year. It costs huge sums of money to conduct universities today and there is no reason to believe that the cost is going to be less in the future; rather if anything more.

With the demands upon them today nearly all churches are giving up their attempts to run colleges and universities. The great reunited Methodist Church is practically giving notice to all its institutions that they must prepare to stand alone. The Baptists are following. The Presbyterian Church has taken the same path. An institution like Wilberforce could hardly get from the AME Church adequate funds, if the church gave up the other smaller institutions and concentrated upon Wilberforce. Today even that looks impossible. Loyalties have been built around Morris Brown College and Edward Waters College and in most of ~~all~~ twenty-five institutions which makes their closing unthinkable. Wilberforce will start too late to get much from the distribution of funds now going on under the great foundations, and in addition to that the whole attempt to support higher education even by endowment is made today exceedingly uncertain by the industrial changes brought about partly by world war and partly by far-reaching economic revolution. Millions of dollars of former endowment funds are today worthless from these causes and the future of the endowed college, as I have said before, looks very uncertain.

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The ~~other~~ second possibility is one from which Wilberforce and its constituency has always recoiled but I think you will have to look it straight in the face and that is for Wilberforce University to become a full-fledged State school. There is an example before you of a state colored college to which I beg your careful attention. In 1832, Richard Humphries, a white Quaker, who was once a West Indian slave-owner was living in Philadelphia. On his death he left $10,000 to found an institution for Negroes. Negroes were at that time excluded from the public schools and colleges of that state. His money went to found the Institute for Colored Youth and from that time until after the Civil war, that Institute was one of the ~~leading~~ first colored high schools of the United States and trained some of our most distinguished leaders. The wife of a bishop of this church was long its honored principal.

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After the Civil war, however, Negroes were gradually admitted to all the schools and colleges of Pennsylvania, the endowment of the colored Institute was too small to support it and the attendance not large. The trustees finally moved the school out into the country, to Cheyney and established it on ~~a beautiful~~ an excellent site. Then came the question of support. The new principal, Leslie P. Hill struggled for years, passing the hat to colored people and white in order to support this school which was now a teacher training school. (He could not get enough money.) But the number of his students, attracted by good teaching and pleasant surroundings and refilled ~~living, steadily~~ increased. At last it was clear that either the school must close or the state must support it. Hill, therefore, asked that Cheyney become a recognized state teacher training school and college.

The colored people of Pennsylvania literally raised hell. They accused Hill ~~him~~ of deliberate encouragement of segregation; ~~of failure to do his job~~ and of an attempt to lower the standards of Negro education. I once went down to Philadelphia to argue in support of Hill's proposition. I shall not soon forget the bitterness with which I

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was assailed. Nevertheless, Cheyney today is a state college adequately supported from public taxes and perhaps the most beautifully housed of any of our schools with an excellent group of well-paid teachers. Colored students still attend the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Pittsburgh and the other state normal schools; but in addition to that they attend Cheyney; and the net result of making Cheyney a state school is, to my mind, thoroughly vindicated.

If Wilberforce should become a state university, it need not and indeed according to the letter of its charter it cannot ever become an exclusively colored school. The charter of Wilberforce University said from the beginning in 1863 "There shall never be any distinction among the trustees, faculty or students on account of race or color." Added to this comes the constitution of the State of Ohio which prohibits the establishment of a purely racial school.

But there is no reason why an institution of higher learning, Wilberforce University, should not be established here depending entirely upon state and federal

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appropriations and student fees; that these appropriations instead of being as they are today too small for the establishment of a first class educational institution ~~could~~ become larger and larger, as there is developed here the will and ability to use them in the right way.

There is no reason why a predominantly colored faculty and colored student body should not constitute Wilberforce University and yet gradually raise itself to be the equal in every respect of any institution in this state or in the United States; thus proving to a skeptical generation that color is not connected with ability or honesty. When the time comes in the future, as it may well come, that white persons would be appointed now and then to the teaching force here and white students appear in the student body, it might also happen that colored men would be appointed to the faculty of Ohio State University and colored students continue to be received there, but not as mere outsiders, not as pariahs but as integral and welcome ~~parts~~ members of the institution.

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I believe that this is the logical and right way to settle the difficulties and recurring upheavals at Wilberforce University. And I believe this because recently in spite of all the difficulties which have faced the university administration it has received from an independent and not over-friendly authority ~~astonishing and~~ gratifying testimony as to what can be done at this institution, if the institution is organized and can function as a university should.

46-4-94

If I do not think that the AME Church and the Wilberforce constituency realize what it has meant that for eighty-four years Wilberforce University has had no recognized standing in the United States as an educational institution. It has had sympathy; it has been commended for hard effort but its standing has not been officially recognized. The bachelor degree of Wilberforce University has never been sufficient to admit its possessor to recognized standing in a single institution of the world. Now this is serious. How serious it is can only be known by those acquainted with the present standards and methods of education. In Europe such an institution would not be allowed

to confer degrees at all and in the United States until 1940 the Wilberforce degree was nationally discounted. Today for the first time in its history Wilberforce has received recognition, conditional to be sure, but official recognition that its degrees are ~~up~~ reaching ~~to~~ the national standard. Educationally this is the greatest accomplishment in the history of Wilberforce University.

In 1935, the officials of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools made a careful investigation; they noted particularly this difficulty of two institutions with double control, ~~and local~~ with clashes of personalities, political interference and lack of funds. Four years later they came back. They generously recorded the fact that greater improvement had been made; that through the efforts of the president, who had made total changes in the faculty, the clash of personalities had been abated; the teaching force had been strengthened; the library had been strikingly improved; and the general business administration was better. They said that while this pronounced progress had been accomplished that they could not at present recommend the admission of Wilberforce to

the North Central Association.

Despite this, however, the Board of Review of the Commission on Higher Education, while recognizing that Wilberforce was still confronted with ~~a number of~~ the same difficult problems, decided nevertheless to accredit the institution ~~provisionally~~ subject to the ~~final decision~~ supervision of a committee which was to make annual reports in 1940, 1941 and 1942.

The University, therefore, for the first time in its history has received ~~a conditional~~ recognition as a standard institution.

Following this a special committee report for the first of the trial years, 1940, records continued improvement and "tangible evidence of an increased unity of purpose within the institution." It believes that Wilberforce is making reasonable progress in general and looks forward to the permanent accrediting of the institution after 1942; but is still apprehensive because of threatened political interference. The interference takes place. Through new legislation, a new state board comes into

The balance of power swings toward the State, while the Presidency is still in the hands of the Church power and ~~a new set of appointments is made.~~ (This throws the institution back again
The new board, over the president's recommendations, appoints and dismisses teachers)
to the fundamental problem of putting a permanent end to this double control and ~~of~~ ceasing to ~~making~~ Wilberforce the football of partisan politics, whether this situation arises from dabbling in politics by Wilberforce officials ~~and by~~ or from outside politicians muscling in. In either and both cases, an aroused public opinion, with stern rebuke of this cheapening and frustration of the great objects of an old and respected institution can set the present muddle straight and start the program which I have indicated: first, one head for Wilberforce; and then, after time, thought and adjustment; ~~second~~, either an independent church school or ~~third~~, a publicly supported state university.

and its problems to understand the Church

But Wilberforce is more than a school. It is not simply a community; it is not simply the educational capital of three quarters of a million people united in a great and powerful ~~church~~ organization. It is ~~not simply~~ the educational focus of this ~~church~~. It ought to be one of the main centers out of which trained and scientific guidance for twelve million people could come. Now the chief problem of these twelve millions

today, is the matter of employment at a wage which will allow them to live like civilized human beings. In the present increasing turmoil of the world, there must eventually come, on the part of leading nations, a wide and fundamental readjustment of economic organization and industrial life of work & wage. Some of you assume that when this reorganization comes you are going automatically to inherit what belongs to you; but this will not happen unless you plan for yourselves in accordance with the best thought and training of the day.

That means that around Wilberforce as a community there should begin to grow a thriving self-supporting body of citizens, well-trained in science and art, abreast with the world in thought raising their own food, building their own homes and beginning to manufacture the clothes and other articles that they use; and that this independent economy, separate from the school and yet nourishing it, should spread out through Greene County and Ohio and the ~~Negro race~~. South & Nation

There should begin here that necessary and fateful organization of consumer power which once rescued Denmark and Sweden and is the only way out for the

economic independence and physical survival of the American Negro.

This program which you should organize and plan today was begun for you more than a century ago when the colored people of Cincinnati rose up against their impossible surroundings, called the first national convention of the Negroes in ~~the United States~~ 1831, and began that mass migration ~~of~~ to Canada which was the greatest movement among Negroes before the Civil War. ~~This institution~~ Wilberforce University arose on the echo of the Cincinnati effort and if it ever finally succeeds, it will be because building upon that past it goes forward into an economic future ~~beginning~~ starting here and ~~now with~~ developing into a community life high in thought, scientific in planning and unselfish in deed.

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Gentlemen and ladies of the graduating classes: I have said today little directly to you, whose day of celebration this is. I have talked to your elders and to those who are set in authority over you. But every word I have uttered is indirectly for you. For yours is the kingdom and the power and the glory, forever. Your fathers will tell

you that what I advise and plan is impossible. They are right. It is impossible. But the Impossible is just what you have got to do to save Wilberforce; and believe me when I say, out of the depth of years and the lore of centuries: This is a world where many times the Impossible has been triumphantly ~~accomplished~~ achieved.

"Awake, awake O, Zion, put on thy strength, put on thy beautiful robes."

46-4-52

13 June 1940

Corrected copy

THE FUTURE OF WILBERFORCE

by
W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

36-4-114

I first saw Wilberforce University in September, 1894. Only two months previously I had returned from the University of Berlin and had finished there a continuous education which lasted from my sixth to my twenty-sixth birthday. I was at the time full of ideals, quick and arrogant in judgment, with many personal idiosyncrasies. I walked onto this campus, carrying my gloves in one hand and my cane in the other, according to the best fashion of the German student of that day. Yet I was not altogether impossible; I was comparatively indifferent, for instance, to the matter of money. This was the first salaried job that I had ever held and yet I refused an offer of $1,050 at another institution for the $800 offered here, because Wilberforce meant something to my imagination. I had heard its name since I was a child. On May 24, 1856 one of the midnight endorsers who made the purchase of Wilberforce possible was John Du Bois a member of a family from which I descend.

I taught at Wilberforce two years: Greek, Latin, German and English and begged in vain to add Sociology to the load; I married a Wilberforce girl; I made here life-long friends like Paul Laurence Dunbar and Charles Young; and for the forty-six years since my first coming, I have known every president of Wilberforce University and visited the campus at least once during their administrations and in some cases many times. At one of the sessions of the older Board of Trustees I was elected an honorary alumnus.

Notwithstanding all this, I was from the moment I stepped on this campus until today, an outspoken critic of Wilberforce. This was true not because I disbelieved in Wilberforce or underrated its work, but for exactly the opposite reason. From the first, I had for Wilberforce the very highest ideals: I wanted for it nothing

cheap, second hand, or inferior; I pictured growing up here a great university, not simply Negro, not simply American, but a University in the full sense of those famous institutions of learning with which I had been connected for six years in the United States and in Europe. With all the impetuosity of youth, I had not the slightest doubt of the possibility of building up such an institution. I can imagine the astonishment with which persons heard my first lecture here. It was a sort of inaugural address after the German fashion attending my advent as professor in which I outlined with perfect confidence the plan of an institution, unlimited in breadth and efficiency. My dreams were not wholly built on air. I took into account the extraordinary geographical situation of Wilberforce: practically in the longitudinal center of the Negro population of the United States, and yet in latitude North of Mason and Dixon's line. I was thrilled by the natural beauty of this place and uplifted by the romantic history of its founding. Because of this very dream and high ideal, I was from the first bitter and uncompromising at every act which did not agree with, and every plan that did not lead toward the sort of institution I had in mind.

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The result was that after only two years' experiment I left Wilberforce. I was not kicked out but that was only because I moved before the inevitable swing of the boot. Eventual dismissal was certain and I had sense enough to see it. But notwithstanding that my interest in this school instead of waning, if anything, increased; my criticism of its shortcomings has never ceased and equally I have never lost my belief in its possibilities.

I come, therefore, again, in my role of open and frank critic of Wilberforce University and in an attempt to guide its possible future. I would have you believe that there lurks in what I am going to say, nothing of personal pique or disappointment. There is nothing that I desire of Wilberforce University. I have no

scores to settle. For the most part those with whom I was intimately associated while here are long since dead. I never saw President Walker until today. I do not know the head of the combined normal and industrial department. Some few of the teachers I do know but for the most part I have not seen or heard from them for near a decade. In a sense then I come both as an old friend and yet to most of you as a stranger; but to all as one who knows the history of Wilberforce University, who has followed this history with intense and vivid interest and who speaks with only one idea in mind: that, rising out of the muddle and dispute, failure and promise of the present situation, there should eventually arise a Wilberforce which would be recognized by any standard as one of the great institutions of learning in the United States.

As you know quite as well as I, this is not the case today. I am deeply disappointed that it is not. Even as I left here as a teacher in the summer of 1896, I firmly believed that a half century would see the institution established in accord with some of the ideals that I had and had expressed. This has not happened. I come back forty-six years after to find the institution still desperately lacking in most things that a great university demands.

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The scientific output of this institution in books and articles, in literature and art, in technical efficiency and economic organization falls so far below the standard of great schools that one searches almost in vain for tangible evidence of scientific work done by Wilberforce professors and graduates. There are some to be sure but they stand out in the midst of a great desert. You have not produced great scholars or scientists, great technicians nor great thinkers, and yet there is no earthly reason why you should not have done this. Let me illustrate by the case of one of the smaller colored colleges. In two decades of work between 1919 and 1939 the teachers and graduates of West Virginia State College published thirty-three books and monographs,

one hundred fifty-five articles and prepared thirty-one unpublished manuscripts, a total of two hundred nineteen pieces of scientific work which is, if I mistake not, at least ten times the output of Wilberforce. One encouraging effort in recent days, the Wilberforce University Quarterly, I hailed with new hope, but I fear now this will be a casualty of the late war. The quality of educational work done here for more than half a century has never until recently received recognition as being in accord with the standards of the nation. You have not so established yourself in this country as to make it unnecessary for a first class student to apologize for attending Wilberforce University rather than Ohio State or the University of Chicago. You have been content for a half century to do second-grade work and to make voluminous and frequent excuses therefore.

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In addition to this, and perhaps in a sense even more significant, is the situation of this surrounding community. Forty years ago, Xenia was an important manufacturing and commercial center. Wilberforce was a prosperous farming district. One had a right to believe in 1895 that the middle of the twentieth century would see here in southern Ohio, a thriving economic center with prosperous manufactures and commercial enterprises and with a large and growing colored community here of home owners, farmers, merchants, scientists and technicians; not only comfortable and self-supporting but a respected and integral part of the economic and social organization of the Middlewest. I know the blighting effect of war and depression and difficulties of economic maladjustment and race prejudice; and yet it seems to me that it apparently has not occurred to this community that any development of the sort was possible under Wilberforce leadership. In appearance and character, in occupation and ambition, the Wilberforce community looks like a center of stagnation, lack of ambition and in a certain chilling sense, lack of hope. The surrounding country and Xenia have deteriorated and when a few weeks

ago I wanted to get a through-train from Chicago to Xenia the nearest I could get was Dayton. That would have been a joke in 1900. On the other hand, the physical expansion of Wilberforce as a school has been great in the amount of land controlled, in the number of buildings, in the size of its student body. Buildings like this hall, like the library and several of the dormitories are striking evidence of growth and yet even here you who have seen the marvelous physical expansion that has taken place in other Negro institutions throughout this country know that Wilberforce is behind. In the growth of its faculty, in the caliber of its teaching and facilities for teaching Wilberforce has also grown but here it has lagged far behind similar institutions.

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There is one other thing that may seem to you unimportant and aside but it looms to vast size in my thought; and that is, the way in which you have conceived and the way in which you have treated, the natural beauty of your surroundings. Here is a lovely undulating land with beautiful trees, grass and wild flowers, with roads winding naturally between the hills and with little brooks and rivers murmuring day and night through broad meadows. As it seems to me you have looked upon this beauty as a thing to be leveled, flattened and scarred. That your ideal would be something slick and square, with brooks hushed, rivers put underground and hills pressed down into the earth. Consider, for instance, the ravine, one of the loveliest natural possibilities of Greene County. It begins with the old main road of Wilberforce and stretches down, widening and deepening to the green meadows and river below. It is a God-created center of natural beauty and development, a potential amphitheatre, a focus around which a university could be ranged, set in the very midst of this community. It was this murmuring vale of healing waters that back in the early nineteenth century attracted people of leisure to Tawawa Springs to drink in its crystal clarity and loll in leisure under the great branches of its oaks and elms. Since then this community has done everything

that it could to shame and obliterate the ravine. In my day already they were using it as a refuse dump. Later they made it the center of a sewage disposal area; but recently they have piled mud in its center to make an extra road. I can remember how once as young teachers protesting against the beginning of profanation of this marvelous beauty spot, we planned to give Shakespeare's "Midsummer's Night Dream" in the ravine ranging the auditors upon its sloping sides and playing in its flower-covered depths. We wanted to raise money for a library. The library in 1896 occupied a room half the size of this rostrum. It was kept locked. I chased Professor Scott over this campus for a week to get the key. We determined to transfer the library to the little-used double parlors and to raise funds for this by this pageant in the ravine. The way our plan was stopped was prophetic: a powerful bishop in 1896 had decided to appoint his good-for-nothing son as a professor in this school. We stopped our midsummer night's dream to stage a strike and protest. In the end we won temporarily; the eventual loss of our jobs became merely a matter of time.

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Why now has Wilberforce failed as an institution of learning to reach the heights toward which it must eventually climb if it survives, and why as a community has it failed to become neat, prosperous, beautiful and self-supporting? You know the answer which the average white citizen of Ohio gives to this question: he simply says "Negroes!" That would not disturb me so much in itself, were it not for the fact that the average colored citizen of the nation is coming to say the same thing. Literally dozens among the best Negroes of Ohio with whom in recent years I have talked concerning Wilberforce have all come to the fatalistic conclusion that you cannot expect an ideal development in education or community life here simply because colored people are in control. If I believed that I would not be here. But I do not believe it. And I do not believe it, because I have had opportunity in the last quarter century to see

at first hand the kind of development which is taking place in Negro institutions of learning where the same problems that you face here are being attacked and solved.

I have already told you that when I was offered work at Wilberforce University, a position at what was then Lincoln Institute in Jefferson City, Missouri was open for me. I refused the larger salary offered there because Lincoln Institute at the time was the well-known plaything of graft and petty politics. The president of the Institute could only hold his job by handing over to members of the trustee board a part of the money which the Institute was overcharged by the merchants who sold it supplies. Appointments to positions in the Institute were matters of petty poliitical deals, personal likes and dislikes and pool-room politics. There were no standards of instruction or educational accomplishment, and there were cheap buildings with a small enrolment of students who came because they could go nowhere else. Today Lincoln University of Missouri is not yet re-born but its birth pains are distinctly audible. It has driven partisan politics out of the institution. It has killed several presidents in the process but the deed is about done. It has secured a steadily increasing income, more adequately paid professors, new buildings and better prepared students.

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I saw last year the Florida A and M College at Tallahassee after an interval of twenty-five years. I was astonished. From a ramshakle agglomeration of few buildings, few teachers and indifferent students it has today magnificent buildings and a thousand college students; and while its salaries are still too low and its standards of scholarship not as high as they must be, it is a growing and developing college. The same can be said of Virginia State College at Petersburg; the thoughtful planning of that campus, the disappearance of the eye-sore which was long its main building, the number of well-trained men who have regularly and consistently been

appointed to the faculty and given security of tenure and encouragement for graduate study and scientific work, is one of the finest pieces of academic accomplishment in the South.

The possible relation of a college to its community is illustrated at Prairie View, Texas. So astonishing has been this development that when recently a white president of a great Northwestern state wanted to know how his institution could best get into helpful touch with its community, the trustees of the General Education Board referred him to the Texas Colored State College at Prairie View. The president of that college is in close connection with every secondary school in the state; he has records of every Negro student about to be graduated from every high school in Texas; he is continuously studying the economic condition of colored folk in every part of the state; he is bringing them regularly to Prairie View for conference and discussion at the rate of over ten thousand actual visitors a year. Adjoining the campus is today being developed a settlement of a score of one hundred forty acre farms financed by the Federal Government, and for that settlement, industry and occupations outside of farming and teaching are already being carefully planned and carried out.

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Or suppose we turn to some of the older institutions: Fisk, Howard and Atlanta University. A record of the books and articles published by professors and graduates of these institutions in the last year form a contribution to American literature recognized over the whole country. These books are reviewed in the leading periodicals of the nation; the research of their laboratories is recognized even in Europe; the standards of scholarly accomplishment are being set just as high as those in white institutions. In other words, what can be done at Wilberforce is already being done by colored folk in all parts of the nation and in no case have these people had the natural and geographical advantages, the social freedom and the political power that you have here.

Not in race nor character, not in ability nor power do the failures of Wilberforce find root. What are then the main reasons of the difficulties which have beset your path? We ourselves in moments of depression are prone to blame our blood for every failure and misfortune, but to know the truth we must address ourselves first to the historical rise of this institution and see what obstacles it has encountered and how it has tried to surmount them and what the results of these efforts in our day have been.

Looking into the historical threads that were woven into the web of this institution I can descry three sets of human beings whose efforts have made Wilberforce and who have been responsible in large part for its successes and its failures. First came three extraordinary figures: Daniel Payne, John Mitchell and Benjamin Lee. If ever three saints strove without thought of self and with utter devotion to the highest ideals which they could conceive to build here a worthy monument for your worship, these were the men. Two of them I knew personally and one died but the year before I came to Wilberforce, leaving a memory singularly vivid and green. It is not often that it is given any group of human beings to command the services of three such men. Daniel Payne, the little bishop, short, slight, shrivelled, was a man of plodding learning, of austere personal morality, of unflinching firmness and indefatiguable energy; no thought of himself or of his own interest ever stood for a moment between him and what he thought best for Wilberforce University, for the African Methodist Church, and for the Negro race. John G. Mitchell, large, ~~clam~~ calm and placid, starved for thirty-seven years to make a real theological seminary here, living always serenely above the clouds, with a firm and unshakeable belief in a higher world and in its intimate causal relations with this earth. Benjamin Lee came later. He was a more practical man who knew evil, looked it squarely in the face and fought it doggedly;

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he was intensely earnest; solemn in soul and action, impatient of dishonesty, greed and sensuality and always striving desperately to do and make others do what seemed to him exactly the right thing. With these three men, this college started on a high and ideal plane with little money but with great and unselfish hopes.

There came afterward, connected in various ways with this institution and with the church, three hammers: powerful, ambitious but ruthless men who represented force and driving power unhampered by ideals; who had no inhibitions of learning or social standards but drove a way through all sorts of obstacles; and under their leadership both the church and the school lurched now forward and now back. Contemporaneous with these men and later were three politicians, who represented compromise and adjustment. They were victims rather than leaders; they were the buffers between Ideals of Power, Good and Evil, Theory and Practice. They handled the Church and the State, the public and the school, the teachers and the students. Many were gifted men who had to do unpleasant things and devise devious paths in a crooked world. One man, who belonged to this class of leaders was president of this school when I came, Samuel T. Mitchell.

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Samuel Mitchell faced a most difficult problem. Another sort of man, a man like Payne, Mitchell or Lee would have handled his problem differently. But Mitchell was more subtle and faced a more complex modern world. He was a small, handsome man with captivating manners. He influenced men; he was extraordinarily successful in conference and personal meeting; he stooped to conquer. He came to the presidency of Wilberforce in 1884 and remained until the last year of the nineteenth century. I once blamed Samuel Mitchell severely for his course of action. But time and experience have explained much if not all. He faced the same problem that you face: how can the church of a poor working people support an increasingly costly

system of education? Mitchell worked hard to increase income and in his administration it rose fifty per cent higher than ever before. But at that it was miserably inadequate. He must get more, but how?

During his day the problem of the church and education was apparently settled but in fact was beginning momentous change. It went without saying before 1900, that churches should promote education, establish colleges and conduct universities. The union of church and education seemed in that day logical and almost inevitable. Already, however, the burden of supporting education with limited church funds and expanding church programs was beginning to be felt and the alternative had long seemed to be the accumulation of endowments. Thus most of our greater universities like Harvard, Yale and Princeton starting as denominational schools gradually accumulated endowment funds sufficient to make them independent of the churches and the connection was gradually severed.

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Wilberforce had long kept before her this ideal of endowments but there was no precedent then of rich white folk amply endowing a colored institution and there were no rich Negroes.

But poor Negroes tried to relieve this situation by heroic efforts to increase its gifts to education. With the appointment of a Secretary of Education in 1884, the AME Church responded so that in 1900 it was raising $20,000 a year. This was a notable effort. If all the money raised for education in the Church could have been concentered upon Wilberforce, which was Payne's original idea, the situation would have been well in hand. But in 1904, the church educational fund was being distributed among twenty-five institutions, including ten colleges which averaged less than $3,000 a school. Particularism was too strong: every bishop, each district, each state wanted and in a sense needed its school. The cost of raising funds for Wilberforce both in actual money and effort became prohibitive.

Moreover, at this time throughout the nation the State was coming in and beginning to support higher education. This support was not altogether effective because it involved a great deal of petty politics and selfish bargaining and consequently low standards in teaching appointments and in scholarship. No one then could have foreseen that in the course of less than a half century, higher education would be very largely in the hands of the state with the prospect that before long the privately endowed or church supported institution will have largely disappeared.

Samuel T. Mitchell finding increasing difficulty in raising funds and yet the educational demand expanding, conceived the shrewd bargain of 1889. With his inimitable charm and ability to fascinate and convince, he succeeded in the face of the prohibitions of the state constitution and in spire of the just fears of church leaders, in bringing about a certain sort of union between the State of Ohio and the African Methodist Episcopal Church for the support of Wilberforce. As we can now see, it was a dangerous compromise and the time may come when we will look back upon this as the cause of the eventual collapse of this institution. But that will only be if in the face of the continued friction and upheavals that have followed the bargain, we throw up our hands, refuse to look facts in the face and fail to grasp the plow that is before us and the real furrow that can yet be run.

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What have been the results of this consolidation of the AME school, Wilberforce University, and the State of Ohio as owner of the combined normal and industrial department at Wilberforce? First of all there has been a serious combination of the church and politics. From 1856 to 1889, Wilberforce had become the political capital of the AME Church and its nation-wide membership. Here the little Bishop, Daniel Payne, as senior prelate of the church ruled. Power became concentrated in his hands, through his extraordinary moral purity, his unselfish ideals and his indomitable energy. All of the rulers of the Church came to Wilberforce to consult him; Bishops' Councils were held here; general officers and general policies were decided upon. The senior bishop

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knew the characters of everybody in the church: when this man aspired to the bishopric - No, said the little bishop, he is not an honest man! No, he is not a moral man! No, he is lazy and selfish and will not work!

When Bishop Payne died, it meant that what had been an ecclesiastical dictatorship in strong, honest, unwavering hands became a matter of wide intrigue, manipulation and political arrangement. The well-being and interests of Wilberforce became inextricably intermingled with the interests, and often the selfish personal interests, of the church leaders. The so-called board of trustees of Wilberforce University was a body of hundreds of men distributed all over the United States, only a minority of whom ever came to any meeting and came then, most of them, because of church politics and not because of their interest in Wilberforce.

I remember vividly the first meeting of the trustees while I was here. As they began to swarm in I took my cane and gloves and went to the woods for a long walk.

"Where have you been?" asked my colleagues.

"To the woods," I answered, innocently.

They threw up their hands. "That's not the thing to do when trustees come to Wilberforce", they said. And they were right.

When now President Mitchell in his effort to raise funds projected this politically-minded Wilberforce into State politics and thus more than doubled the available income of the school, it was natural for ministers, bishops and presidents of Wilberforce to dabble further in partisan politics until they have helped emphasize that very interference of politics with education which it has been the desperate effort of state universities all over America for fifty years to avoid.

This situation did not however develop immediately in the case of Wilberforce. As Mitchell conceived the consolidation there was to be one head of the combined institut-

ions; the state institution was to be in fact a department of Wilberforce University, although the legal phrase had it "at Wilberforce University".

The policy which has developed concerning the relation of the state department and the university is interesting to review: first came the logical action, back to which the State and the University must revert if this institution is to grow and develop properly; that is, the president of the university was also superintendent of the combined normal and industrial department. This is the only way in which one institution with a single policy can be built up. President Mitchell was at the head of both departments from the beginning of State aid until 1896, - seven years.

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Such a combination, however, presupposes that the interests of the State as well as the University not only be combined but carefully looked after by the single head, so that neither party to the combination would feel under-rated or cheated. The feeling arose under President Mitchell that the State was being used simply for its money and as an unimportant adjunct to the University.

The next step of the State was characteristic but not radical. It appointed a separate head for the State department, but chose for the position a man long connected with Wilberforce University, the son of one of its founders and absolutely loyal to its ideals, J. P. Shorter. Shorter was a strict administrator and careful business man and he supplemented President Mitchell's ability to handle persons and compose differences by his own accuracy and executive methods. This went on for fourteen years and the two parts of the institution worked in considerable, if not perfect harmony. The main difficulty which now began to show itself and later was emphasized was that the Normal and Industrial Department had more money than the University, and yet was the subordinate partner.

Then soon after the advent of President Scarborough, there came a momentous change: the State appointed as superintendent a young man well-trained as an educator

and also experienced as executive and business man. President Scarborough, on the other hand, was a scholar and a theorist in no way designed for the details of administration and with little liking for it. The inevitable happened; the real presidency of Wilberforce was gradually transferred to the State side. The Normal Department went forward by leaps and bounds. It bought lands and built buildings; it arranged teachers homes; it introduced electricty; it organized its curriculum; it paid its teachers good salaries; it developed other far-sighted plans; while the University hung on as a sort of poor relative of the dominant owner and was really largely supported by State charity. When the administrations changed in 1920, and Gregg came as president, while Joyner retired, there came a third policy irregularly and less clearly developed: the head of the normal department became more and more a mere fiscal officer and neither a trained educator nor a conspicuous executive. This tended to separate the two institutions and friction arose and multiplied. Almost, it can be said, two separate and rival institutions appeared here - one with power and no money, the other with money and no clear policy.

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It was almost inevitable during the years from 1900 to 1940 that into this situation petty State politics should begin to intrude, and this was in no small part the fault of the AME Church and of Wilberforce University itself. From the time that Samuel T. Mitchell found that political manipulation could bring funds to Wilberforce, from that time on the temptation on the part of the Church to work this source was difficult to withstand. Bishops, presiding elders, ministers and presidents of the institution became politicians and worked for what they thought was either their own advantage or the advantage of Wilberforce. Other colored people in the state not connected with the AME Church saw no reason why they should not share the spoils. The caliber of the persons appointed to the board by the State gradually decreased.

In earlier years some of the best known people of the State, white and black, served upon the board of the Normal and Industrial Department. They were replaced as time went on by persons who, whatever their other qualifications were, had often never attended college, knew little about college problems and certainly had not been trained or experienced in the technical work of administering an institution of education.

Throughout the United States it has been found that in state universities, this tendency has had to be met and fought and stopped. In the University of Wisconsin, the University of Michigan, the University of Illinois, Indiana University, in all the Negro land grant colleges, and in other institutions it has taken the voters a quarter of a century to learn that appointments in an institution of learning cannot be used to reward political support or to give jobs to friends, or as matters of personal sympathy.

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Education is a great and serious end. It has to do primarily not with soils and crops, not with stone and iron, but with the souls of your own children and thus with the future of the Negro race in America. It is becoming one of the greatest functions of government. If it is seduced, and cheapened, and ruined by putting in charge of it people, who however worthy they may be personally, are ignorant of the difficult technique of carrying on the training of youth, the whole program is ruined. This is the sort of thing that has happened and is happening to Wilberforce University. Perverted standards have come in. In the eyes of many quite honest people it seems to be natural that the teaching jobs at Wilberforce should be handed around to people whom they like and taken away from people they don't like. The question as to what sort of man one is: whether truthful or a liar; dignified or a clown; an earnest worker or a lazy wastrel does not concern them. They do not inquire whether the candidate knows his subject and knows how to teach it. They assume without reflection that there should be appointed to the faculty and upon the trustee board

anybody who is a friend to the governor; that if there is a person at Wilberforce or elsewhere who has been unfortunate, who has suffered, who has not received the consideration that he ought to, that a perfectly legitimate way to settle this difficulty is to appoint him professor or dean even though everybody knows he cannot perform his duties because of congenital unfitness or crass ignorance.

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Nor do these perverted standards stop here. Indeed they did not begin here. In the case of the church and the university, it has become a sort of unwritten law that the bishop of this district should be a sort of super-president; that he should rule the University and at the same time dictate to the board of trustees and also enter into political understanding with the State. I remember vividly when Bishop Arnett laid down law and gospel for President Mitchell. This puts the president in an impossible position: he must placate the bishop of Wilberforce; he must be on good terms with bishops of other districts, who are furnishing funds for Wilberforce; he must keep in touch with the officials of the State; he must try to bring into line the man whom the State for any reason, political or personal, appoints at the head of the Normal and Industrial Department; and then incidentally he must keep a faculty and a body of students at their proper tasks. No human being can successfully occupy such a place.

Here then is the situation that confronts us. What is to be done about it? When some years ago a talented professor of history in Howard University, Charles Wesley, was considering accepting the presidency of Wilberforce University, I wrote him hurriedly and said: Under no circumstances accept the presidency of Wilberforce unless at the same time you are made head of the combined normal and industrial department.

The path of progress before Wilberforce is clear and inevitable: first there must be one head to this institution. Anything else, spells friction, lost

effort and eventual disaster. It will be difficult to bring this about. There will have to be a re-arrangement of trustee boards and new understanding with State officials. This can only be done by a determined effort on the part of the colored people of Ohio, the AME Church and Wilberforce University to convince the world that what they want here is not jobs for their friends or religious bigotry or the settlement of personal grudges, but a great institution of learning primarily for the Negro race and eventually for the nation; that to this end they propose to subordinate every selfish interest; that they plan to work in accordance with the best advice of the most influential people of Ohio, white and black. That they will consider no political bargain on the part of either Church or State, but with high and unselfish ends unite to rebuild Wilberforce.

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There must be, I repeat, as the beginning of reorganization, one head to this combined institution, appointed after thorough consultation and understanding between State and Church and the best educational advice of Ohio. That man must undertake this work as a life-time job and not as a mere stepping-stone on his way to the bishopric. As the best guarantee for this, he would best not be a clergyman at all. But minister or layman, he must hold the scales of perfect justice between the Church on the one hand and the State on the other, handling all funds in method and intent with absolute and unswerving honesty. His controlling board of trustees should be nominated by the Church and appointed by the governor and should represent fairly the interests of the colored people of Ohio and the interests of education in the whole state. In accordance with the best and only rule of administration this board should confine itself to settling general policy and should leave the appointment and dismissal of teachers to the president and then hold him alone responsible for the good conduct and efficiency of this University.

This calls for a union of high effort, can you make it? You, the school, the community, the State?

I have noted in your president's report the insistence that Wilberforce University is a Christian institution. This is an old note. It has been sounded again and again with all kinds of variations for nearly a hundred years. It was a matter of emphasis when I was here near a half century ago and it did not impress me. It did not impress me because it was all too evident that what most people at Wilberforce called Christianity was a childish belief in Biblical fairy tales, a word-of-mouth adherence to dogma, and a certain sectarian exclusiveness. It often seemed to me when I lived here a miserable misapprehension of the teaching of Christ. I do not attempt in the slightest way to interfere with anyone's sincere and deep-seated belief. If a man believes that faith in Jonah and the whale is necessary to his soul's salvation, I shall not gainsay him. But I do believe that the generation of young folk before me and the world-at-large have some clear and definite ideas of what real religion calls for and I believe that the citizens of Ohio want tangible proof of certain matters before they will continue to support Wilberforce.

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Today in plain English if Christianity means anything, it means honesty, unselfishness and hard work. It means honesty in the handling of funds whether they are the pennies of black washerwomen or the thousands of the State appropriation. It means the absolute wiping out of petty graft, of waste and of stupid carelessness. In addition to this Christianity means sympathy. The realization of what it costs a human being to live and support a family in decency; the realization that a man cannot do scientific research and scholarly work on a $1,000 a year; the realization that teachers and students are human beings who suffer and strive and fail. Above all Christianity means unselfishness; the willingness to forego in part one's personal

advantage and give up some personal desires for the sake of a larger end which will be for the advantage of a greater number of people. And finally, Love is God and Work is His Prophet.

Frankly, I have never found at Wilberforce University any outstanding evidence of this kind of Christianity. Once upon a time it was here, and that is why I recall the role of the Three Saints who put their lives into this institution. It has since then, time and time again, been openly, crassly and impudently contradicted by dishonesty, cruelty and utter selfishness.

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May I illustrate: when I was asked to come to Wilberforce in 1894, it was to teach Latin and Greek. I did not know much about them, but I knew that Scarborough was head of the department and I was glad and willing to work under his tutelage. Imagine my astonishment, when I arrived at Wilberforce, to find that I was head of the department; that one of your periodical quarrels had taken place, and the president had transferred Scarborough to the Theological Department to teach nobody for nothing; while I, a student of sociology, was the whole department of Latin and Greek in the University. This illustrates better than anything I can say the utter stupidity of such action. Scarborough may have been a difficult man to get along with. I do not know. But he knew Latin and Greek better than most American teachers. Laying aside all personal likes and dislikes he should have been kept at that job. And the opposite is also true: if he had known no Greek and been a poor teacher and an unworthy man, he certainly did not belong in a theological seminary. To appoint a man to position because of sympathy is just as wrong as to dismiss him from the work he is best fitted to do.

Unless, therefore, the Christianity which you vaunt here is going to be the sort I have described you will have endless difficulty in extricating Wilberforce

from its plight. On the other hand, if this institution handles its funds honestly, is sympathetic and decent in the treatment of its teachers, and unselfish in the establishment of high aims, and if it can do real scientific work in education; then with one head to the combined institution you have begun reconstruction. But here you cannot sit still. Eventually this preliminary treaty of peace between State and Church, must go forward toward a complete and definitive consolidation.

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The first possible path is that next, the Church gradually withdraw from its present dependence upon the State and establish an independent, self-controlled and self-supported institution. This appeals to many of you. It is in many respects a great and fine ideal. The difficulty with this program and the inevitable difficulty is its cost and the preliminary change in machinery which it involves. Such an institution must become first independent not of but in the Church. The local bishop must loose his strangle-hold upon the president. The General Conference and Board of Bishops must likewise stand aside content with general oversight and refraining from continual interference. The school must cease to be a mere stepping-stone to the bishopric. It must exist for itself. Its own board of trustees must be in supreme control and they must in accordance with universal practice in modern education put the actual executive responsiblity upon the president. At the same time that the Church thus withdraws from intermeddling with the institution and that the trustees put on its executive officer responsibility and the power at the same time the Church must furnish vastly increased funds; and here is the rub. Can the Church do it and will it?

There was once a legend that Mark Hopkins, a log and a boy could constitute a college. That legend is no longer valid. The boy needs today a library and a large and costly library with a competent and well-trained staff - not three overworked slaves. Without it, he cannot get a modern education. The boy needs

laboratories carefully planned, systematically conducted, with materials and tools; and laboratories cost a lot of money. The boy must have not one but a dozen instructors; they must be not merely good men who can read and write, but good men with long, thorough training in the accumulating and widening knowledge of their fields of instruction. For these and a dozen other different reasons the cost of conducting a first class college today as compared with fifty years ago has risen enormously. Ignoring for the moment the millions of dollars a year that are spent at Harvard and Columbia, let us turn our attention to colored colleges remembering that the AME Church has never been able to raise for education as much as $100,000 in a single year and usually it has raised much less.

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As compared with that let us remember that it costs $275,000 a year to run Fisk University; over $300,000 a year to run the Atlanta University system; $365,000 a year to run Virginia State College, while Prairie View College costs $420,000; Howard University costs $600,000 a year and Southern University of Louisiana $650,000 a year. It costs huge sums of money to conduct universities today and there is no reason to believe that the cost is going to be less in the future; rather if anything more.

With the demands upon them today nearly all churches are giving up their attempts to run colleges and universities. The great reunited Methodist Church is practically giving notice to all its institutions that they must prepare to stand alone. The Baptists are following. The Presbyterian Church has taken the same path. An institution like Wilberforce could hardly get from the AME Church adequate funds, if the church gave up the other smaller institutions and concentrated upon Wilberforce. Today even that looks impossible. Loyalties have been built around Morris Brown College and Edward Waters College and in most of twenty-five institutions, which makes their closing unthinkable.

Wilberforce will start too late to get much from the distribution of funds now going on under the great foundations, and in addition to that the whole attempt to support higher education even by endowment is made today exceedingly uncertain by the industrial changes brought about partly by world war and partly by far-reaching economic revolution. Millions of dollars of former endowment funds are today worthless from these causes and the future of the endowed college, as I have said before, looks very uncertain.

The second possibility is one from which Wilberforce and its constituency has always recoiled but I think you will have to look it straight in the face and that is for Wilberforce University to become a full-fledged State school. There is an example before you of a state colored college to which I beg your careful attention. In 1832, Richard Humphries, a white Quaker, who was once a West Indian slave-owner was living in Philadelphia. On his death he left $10,000 to found an institution for Negroes. Negroes were at that time excluded from the public schools and colleges of that state. His money went to found the Institute for Colored Youth and from that time until after the Civil War, that Institute was one of the best colored high schools of the United States and trained some of our most distinguished leaders. The wife of a bishop of this church was long its honored principal.

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After the Civil War, however, Negroes were gradually admitted to all the schools and colleges of Pennsylvania, the endowment of the colored Institute was too small to support it and the attendance not large. The trustees finally moved the school out into the country, to Cheyney and established it on an excellent site. Then came the question of support. The new principal, Leslie P. Hill, struggled for years, passing the hat to colored people and white in order to support this school which was now a teacher-training school. He could not get enough money. But the number of his students, attracted by good teaching and pleasant surroundings and

repelled from other schools by social ostracism increased. At last it was clear that either the school must close or the state must support it. Hill, therefore, asked that Cheyney become a recognized state teacher-training school and college.

The colored people of Pennsylvania literally raised hell. They accused Hill of deliberate encouragment of segregation and of an attempt to lower the standards of Negro education. I once went down to Philadelphia to argue in support of Hill's proposition. I shall not soon forget the bitterness with which I was assailed. Nevertheless, Cheyney today is a state college adequately supported from public taxes and perhaps the most beautifully housed of any of our schools with an excellent group of well-paid teachers. Colored students still attend the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Pittsburgh and the other state normal schools; but in addition to that they attend Cheyney; and the net result of making Cheyney a state school is to my mind thoroughly vindicated.

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If Wilberforce should become a state university, it need not and indeed according to the letter of its charter it cannot ever become an exclusively colored school. The charter of Wilberforce University said from the beginning in 1863 "There shall never be any distinction among the trustees, faculty or students on account of race or color." Added to this comes the constitution of the State of Ohio which prohibits the establishment of a purely racial school.

But there is no reason why an institution of higher learning, Wilberforce University, should not be established here depending entirely upon state and Federal appropriations and student fees; that these appropriations instead of being as they are today too small for the establishment of a first class educational institution become larger and larger, as there is developed here the will and ability to use them in the right way.

There is no reason why a predominantly colored faculty and colored student body should not constitute Wilberforce University and yet gradually raise itself to be the equal in every respect of any institution in this state or in the United

States; thus proving to a skeptical generation that color is not connected with ability or honesty. When the time comes in the future, as it may well come, that white persons would be appointed now and then to the teaching force here and white students appear in the student body, it might also happen that colored men would be appointed to the faculty of Ohio State University and colored students continue to be received there, but not as mere outsiders, not as pariahs but as integral and welcome members of the institution.

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I believe that this is the logical and right way to settle the difficulties and recurring upheavals at Wilberforce University. And I believe this because recently in spite of all the difficulties which have faced the university administration it has received from an independent and not over-friendly authority gratifying testimony as to what can be done at this institution, if the institution is organized and can function as a university should.

I do not think that the AME Church and the Wilberforce constituency realize what it has meant that for eighty-four years Wilberforce University has had no recognized standing in the United States as an educational institution. It has had sympathy; it has been commended for hard effort but its standing has not been officially recognized. The bachelor degree of Wilberforce University has never been sufficient to admit its possessor to recognized standing in a single institution of the world. Now this is serious. How serious it is can only be known by those acquainted with the present standards and methods of education. In Europe such an institution would not be allowed to confer degrees at all and in the United States until 1940 the Wilberforce degree was nationally discounted. Today for the first time in its history Wilberforce has received recognition, conditional to be sure, but official recognition that its degrees are reaching the national standard. Educationally this is the greatest accomplishment in the history of Wilberforce University.

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In 1935, the officials of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools made a careful investigation; they noted particularly this difficulty which I have stressed of two institutions with double control; with clashes of personalities, political interference and lack of funds. Four years later they came back. They generously recorded the fact that great improvement had been made; that through the efforts of the president who had made vital changes in the faculty, the clash of personalities had been abated; the teaching force had been strengthened; the library had been strikingly improved; and the general business administration was better. They said that while this pronounced progress had been accomplished that they could not at present recommend the admission of Wilberforce to the North Central Association.

Despite this, however, the Board of Review of the Commission on Higher Education, while recognizing that Wilberforce was still confronted with the same difficult problems, decided nevertheless to accredit the institution subject to the supervision of a committee which was to make annual reports in 1940, 1941 and 1942.

The University, therefore, for the first time in its history has received recognition as a standard institution.

Following this, a special committee report for the first of the trial years, 1940, records still continued improvement and "tangible evidence of an increased unity of purpose within the institution." It believes that Wilberforce is making reasonable progress in general and looks forward to the permanent accrediting of the institution after 1942; but the committee is still apprehensive because of threatened political interference. The interference has taken place. Through new legislation, a new state board comes into control. The balance of power swings toward the State, while the Presidency is still in the hands of the Church. The new board, over the president's recommendations, appoints and dismisses teachers. This throws the institution back

again to the fundamental problem of putting a permanent end to this double control and of ceasing to make Wilberforce the football of partisan politics, whether this situation arises from dabbling in politics by Wilberforce officials or from outside politicians muscling in.

In either and both cases, an aroused public opinion, with stern rebuke of this cheapening and frustration of the great objects of an old and respected institution can set the present muddle straight and start the program which I have indicated: first, one head for Wilberforce; and then, after time, thought and adjustment; either an independent church school or a publicly supported state university.

But Wilberforce is more than a school and its problems transcend the Church. It is not simple a community; it is not simple the educational capital of three quarters of a million people united in a great and powerful organization; it is, or ought to be, one of the main centers out of which trained and scientific guidance for twelve million people could come. Now the chief present problem of these twelve millions today, is the matter of employment at a wage which will allow them to live like civilized human beings. In the present increasing turmoil of the world, there must eventually come, on the part of leading nations, a wide and fundamental readjustment of economic organization and industrial life and work and wage. Some of you assume, that when this reorganization, comes you are going automatically to inherit what belongs to you; but this will not happen unless you plan for yourselves in accordance with the best thought and training of the day.

That means that around Wilberforce as a community there should begin to grow a thriving self-supporting body of citizens, well-trained in science and art, abreast with the world in thought, raising their own food, building their own homes and beginning to manufacture the clothes and other articles that they use; and that

this independent economy, separate from the school and yet nourishing it, racial and yet broadly inter-racial should spread out through Greene County and Ohio and the United States.

There should begin here that necessary and fateful organization of consumer power which once rescued Denmark and Sweden and is the only way out for the economic independence and physical survival of the American Negro.

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This program which you should organize and plan today was begun for you more than a century ago when the colored people of Cincinnati rose up against their impossible surrounds called the first national convention of the Negroes in 1831 and began that mass migration to Canada which was the greatest movement among Negroes before the Civil War. Wilberforce University arose on the echo of the Cincinnati effort and if it ever finally succeeds, it will be because building upon that past it goes forward into an economic future starting here and developing into a community life high in thought, scientific in planning and unselfish in deed.

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Gentlemen and ladies of the graduating classes: I have said little today directly to you, whose day of celebration this is. I have talked to your elders and to those set in authority over you. But every word I have uttered is indirectly for you. For yours is the kingdom and the power and the glory, forever. Your fathers will tell you that what I advise and plan is impossible. They are right. It is impossible. But The Impossible is just what you have got to do to save Wilberforce; and believe me when I say, out of the depth of years and the lore of centuries: This is a world where many times, the Impossible has been triumphantly achieved.

"Awake, awake, put on thy strength O, Zion, put on thy beautiful robes."

Speech while at Atlanta University. undated

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HENRY HUNT

I want to talk to you for a short time on certain aspects of the life of Henry Hunt, stressing particularly the time in which he lived; the choice of racial identity which he had opportunity to make; and also the choice between city and country as the place where he would work; and finally, the question of income, salary, return for his efforts and for all human effort.

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I knew Henry Hunt personally and with fair intimacy for more than twenty-five years; and since his day was contemporaneous with mine, I understood the major problems of his environment. The two generations between 1866 and the present had resemblances and differences: the first generation, 1866 to 1900, was a post-war generation where a nation was trying to reconstruct and adjust itself after a civil war which

cost an unusual amount of blood and treasure. This was followed by a generation of accomplishment and complacency, pride and sudden catastrophe; a sort of culmination of forces loosened in the first generation, riding high on the winds of success, and smashing again to even greater disaster.

Persons living in a day like this, when a world is tottering and when all things are in question and when there is a curious uncertainty about the future, can hardly picture to themselves the years when Henry Hunt and I were boys and youths. That latter half of the nineteenth century was a time when everything seemed sweeping upward to great and splendid goals. Progress was the watchword; growth in heighth and width, in value, weight and power, were the slogans. It was even possible to look back upon the Civil War not so much as a disaster but as something which rid the country of

the fatal incubus of slavery. Even in the South no matter how great the loss in wealth and how tense the fear of social revolution; this backward glance at slavery was the prevailing fashion. It was, men argued, an illogical institution, an institution which was hindering the broader possibilities of the South and thus of the whole nation. Fortunate it was that it had been swept away in theory if not in fact. That philosophy was all the easier to adopt because the country was at the edge of an economic development such as the world had never seen before. The resources of an incredibly rich continent was ready for exploitation on a colossal scale. Unhampered by political divisions; spurred on by the new capitalism in the hands of sharp, powerful, uninhibited and resourceful individuals, there began in the United States after the Civil War a career for industrial enterprise and an accumulation of private wealth such as the world never before witnessed. It seemed to Americans who lived in the eighties and nineties, that there were no reasonable limits to the accumulation of individual wealth, to the resource-

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ness of American invention, to the material greatness of the United States. Every worker could become a millionaire; every boy could be president; every student could be famous.

Henry Hunt grew up in this era and although the location of his birthplace in Hancock County, Georgia and the early education in its miserable schools was perhaps among the least promising start for any American, nevertheless the swirl of an onward and upward swooping of enterprise and ambition caught him and pushed him forward. To be sure, he lived to see the day when America was not quite so sure of the greatness of her accomplishment, of the wise distribution of her wealth, of the future of her citizens and of her ultimate place in the world. But before that day of doubt overwhelmed her thought, Henry Hunt had already been molded and brought to manhood.

Now in that manhood as I have intimated he had to make two choices: first of all he had a choice as to which race he should belong. Not many of us have any

such choice; nor do we give adequate thought and sympathetic attention to the intricate problems which this involves. When you see an American white man who has had among his ancestors, near or far, an African, you class him without further to-do as a Negro; and thus American Negroes comprehend all sorts of people: black people with no trace of white blood; white people with no evident traces of black blood and all the gradations of color and so-called race between. Henry Hunt was in countenance and physical build and in many of his normal psychological reactions, a typical Georgia white man. In appearance and speech, he gave no hint of Negro descent. If he had chosen to join the white race in his earlier years, he could have done so without question. Thousands of men and women like him have done so.

At first thought most of you would say that it would be perfectly natural, if you could choose to be either black or white in America, you would be white; because the inhibitions, the caste laws, the prevalence of veiled or open insult, the problem of earning a living, make the life of an American of Negro descent one of unusual

difficulty. Under the handicaps which we endure, other things being equal, it takes more energy, more ambition, a more determined will to accomplish a given task or to achieve a certain status, than it does in the case of white men. So that, as I have said, looking at the matter without particular thought, you would say that anyone in this world chooses naturally the path which most easily and quickly leads to happiness, accomplishment, service.

On the other hand, it may be that the choice of race in the case of one like Henry Hunt, involves certain sacrifices which one cannot easily make: first of all Henry Hunt had not only a colored mother and her relatives, but seven brothers and sisters and his choice of passing as a white man involved either similar choices on their part where that was possible or a complete breaking of family ties. And even beyond that there were ties of friendship and acquaintances which he would have to sever without any question. Here most people similarly circumstances hesitate. There

have been some rather terrible tragedies in the United States especially in cities like New Orleans and Charleston and perhaps more particularly in the West Indies where gradations of color in the same family and in the same group have torn relatives and acquaintances aprt. After all life is primarily family and friends. One cannot lightly cast off this enveloping and intriguing bond of love and affection and seek to create a new place in a strange world.

But beside this there are certain questions of individual integrity and of self-respect which intervene. From a certain point of view it was idiotic to call Henry Hunt a Negro and the same thing applies to hundreds of colored Americans like John Hope and Senator Pinchback. But at the same time, from long teaching and deeply planted conviction the overwhelming opinion of white Americans is that the fact of one black ancestor in eight or sixteen makes tremendous difference of identity, of treatment and opportunity. Before such a paradox the whole natural resentment of a normal

man arises in protest. It is unfair and silly and in a surprising number of cases it leads as it did in the case of Henry Hunt to deliberate choice on the part of white men to cast in their lot with Negroes and to refuse to repudiate any part of their ancestry in deference to current prejudice. They answer: Yes, I had a black grandmother and if that makes me black, I'll be black. How wise this choice is from a point of view of personal happiness it is difficult to say, but how helpful to the Negro race it has been in the case of men like Henry Hunt there can be no question. He suffered from the choice he made; he had difficulties super-imposed upon and added even to the usual difficulties of a Negro American. He was continual y facing a situation where after having been treated as a man and a fellow he suddenly was subjected to ostracism or open insult when it was found that he openly identified himself with the Negro race. He was continually facing this dilemma: shall I advertise my ancestry simply because this man

thinks it of supreme importance or shall I stand on my right to be judged as a man regardless of my descent even though these people consider such self-assertion on my part as an unforgiveable deception.

There were always people who with misplaced sympathy and lack of delicate consideration were continually asking him why, why, he chose to be a Negro because after all there was involved so evidently the element of deliberate choice. Henry Hunt himself would have been quite clear upon the subject. He would have said frankly that to take a stand in America as anything but a Negro would have made him supremely unhappy, because here was an opportunity for battle and battle on the highest plane; and it may be well questioned if one gets out of the easy life and the carefully smoothed way, anywhere near as much of the thrill of living, as one may get out of choosing the hard way and the almost impossible task.

Then too Henry Hunt would have pointed out to you that your rather naive

assumption that everyt ing in the world is easy for white folk just because they are white is based on astonishing ignorance. There are certain clear advantages attached to the obvious disadvantages of being a Negro. I remember once as a senior in a Northern col ege I was riding home on a street car with a classmate. I did not know him very well, but offhand I should have put him down as the most fortunate of mortals: good-looking, healthy, cultured, rich and white. But he made a confession to me that night in the little street car that bumped al ng the cobble stones between Boston and Cambridge. He said, "You know I don't know what I am going to do when I get out of college, because there is nothing in which I am particularly interested. I stared at him in open mouthed amazement. It had nev r occurred to me before that that there was any human being who did not have one great clear object in mind as his life work. And I immediately saw that I had one vast advantage over him and that was the advantage of a start of an object in life; of not only having a goal but of being able to set out toward it without

hesitations and contradictions in thought and effort. That simply indicates one of the disadvantages of those people in the world who do not see or realize the world's injustice, who think of themselves as the privileged and who lose their opportunities because of the very abundance. Beyond that, however, the kind of caste restriction and prejudiced action that hems in black men today differs not absolutely in kind but simply in degree from those which hamper most of the people on earth and always has hampered them. The good things of life have always been reserved for the privileged few. The mass of men everywhere have always been in poverty and distress and whatever restriction in law and custom the American Negro suffers today, the majority of white people in other times and places have suffered exactly the same kind of discrimination. One has but to read the directions which the German conquerors have recently sent out concerning the treatment of the conquered Poles to see a worse system of caste and race hatred there outlined than could be found in Georgia. In the United States, to be sure, we have

built up a country where with the exception of the Negro caste restrictions have been less than in most other lands but even here the prejudice against the Irish in New England, against Italians and Hungarians in the mid-states and against Germans and Scandinavians in the west, has approached, even though it has not by any means equaled the discrimination against Negroes. The path of a young white man or woman today in the United States is by no means broidered with roses. It is hard and difficult and while the difficulties may not lie in the same places or be of the same kind of those which you encounter, they are none the less real and appalling. While as I have indicated before to mitigate the difficulties of your position there are certain distinct advantages in clearness of ideal and sympathy for the uncalled. Whenever a nation oppresses a people it does not gather to itself simply the advantages of the privileged; it also gathers the distinct disadvantages of being always conscious of injustice and being continually compelled to act against its own conscience and against its own deeper wish.

I think that on the whole Henry Hunt was never unhappy at having chosen to identify himself with the race to which one of his sixteen great grandparents belonged.

There came a second choice where also the guiding lines of decision are not as clear as many would think. If, for instance, I asked this audience: how many of you would prefer to live in New York rather than Fort Valley, the vote in favor of New York, if it were open and honest, would be overwhelming. New York like all cities is a center of a magnificent civilization. That means that within a comparatively few square miles you can see an accumulation of beauty, of results of power and efficiency, of comfort and convenience which the whole state of Georgia could not duplicate. Then too, you would be surrounded there in small space with examples of individual ability, pleasant personalities and thousands of those who possess the individual genius which is building the world, etc. In a sense a great city like New York, London and the Paris that was, are vast and perpetual circuses where just to walk along the street is to re-

ceive a thrill and an education which could not be duplicated in years among the red hills of Georgia.

In numbers of cases the reason that most people do not go to New York is that they cannot make a living there but Henry Hunt could have made a living in New York or almost any large city. He was a man of great adaptability. He understood and got on with his fellow men. Opportunity and promotion in his case would not have encountered the difficulty of obvious color. He could have worked in New York and worked for and in the service of the Negro race. He chose rather deliberately to come to the country districts of Georgia. To explain the reasons of this choice one is tempted continually to go too far and to make assertions that border on the untruth. There is no use telling the ordinary intelligent individual that life in the country districts of Georgia has at present any distinct advantages over life on Fifth Avenue, New York. Considering life as life that is not true. On the other hand consider the great mass

of living people and the destiny of the American nation and what groups composing it, if somebody does not take hold of rural life and re-make it and re-build it, city life will in the long run be entirely without support and reason for being. Now you cannot prove by any process of logic that it is your business in particular to do the more or less unpleasant job. You can, however, point out certain things. That in the first place the life in the country districts need not be as unpleasant as it is. In fact one can easily see that if the country districts of the United States and of the world were transformed as they might be there would not be the advantage of city life over country life which we now see. The point upon which we are not usually honest is this: the transformation is not easy and it cannot be swiftly done. No one of you is going to live long enough to see the poverty and squalor and primitive conditions of life in the rural South equal the comfort and efficiency of life at its best in the great cities. On the other hand, there are certain things that can be realized in the country districts

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not
by ordinary people and can be enjoyed by ordinary people in the city which we are about to forget. Dirt, noise, crowded conditions of living, poor food; contact with careless, ugliness and crime; all this cannot be avoided by most of the people who live in cities. On the other hand there is in the country the immeasureable opportunity of silence, of fresh air and sunlight and to these things may be added with measurable effort fresh and wholesome food, the tremendous advantage of unlimited living space and acquaintance with the normal beauty of the living earth. With the growth of these advantages there can come in the country districts of the land a chance for physical health and family happiness which city life has almost ruined.

In addition to these things there are any number of modern comforts and inventions which the city has monopolized which easily could be brought to the country. When, therefore, you consider what the country might have, if its life was intelligently conducted and what the city lacks and must lack and how absolutely necessary it is that a

foundation of normal rural life be put beneath our urban culture, you can easily see why a man like Henry Hunt saw his greatest usefulness in attacking this country problem. But this choice involved sacrifice and when one is called upon to sacrifice any part of his life for a great cause there is apt to be a good deal of deception and especially self-deception. The re-building and transformation of the rural districts of the United States, and of the South in particular, is one of the greatest of our needs but there is no use in trying to make normal and intelligent human beings believe that the process of accomplishing it is going to be swift and easy and furnish happy and comfortable lives for the persons who do it. There is something peculiar about sacrifice in human living, about the deliberate surrender of certain obvious advantages and happiness so that greater opportunity will come to someone else. It is not logical and there is no use pretending that it is. Some folk like to believe that this sort of thing while not rewarded in this world will be rewarded in some other world; but of this there is no proof. The man who faces the possibility of sacrifice for great ends would better

make up his mind and grip his courage and say I am giving up something. It is mere pretense; it is "pie in the sky by and bye", to deny the real sacrifice. "It is worth while because I am willing to do something of this sort if it makes life broader and easier for other folk, such as I am, who are going to follow me.

Henry Hunt then chose to be a black man and chose to work in country districts, because he deliberately made a choice of this sort not only as to the race with whom he would work but also as to the place where he would work. There was one other thing which he faced and which you have to face and concerning which there is a good deal of muddy thinking in these days. And that is the matter of income. Most ordinary people have a certain fatalistic attitude toward income. The amount which a man is going to earn they seem to think is determined by forces largely outside himself. He may increase it by hard work and by saving but on the whole he receives wages, he does not make them. There is a small minority of people who make the matter of income, their chief thought: income

for themselves and for their children. Usually they are people who are and have been well-to-do or rich and who have come to know that income is of such importance that they give a large part of their life toward the planning for wealth. What is uppermost in these people's mind is the fact that you can have no real and permanent civilization without adequate income. The available income of tenant farmers in the South, both white and black, has been calculated to be under $300 a year. There is no use telling a man who is receiving such a pittance to be good, happy and intelligent. This is impossible. Poverty breeds ignorance because poor people cannot adequately send their children to school. It breeds crime. The crime which arises from stealing food and clothes, from quarreling and fighting as a result of frayed nerves and locak of reasonable recreation and the crime that arises from vengeance and despair. Poverty breeds disease. I remember pointing out the high rate of death and sickness among colored people and blaming them for it. A scientist wrote me all the way from Russia and said that which you are publishing is not a Negro death rate it is a poverty death rate. Poor people are always

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diseased; poor people die young; the reason is simply: They do not have enough to eat, they are not protected from the weather and they cannot hire physicians. Where then you have low income you have ignorance, crime and disease and that is true the world over regardless of race or color.

Consequently a considerable group of people give a large part of their time and effort to being sure that they and their children get an income large enough so that they can live decently and in a civilized manner and educate their children and clothe and house them and give them that guidance and advice which will make them healthy and normal folk.

This does not mean that an adequate income will settle all our problems of education and crime and ill health but without doubt it will settle the major part of those problems and leave us time and opportunity to work for the eventual settlement of the rest. Unfortunately the matter of securing adequate income is hindered by the fact that the large incomes of the few are built at the expense of low incomes for the many. This need not

necessarily be so. For a long time in the world we agreed that poverty was an unfortunate necessity and for many thousands of years this was true but today with the available wealth of the world and the ingenuity of the methods by which it can be made available for human consumption there is no doubt that the great majority of men could have an income adequate for health and comfort but this can only be accomplished if it is deliberately planned by governments and organizations and the abolition of poverty deliberately and continuously pursued as the major object of organized human life. The revolution of thought and effort by which this plan is to be brought about can only be pushed forward by social leaders, by thinkers, writers and teachers, by preachers who know what they are talking about and by men of vision like Henry Hunt who are willing to sacrifice something of the present comfort for the advantage of future generations. Unfortunately these very people who undertake this job of remolding the world so as to plan for the abolition of poverty are today themselves not being paid adequately for

their work and cannot hope to be;so that in addition to the difficulty of identifying himself with a disadvantaged race and of working in the country rather than in the city, Henry Hunt had to face the fact that he could never hope to be rich or even secure through his work. That if he got enough to live in ordinary comfort he would be rather exceptional. The problem that he, therefore, leaves to you is a problem as to how you are going to see to it that not only the work is done for the people who need it and in the places where the need is greatest but also that that work is going to be so paid for that the persons who do it can do it well and not sacrifice health and strength and happiness in this duty.

Henry Hunt was born in a day when as I have said the distribution of wealth was looked upon as more or less accidental and providential, and whatever injustice ensued could be made up by working and saving. The problem of unemployment was not large enough in those days to be recognized as a matter of primary and national interest. Henry Hunt lived, however, to see a day when we began to realize that this matter of

distributing wealth is something calling for intelligent action on the part of everybody. It is not providential; it is not a matter of chance. It is a matter of planning. Mr. Hunt and many others began to face in their efforts for social reform an embarrassing paradox. It is the peculiar paradox of this generation and is going to mean frustration in much of the work which you young people undertake. It may be illustrated in this way: a man is working as teacher in a country school. He wants a new school house; he wants children to attend more regularly and to wear better clothes and be able to buy books. He wants his own salary increased so that he can live decently and have one or two assistant teachers. If he looks to the county or the state to furnish these things he is disappointed. Partly because of customary and deliberate discrimination against colored schools and partly because the rural government has not money even for decent white schools. If the teacher now turns to his constituency the problem is no easier. The patrons of the school are not earning enough money to pay even in part for a new school house; to clothe and shelter their children and to buy them books, much less are they

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able to supplement the teacher's salary. What then must this teacher do? He may get some outside philanthropic agency to help but such help cannot be depended upon indefinitely. So that pretty soon once comes back to the basic problem: how can rural communities, white and black, be established upon such a firm economic foundation that they can pay adequately for their education? Here we are back again to the problem of income. This problem Henry Hunt faced repeatedly during his life. First, the support of a private school from community sources; then the support of a larger and better school by a great national religious organization; and finally the problem of turning the institution over to the state. Meantime always in his mind, in his talks with me and in his public addresses, in his writings there occurred this basic matter of how colored people were going to make a living so that they could support their institutions for social reform as well as homes and families.

It was my good fortune to be instrumental in opening a way for Henry Hunt to come in touch in some small way with a new method of planning which looked toward

a solution of the economic problem of the Negro. His was only a small opportunity but the beginning of greater things and he turned to it with great energy and enthusiasm. I think without doubt it lightened perceptibly the load of his later years and made him see clearly a pathway where formerly had been increasing darkness and jungle.

I remember when the matter came up. We were sitting on the ground of a rural homestead in upper New York state. A group of twenty or thirty persons of all ages had been conferring here concerning the interests of American Negroes without great agreement. There came to call upon our host, Joel Spingarn, the man who is now a member of the president's cabinet and secretary of the United States Treasury, one of the most powerful posts in the world. Henry Morgenthau was at the time at the head of another department of government which had charge, among other things, of credit unions and he said to us that he wanted a colored man who could cooperate in that branch of the work and spread knowledge of it throughout the Negro race. I immediately said in my mind, Henry Hunt. I knew of no one in the United States who had such wide and intimate knowledge of the rural

South and such devoted personal interest in its betterment. I repeated the name to my fellows and later unanimously a committee of which I was chairman sent the recommendation to Mr. Morganthau and Henry Hunt was appointed. Now it may be said that the matter of a group of persons pooling small savings and loaning them to each other, in cases of stress and necessity, is but nibbling at the edges of the great problem of better wages and normal income. That is true. But it is precisely at these ragged edges that fundamental reform is going to begin and the work of Henry Hunt's last three or four years of life had to do with the fundamental problem which faces us as citizens of the government of a great modern country.

A peculiarity of the rural South and of the poorer people in cities contrasting sharply with habits of New England and the Northwest is to borrow money for consumption, that is, to borrow money which they are going to spend for paying rent, or buying clothes, or buying furniture, or even buying food. The difficulty with thiskind of borrowing is two

fold: first, it depends upon the chances of keeping a job and earning enough to pay back the loan; and secondly, under ordinary circumstances it exposes the borrower to usury, that is, to a payment of interest which varies from being merely high to being little less than outrageous theft. It happens in the South particularly that in the change from the slave plantation economy to a free wage system debt usury became customary, that is, workers were kept in debt either by deliberate planning or by accident of weather and the market and then spent their lives in trying to pay back the loans. This situation was a prime cause of the difficulty that workers in the South have even in beginning to save and accumulate. The same thing in different ways has grown up among the working population in cities all over the United States. The credit union comes in not to help directly in larger earnings but to help in saving that which the worker already owns. It proposes that a group of workers should put their small accumulations together and loan to those of their fellows whom they know who need to borrow for a

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real purpose and who have the honest habit of paying their debts. In this way thousands of poor people have escaped the huge interest charges which they used to pay and are making some beginning toward financial independence.

Henry Hunt during the last four or five years of his life not only kept up his interest and cooperation in the work here but made a wide and successful effort toward establishing credit unions among the Negroes of the United States. He thus made a small opening in that highway which must lead to greater independence among Negroes, to better support themselves and families, and greater ability to carry on work for social reform among themselves.

In these four matters then lie the significance of Henry Hunt: the peculiarity of the day and surge of effort in the age in which he lived; the illogical but necessary choice that he had to make as to the racial group with which he would work for the good of all; the fact that he chose the vital problem of country life not as against the city culture but for the sake of what the city must stand for if it is going

to be the valuable focus of a civilization which embraces the whole land. And finally, Henry Hunt began to turn toward that planning of income and distribution of wealth which is the major social problem of our day.

These are the decisions and meanings which he has left for you. Much depends upon how you will use them and the lesson which you take from them. The necessity of being educated, healthy and normal in your activities must make you turn your attention to the matter of what you can earn; and what you earn in the light of Henry Hunt's life must bring up the question as to why you earn it and the ends toward which the life which your income supports should be turned. In other days we used to speak of the decision as to what a man was going to do with his life as involving a question of character. I should prefer today to call it a matter of logic. If, reasoning logically, a man proposes to work for himself alone and other men follow his example, we shall have a world in which there will not be much comfort and happiness because one of the difficulties today is that so many of us do not even attend to our own best interests. But on the other hand, if we

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have in the world an increasing number of people who are willing really and definitely to sacrifice, not all but a considerable part of their comfort and happiness in order that the number of people to whom happiness and comfort is possible may be largely increased; then not only is the sum total of happiness increased but the world is a much better place to live in. There are larger numbers of satisfied people; there is less envy and despair and less crime and disease. This does not deny the reality of the deprivation of those who work to make such a world possible. The question as to who is to make that sacrifice is, as the life of Henry Hunt teaches, a matter not of compulsion, not of threat, but of inner individual choice.

Morehouse College Forum
30 October 1940

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF NEGRO SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

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I am going to give a history of organization among colored people in the United States with special reference to the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I am speaking more particularly of service organizations, that is, organizations which have for their object the general social uplift of the Negro people.

The history of such organization among American Negroes goes back many years. First, organization was in the form of disucussion groups which varied from the meeting of a small number of people to discuss some incident, to the mass meet-

ing which adopted resolutions and appointed committees for action. Sometime this development went no further. I remember when I entered Harvard College there was in Boston the Equal Rights League which met in the Charles Street Church once a month. It was a discussion group with strongly expressed opinions and many eloquent leaders. Its work, which continued for a number of years, never resulted in action. Committees now and then may have been appointed but very little was accomplished outside of a necessary and illuminating expression of opinion. This group, however, was but a specimen of a large number of recurrent discussion groups with committees and with officials. This type, ~~of~~ convention or council, which was followed by the may be divided into a half dozen groups. They began with the convention of 1830, which met in Philadelphia with about forty delegates and which arose from the discussion groups in Ohio, and had for their chief theme the treatment of Negroes in Cincinnati through sudden application

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of the Ohio Black Laws. A determined effort was being made to drive the Negro artisan and property holder out of Cincinnati, and as similar efforts had been manifest in Boston, New York and Philadelphia, colored leaders met in Philadelphia to see what could be done. These meetings were held annually from 1830 to about 1837 when the interest waned. They resulted in the migration movement to Canada and in other efforts especially toward education.

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A second group of conventions began under the leadership of Frederick Douglass in 1847 and continued in Cleveland and Rochester until 1853. The meeting of the National Council in Rochester in that year was the most representative meeting of Negroes up until that time, and made great impression both upon colored people and upon the whites. It was followed in 1854 by a convention which grew out of the former convention, led by radicals who despaired of emancipation in the United States and were determined upon planned emigration. They sent agents to Mexico, Haiti and Africa.

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The intervening war led to another series of conventions beginning with the National Convention in Syracuse in 1864, which made a strong demand for Negro enfranchisement. Various conventions were held in ~~various~~ Southern states during 1865. Then when Reconstruction showed itself as primarily an economic revolution, there came several conventions designed to take up this problem of employment. There were the National Labor Conventions of 1871 and later, and the migration conventions of 1870 under Adams and Singleton.// Between 1871 and 1895 there were sporadic efforts of no particular importance, but in 1895 the Afro-American Council, the parent body of current organizations was organized. This council was a permanent body in theory, and with permanent officials and committees. It lasted for about ten years with meetings in various parts of the country. Through its president, it became allied with the Pan-African Conference which met in London in 1900.

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In 1906 came new movements after the practical death of the Afro-American Council. The first was the Niagara Movement of 1906 followed by the Negro Conference of 1909 and later by the Equal Rights League of 1914 which was practically a revival of the old Equal Rights League of 1890. Then came the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910, the Garvey conventions in 1915, the National Urban League in 1911, the Sanhedrim in 1922 and the Negro Congress in 1936.

Let us now consider these various bodies according to their type of organization. The conventions from 1830 to 1871 were alike in being without permanent organization and without permanent officials. At most they appointed standing committees and arranged for future meetings. On the other hand with the Afro-American Council and the Niagara Movement there began a type of organization with permanent officials and standing committees and with a small budget for the expenses of these officials. The difficulty, however, was that while these organizations had before them a large program of work their officials could give but incidental time and their committees

had no funds to work with. A new type of organization was called for and came with the NAACP, the Urban League, the Garvey conventions. At the Negro Conference of 1909, there were numbers of members of the Niagara Movement and other organizations and interested white people. John E. Milholland said in a crowded theatre one Sunday night: 36-4-95 "If we are going to just meet once a year and pass resolutions, we might as well give up. What we want is a permanent headquarters and a salaried staff." That was accomplished in 1910, when headquarters were established first at 500 Fifth Avenue and then at 20 Vesey Street with three salaried officials, a secretary, a director of publications and research and a stenographer. A year later a committee for improving the conditions of the Negroes in New York formed itself into an Urban League and immediately a meeting was held between the NAACP and the Urban League to delimit fields and functions so there would be no unnecessary duplication of work. Both organizations proceeded to expand, organizing local bodies. In 1915 came the Garvey Movement with

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a dynamic leader, a large organization, numbers of salaried officials, branches all over the country and in some foreign lands and annual conventions. Since that there have been two efforts toward developing ~~the discussion group and conference,~~ the convention ~~and organizing~~ into a federated congress which should bring together on the one hand various organizations into one whole and on the other hand should at least aim at a congress of elected local representatives. None of these attempts have as yet been successful. Kelly Miller's Sanhedrim which met in the twenties was an ambitious effort but had but one meeting. The Negro Congress of 1936 attempted the same thing, and while it has met since that regularly, it has not carried out the idea of congressional representation.

Now let us turn to the question of the object of these organizations. We separate these briefly into nine categories although the division is not altogether logical: political rights, civil rights including the fight against lynching and mob violence, common school education, higher education, social equality, legal

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defense, employment and relief, migration, housing and residence areas. Many of these might be included under civil rights and of course there are various combinations and developments that might be used. On the whole this is a fair survey of the field. The earlier groups and conventions were especially busied with civil rights and education and to a less degree with employment and migration. The conventions of the forties and fifties added civil rights and legal defense. Employment and migration was the chief subject of the Reconstruction conventions and the conventions of our day have to do with political and civil rights, education, legal defense, employment and housing. In a field as broad as this organizations attacking it are bound first of all to limit their objectives in some respects, to raise the necessarily large amount called for by effective organization and to decide upon the methods of government within the organization. If we take this matter of concentration of control and direction of control we find considerable differences.

The earlier discussion groups employed mass meeting democracy. Anyone present could talk and vote and the results were apt to be contradictory and inconclusive. Convention democracy as illustrated by the Convention of 1830 and by the great meetings in Rochester in 1853 and in Syracuse in 1864 were meetings where there was leadership of well-known men and effective democratic control within a certain pattern and frame work. The general object of the convention and methods of obtaining the object were talked over before hand and during the convention, so that a fairly stable pattern was gradually built up. It suffered, however, from lack of continuity and the possibility of long term objectives which led naturally to the kind of clique rule which was at once the strength and the weakness of the Afro-American Council. A small group of officials and committee chairmen practically planned the meetings of the council and the action of committees. With the result that very often the Council in its short session, could neither understand the program nor change its objectives.

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The Urban League was formed as a national body with permanent salaried

officials and a governing board of directors. The directors met monthly and through their chairman exercised supervision over the League officials. The League officials gave their whole time to the work having offices in New York and had the work divided up under various sub-officials including persons who amount to traveling inspectors. They then proceeded to establish local leagues. The net result of this was that today the National Urban League is a federation of local leagues. The power, the money-raising, the selection of local officials including the secretary is in the hands of the local league. The annual convention is a convention of local officials together with members of the local board of control and the national officials. This form of government and operation was only made possible by two or three facts: first, the field of operation of the Urban League was from thestart limited. They were to address themselves to the matter of employment and relief. Now employment and relief had long been a problem of various charitable organizations. A pattern of action had

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been worked out and the job of the Urban League, national and local, was to see that the Negro was not left out of this pattern; that relief agencies should serve Negroes as well as white persons; that chances of employment should be kept open for Negroes and new opportunities opened. The mode of operation was not at all experimental. It was fairly well fixed. The local bodies affiliated with the national bodies knew the national program and applied it locally. The general body coordinated efforts as far as possible, giving advice and inspection, and publicized the whole movment. The local bodies did almost nothing toward the support of the national body and both national and local bodies depended for support upon philanthropy, mostly from white people, or from public movements like the community chest.

The NAACP on the other hand represented an organization with concentrated national control. This arose not so much by deliberate design as by the peculiarities of the field of action. The NAACP, following the Niagara Movement, was asking for the emancipation of a race on wide grounds of full political and civil rights, education

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both common school and higher, and legal defense. It even moved gradually to a demand for full social equality, although that was not on its original program and its attempted inclusion was long opposed. In a program of this sort, compromise and selection of objectives is absolutely essential. The demand for political rights in South Carolina and Louisiana is quite different from the demand in New York and Chicago. In the one case agitation must be aimed toward registration of voters. In the other case, to the matter of appointment to office, and the passage and execution of certain laws. In the case of civil rights while their extreme denial by lynching and mob violence could be demanded everywhere, in other cases the form of demand and the effectiveness varied greatly. The right to attend theatres, to enter public parks, to be served in places of public accomodations, and retail stores ~~and all these matters~~ presented so many complications and differences that it had to be a matter of careful consideration as to where attack could be successfully made and where discretion was

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the better part of valor. There were many difficult problems which the national board from the beginning had to fight out and in some cases no decision ever was made or could be. Take for instance the matter of racial segregation. The NAACP from the beginning was against segregation but that did not mean that it could or would attack all established segregation. It never for instance has attacked the organized Negro church or the Negro colleges and in only special cases the Negro common schools. In other words here it faced so deep-seated a pattern that attack was always a matter of considered compromise. Even the present effort to have Negroes admitted to the army does not in practice go beyond a demand for equal terms and equal services since for all real purposes a demand that a Negro be received in the army and navy on the same terms as white folk would fall flat. Moreover, there were certain inevitable contradictions. Take the fight, for instance, against Jim-Crow cars. My advice for many years in the NAACP was that the NAACP should fight for absolute equal accomodations in day coaches and pul lman cars with the idea that the expense of such equal accomodations in the

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long run would lead to a gradual diminution of the separation but others on the board argued that asking for equal accomodations would be condoning the present segregation. As, of course, it would. The result however of this difference of opinion was that the NAACP has practically made no attack upon Jim-Crow cars save in a few sporadic cases. Something similar happened in the case of segregation in schools. We were faced by this situation: here is a school system which discriminates shamefully against its Negro pupils. They are seated in the back of the room. They are not called upon to recite. They are discriminated against in marking and classification. They are advised to leave school and left out of all extra-curricula work. In reaction against this Negores and whites demand a separate school. The NAACP was ~~already~~ always ready to fight any such demand but what was the result? If whites were successful and the separate school was not established the situation of the Negro children in the regular school was if anything worse than before and what the NAACP ought to have done in a case like that was to ~~say~~ see that through a system of organized inspection and report these Negro

children were given better treatment. But that absolutely necessary work was not in the program of the NAACP. They were to prevent discrimination and not to carry on constructive work to forestall results of discrimination. Moreover, they said with perfect right that they had no funds for this kind of work and that it would call for a large amount of money. On the other hand if a separate school was established it might be a poor school. no absolute rule of procedure available to all cases is possible

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Or sometimes the very fight against segregation caused greater segregation and in new areas. That has been the result of the fight for rights to higher education in Southern education systems. There were various signs to show that several Southern states were willing to receive small numbers of Negro students in their graduate schools. Once the crust had been broken these numbers could easily have ~~gained~~ increased. Roughly speaking ~~that~~ in North Carolina and Missouri and later in Texas, Tennessee and Virginia negro graduate students could have been expected in the next ten or twenty years but the NAACP by forcing the issue today brought in the field of higher education increased segregation by ~~forcing~~ the beginning of graduate schools in various places throughout

the South when there was ~~little~~ limited demand and few funds ~~to meet the demand~~. If adequate funds are found and a larger demand is manifest all that this fight against segregation will have done will be to increase the number of segregated institutions in a new and different field. This does not mean that the fight against ~~segregation~~ exclusion was ~~initially~~ wrong but it does bring up a very difficult question of time and tactics.

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And because such questions were continually arising the NAACP from the beginning was afraid to have its local organizations assume any power either of discussion or action with regard to its general policy. Today, therefore, the NAACP is the least democratic of all of our national organizations. In fact it is entirely without democratic control. The national convention which meets annually can discuss and pass resolutions and give advice ~~to its heart content.~~ They have absolutely no legal validity. The national office does not have to pay the slightest attention beyond ordinary politeness and care not to discourage contributions to what the national convention says. There is going to be soon a young people's congress connected with the NAACP meeting in West Virginia. This is

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the second or third time that this has been attempted in the last fifteen years. When those young people come together they are going to speak out plainly on numbers of things that they think ought to be done and methods that ought to be adopted. They can talk to their heart's content. Nothing that they say or do has any influence, validity or compelling effect upon the national office. The national office is independent of all of the local bodies and of all of the organized meetings. It consists of a board of directors, an executive secretary, a number of assistant secretaries. Only a small part of the board of directors, naturally, are active and they are elected for three year terms so that every year one-third of them come up for reelection. This reelection, however, does not take place at the annual convention. It takes place at a small meeting of members of the Association held in the national office early in January. The matter is never widely advertised and those attending usually being a couple of dozen (not above 50) people. When that meeting is asked to elect they find ~~usually~~ there is (only) one ticket. That ticket has been nominated by a nominating committee. The nomina-

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ing committee has been appointed by the chairman of the board of directors. In twenty-five years no person nominated by the nominating committee has ever been defeated by the annual meeting. The reason is that nominations are closed before the annual meeting takes place. It would, of course, not be impossible for a determined group of people to force a different set of nominees and pack the annual meeting and carry the election but even in that case it would take three years before the board of directors could be entirely changed. As I have said this was (not) deliberately arranged (but gradually adopted) so that the main objects of the NAACP could not be easily changed. The unfortunate result ~~is that~~ (seems) to be, however, that power is now so concentrated into the hands of the secretary and the chairman of the board that even necessary and advisable change is almost out of the question without a fight that would probably disrupt the organization.

This deprives the NAACP of the necessary (pendulum of) local advice. The Negro problems are not one series of problems. They vary not only from section to section but from locality to locality. What is needed in each locality is advisory bodies investigating

and planning and seeking to work out a program of agitation and action which would make for the emancipation of the Negro race in that locality. If these various plans then were federated into a national organization the business of the national organization would be to sift out and coordinate these plans into something as near a national program as possible. The NAACP has always been afraid of this sort of thing with the result that its local bodies are always weak and temporary. There have been times when the NAACP organizations in Boston, Washington, in Cleveland, northern California were large, virile, powerful and effective bodies. They have had but short life. The moment that they attempted any autonomous action or independent thinking they were squelched by the national office even to the extent of law suits like the one which recently ousted the local officials in Washington.

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Here too comes a complication in the problem of support. If the NAACP starts a popular agitation, its local bodies begin to revive and to raise money. At the height of its efficiency most of the money which the NAACP spent came through small

gifts from colored people. They gave the organization an efficiency and independence which few similar organizations have ever had but also it increased the demand for local autonomy among the branches and when that demand was not granted the contributions fell off. Today the NAACP still receives considerable Negro support but a larger proportion of the support comes from white folk.

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If we compare this situation with the Urban League other difficulties are seen. The Urban League, for instance, is working for employment and industrial opportunity for Negroes to increase their incomes, for better housing and things of that sort. Now the uplift of the laboring class to which the Negro belongs has for a century and more depended upon the organization of laborers. The labor union movement is the greatest democratic movement of modern times and its accomplishments have been marvelous. One of the first things, therefore, logically for the U.L would have been ~~done would have been~~ to build up rapproachment between the labor unions and the Negro people so as to get the power of the unions back of Negro uplift and to cease the underbidding

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of ~~white laborers~~ wage standards by cheap Negro labor. The Urban League made some efforts in this direction and laid out one or two elaborate plans resulting in conferences with officials of the A F of L and in the plan which T. Arnold Hill fathered. But the Urban League could not go far in this because of their independence upon white philanthropy and the community chest. The people back of relief in general in the United States are the richer folk opposed to union labor and they have often used their influence and their money to increase the rivalry between white and black labor and encourage the underbidding of union wages by colored scabs. The result is that in the midst of its field and in the very place where the greatest social reform is coming in the future, that is, in economic reconstruction, the Urban League has been compelled to be almost silent. It's national officials are elected by a board with white majority — either actual or in effect & local officials must be united to local white opinion

Where now is the outcome to be sought in these paradoxes and complications. Evidently it can best come if local organizations not only ask for power and democratic control over the national organization but also completely underwrite the expenses of the national organization. If there ~~was~~ were a national organization in the United States

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which did not have to pass the hat to people not interested in their main objectives but who knew that every year, regularly, $50,000 or a $100,000 was going to be put into the hands of the national body for their expenses, the local bodies thus furnishing funds would have not only the right but the duty to supervise and control the personnel of the national office and its program. But here, of course, comes additional trouble. This would call for agreement as to what that national program would be. And today one of the difficulties as illustrated by the Negro Congress is to achieve any such agreement. We can agree in general and vaguely that we wish to be full-fledged American citizens without discrimination or segregation and the answer is that no matter what we want it cannot be achieved in ~~a~~ our generation inhibited by the customs and beliefs of the present white Americans. It is unnecessary, however, to jump at the opposite conclusion that because this complete program cannot immediately be achieved that, therefore, it cannot be started and achieved in part. Just as soon, however, as some one ~~inadvertently~~ certainly in many cases suggests that a part of a loaf is ~~after all~~ better than none; that

with long time planning & temporarily hosthoned objectives

the increased freedom of American Negroes in the recent past shows what gradually can be accomplished in the future. No sooner than ~~is~~ this is suggested than a babel of voices arise in criticism and condemnation. With the result that a national orgranization like the NAACP is often push~~ed~~ toward a foolish ~~program~~ demand or ~~the Urban~~ inhibited from espousing a reasonable program, because of ~~the~~ fear of its divided constituency. On the other hand the Urban League in a different way is forced into demanding "light without heat" and a fight for freedom without ~~agitation~~ fighting and general compliance with things as they are. Contrasting the NAACP and the Urban League certain things are evident. In the first place the NAACP attempted to spend its entire energy in protest without any attention to constructive planning because all constructive planning demands at least temporary acquience in certain forms of race discrimination and segregation. On the other hand the Urban League attempted to avoid all appearance of protest and dissatisfaction and to confine its constructive work to relief and paliation rather than to give any thought to radical rebuilding. Both organizations resemble each other in the relatively small

voice that the colored people have in their conduct and decision.

This is as I see it an over-view of Negro organization from 1830 to 1940, a period of one hundred and ten years. The growth of such organization in efficiency and in membership is despite all cultures tremendous. Its still lingering weakness ~~is~~ in lack of effective programs and united action and regular support is manifest. But certainly the young men and women starting with 1940 and looking forward to Negro organization in the future have much more to encourage them than those who were starting and looking forward in 1830.

The Negro congress have not only not organized a Congress, but cannot agree on a program & have attempted no slash in Constructive work. This also is not supported by Negroes

Morehouse College Forum
30 October 1940

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF NEGRO SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

I am going to give a history of organization among colored people in the United States with special reference to the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I am speaking more particularly of service organizations, that is, organizations which have for their object the general social uplift of the Negro people.

The history of such organization among American Negroes goes back many years. First, organization was in the form of disucussion groups which varied from the meeting of a small number of people to discuss some incident, to the mass meet-

ing which adopted resolutions and appointed committees for action. Sometime this development went no further. I remember when I entered Harvard College there was in Boston the Equal Rights League which met in the Charles Street Church once a month. It was a discussion group with strongly expressed opinions and many eloquent leaders. Its work, which continued for a number of years, never resulted in action. Committees now and then may have been appointed but very little was accomplished outside of a necessary and illuminating expression of opinion. This group, however, was but a specimen of a large number of recurrent discussion groups with committees and with officials. This type was followed by the convention or council which may be divided into a half dozen groups. They began with the convention of 1830 which met in Philadelphia with about forty delegates and which arose from the discussion groups in Ohio, and had for their chief theme the treatment of Negroes in Cincinnati through sudden application

of the Ohio Black Laws. A determined effort was being made to drive the Negro artisan and property holder out of Cincinnati, and as similar effort had been manifest in Boston, New York and Philadelphia, colored leaders met in Philadelphia to see what could be done. These meetings were held annually from 1830 to about 1837 when the interest waned. They resulted in the migration movement to Canada and in other efforts especially toward education.

A second group of conventions began under the leadership of Frederick Douglass in 1847 and continued in Cleveland and Rochester until 1853. The meeting of the National Council in Rochester in that year was the most representative meeting of Negroes up until that time, and made great impression both upon colored people and upon the whites. It was followed in 1854 by a convention which grew out of the former convention led by radicals who despaired of emancipation in the United States and were determined upon planned emigration. They sent agents to Mexico, Haiti and Africa.

The intervening war led to another series of conventions beginning with the National Convention in Syracuse in 1864 which made a strong demand for Negro enfranchisement. Various conventions were held in Southern states during 1865. Then when Reconstruction showed itself as primarily an economic revolution there came several conventions designed to take up this problem of employment. There were the National Labor Conventions of 1871 and later, and the migration conventions of 1870 under Adams and Singleton. Between 1871 and 1895 there were sporadic efforts of no particular importance but in 1895 the Afro-American Council, the parent body of current organizations was organized. This council was a permanent body in theory, and with permanent officials and committees. It lasted for about ten years with meetings in various parts of the country. Through its president, it became allied with the Pan-African Conference which met in London in 1900.

In 1906 came new movements after the practical death of the Afro-American Council. The first was the Niagara Movement of 1906 followed by the Negro Conference of 1909 and later by the Equal Rights League of 1914 which was practically a revival of the old Equal Rights League of 1890. Then came the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910, the Garvey conventions in 1915, the National Urban League in 1911, the Sanhedrim in 1922 and the Negro Congress in 1936.

Let us now consider these various bodies according to their type of organization. The conventions from 1830 to 1871 were alike in being without permanent organization and without permanent officials. At most they appointed standing committees and arranged for future meetings. On the other hand with the Afro-American Council and the Niagara Movement there began a type of organization with permanent officials and standing committees and with a small budget for the expenses of these officials. The difficulty, however, was that while these organizations had before them a large program of work their officials could give but incidental time and their committees

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had no funds to work with. A new type of organization was called for and came with the NAACP, the Urban League, the Garvey conventions. At the Negro Conference of 1909, there were numbers of members of the Niagara Movement and other organizations and interested white people. John E. Milholland said in a crowded theatre one Sunday night, "If we are going to just meet once a year and pass resolutions, we might as well give up. What we want is a permanent headquarters and a salaried staff." That was accomplished in 1910, when headquarters were established first at 500 Fifth Avenue and then at 20 Vesey Street with three salaried officials, a secretary, a director of publications and research and a stenographer. A year later a committee for improving the conditions of the Negroes in New York formed itself into a Urban League and immediately a meeting was held between the NAACP and the Urban League to delimit fields and functions so there would be no unnecessary duplication of work. Both organizations proceeded to expand, organizing local bodies. In 1915 came the Garvey Movement with

a dynamic leader, a large organization, numbers of salaried officials, branches all over the country and in some foreign lands and annual conventions. Since that there have been two efforts toward developing [illegible], the convention [illegible] into a federated congress which should bring together on the one hand various organizations into one whole and on the other hand should at least aim at a congress of elected local representatives. None of these attempts have as yet been successful. Kelly Miller's Sanhedrim which met in the twenties was an ambitious effort but had but one meeting. The Negro Congress of 1936 attempted the same thing, and while it has met since that regularly, it has not carried out the idea of congressional representation.

Now let us turn to the question of the object of these organizations. We separate these briefly into nine categories although the division is not altogether logical: political rights, civil rights including the fight against lynching and mob violence, common school education, higher education, social equality, legal

NAACP 1912-33-91

defense, employment and relief, migration, housing and residence areas. Many of these might be included under civil rights and of course there are various combinations and developments that might be used. On the whole this is a fair survey of the field. The earlier groups and conventions were especially busied with civil rights and education and to a less degree with employment and migration. The conventions of the forties and fifties added civil rights and legal defense. Employment and migration was the chief subject of the Reconstruction conventions and the conventions of our day have to do with political and civil rights, education, legal defense, employment and housing. In a field as broad as this organizations attacking it are bound first of all to limit their objectives in some respects, to raise the necessarily large amount called for by effective organization and to decide upon the methods of government within the organization. If we take this matter of concentration of control and direction of control we find considerable differences.

The earlier discussion groups employed mass meeting democracy. Anyone present could talk and vote and the results were apt to be contradictory and inconclusive. Convention democracy as illustrated by the Convention of 1830 and by the great meetings in Rochester in 1853 and in Syracuse in 1864 were meetings where there was leadership of well-known men and effective democratic control within a certain pattern and frame work. The general object of the convention and methods of obtaining the object were talked over before hand and during the convention, so that a fairly stable pattern was gradually built up. It suffered, however, from lack of continuity and the possibility of long term objectives which led naturally to the kind of clique rule which was at once the strength and the weakness of the Afro-American Council. A small group of officials and committee chairmen practically planned the meetings of the council and the action of committees. With the result that very often the Council in its short session could neither understand the program nor change its objectives.

The Urban League was formed as a national body with permanent salaried

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officials and a governing board of directors. The directors met monthly and through their chairman exercised supervision over the League officials. The League officials gave their whole time to the work having offices in New York and had the work divided up under various sub-officials including persons who amount to traveling inspectors. They then proceeded to establish local leagues. The net result of this was that today the National Urban League is a federation of local leagues. The power, the money raising, the selection of local officials including the secretary is in the hands of the local league. The annual convention is a convention of local officials together with members of the local board of control and the national officials. This form of government and operation was only made possible by two or three facts: first, the field of operation of the Urban League was from thestart limited. They were to address themselves to the matter of employment and relief. Now employment and relief had long been a problem of various charitable organizations. A pattern of action had

been worked out and the job of the Urban League, national and local, was to see that the Negro was not left out of this pattern; that relief agencies should serve Negroes as well as white persons; that chances of employment should be kept open for Negroes and new opportunities opened. The mode of operation was not at all experimental. It was fairly well fixed. The local bodies affiliated with the national bodies knew the national program and applied it locally. The general body coordinated efforts as far as possible, giving advice and inspection, and publicized the whole movement. The local bodies did almost nothing toward the support of the national body and both national and local bodies depended for support upon philanthropy, mostly from white people or from public movements like the community chest.

The NAACP on the other hand represented an organization with concentrated national control. This arose not so much by deliberate design as by the peculiarities of the field of action. The NAACP following the Niagara Movement was asking for the emancipation of a race on wide grounds of full political and civil rights, education

both common school and higher, and legal defense. It even moved gradually to a demand for full social equality although that was not on its original program and its attempted inclusion was long opposed. In a program of this sort compromise and selection of objectives is absolutely essential. The demand for political rights in South Carolina and Louisiana is quite different from the demand in New York and Chicago. In the one case agitation must be aimed toward registration of voters. In the other case to the matter of appointment to office and the passage and execution of certain laws. In the case of civil rights while their extreme denial by lynching and mob violence could be demanded everywhere in other cases the form of demand and the effectiveness varied greatly. The right to attend theatres to enter public parks, to be served in places of public accomodation, and retail stores presented so many complications and differences that it had to be a matter of careful consideration as to where attack could be successfully made and where discretion was

the better part of valor. There were many difficult problems which the national board from the beginning had to fight out and in some cases no decision ever was made or could be. Take for instance the matter of racial segregation. The NAACP from the beginning was against segregation but that did not mean that it could or would attack all established segregation. It never for instance has attacked the organized Negro church or the Negro colleges and in only special cases the Negro common schools. In other words here it faced so deep-seated a pattern that attack was always a matter of considered compromise. Even the present effort to have Negroes admitted to the army does not in practice go beyond a demand for equal terms and equal services since for all real purposes a demand that a Negro be received in the army and navy on the same terms as white folk would fall flat. Moreover, there were certain inevitable contradictions. Take the fight, for instance, against Jim-Crow cars. My advice for many years in the NAACP was that the NAACP should fight for absolute equal accomodations in day coaches and pul man cars with the idea that the expense of such equal accomodations in the

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long run would lead to a gradual diminution of the separation but others on the board argued that asking for equal accomodations would be condoning the present segregation. As, of course, it would. The result however of this difference of opinion was that the NAACP has practically made no attack upon Jim-Crow cars save in a few sporadic cases. Something similar happened in the case of segregation in schools. We were faced by this situation: here is a school system which discriminates shamefully against its Negro pupils. They are seated in the back of the room. They are not called upon to recite. They are discriminated against in marking and classification. They are advised to leave school and left out of all extra-curricula work. In reaction against this Negores and whites demand a separate school. The NAACP was always ready to fight any such demand but what was the result? If the whites were successful and the separate school was not established the situation of the Negro children in the regular school was if anything worse than before and what the NAACP ought to have done in a case like that was to see that through a system of organized inspection and report these Negro

children were given better treatment. But that absolutely necessary work was not in the program of the NAACP. They were to prevent discrimination and not to carry on constructive work to forestall results of discrimination. Moreover, they said with perfect right that they had no funds for this kind of work and that it would call for a large amount of money. On the other hand if a separate school was established it might be a poor school. No absolute rule of procedure suitable to all cases is possible.

Or sometimes the very fight against segregation caused greater segregation and in new areas. That has been the result of the fight for rights to higher education in Southern education systems. There were various signs to show that several Southern states were willing to receive small numbers of Negro students in their graduate schools. Once the crust had been broken these numbers could easily have increased Roughly speaking [illegible] in North Carolina and Missouri and later in Texas, Tennessee and Virginia, Negro graduate students could have been expected in the next ten or twenty years but the NAACP by forcing the issue today brought in the field of higher education increased segregation by [illegible] the beginning of graduate schools in various places throughout

the South when there was limited demand and few funds to meet the demand. If adequate funds are found and a larger demand is manifest all that this fight against segregation will have done will be to increase the number of segregated institutions in a new and different field. This does not mean that the fight against exclusion was wrong but it does bring up a very difficult question of time and tactics.

And because such questions were continually arising the NAACP from the beginning was afraid to have its local organizations assume any power either of discussion or action with regard to its general policy. Today, therefore, the NAACP is the least democratic of all of our national organizations. In fact it is entirely without democratic control. The national convention which meets annually can discuss and pass resolutions and give advice to its heart content. They have absolutely no legal validity. The national office does not have to pay the slightest attention beyond ordinary politeness and care not to discourage contributions to what the national convention says. There is going to be soon a young people's congress connected with the NAACP meeting in West Virginia. This is

the second or third time that this has been attempted in the last fifteen years. When those young people come together they are going to speak out plainly on numbers of things that they think ought to be done and methods that ought to be adopted. They can talk to their heart's content. Nothing that they say or do has any influence, validity or compelling effect upon the national office. The national office is independent of all of the local bodies and of all of the organized meetings. It consists of a board of directors, an executive secretary, a number of assistant secretaries. Only a small part of the board of directors, naturally, are active and they are elected for three year terms so that every year one-third of them come up for reelection. This reelection, however, does not take place at the annual convention. It takes place at a small meeting of members of the Association held in the national office early in January. The matter is never widely advertised and those attending usually being a couple of dozen or not above fifty people. When that meeting is asked to elect they find usually only there is one ticket. That ticket has been nominated by a nominating committee. The nomina-

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ing committee has been appointed by the chairman of the board of directors. In twenty-five years no person nominated by the nominating committee has ever been defeated by the annual meeting. The reason is that nominations are closed before the annual meeting takes place. It would, of course, not be impossible for a determined group of people to force a different set of nominees and pack the annual meeting and carry the election but even in that case it would take three years before the board of directors could be entirely changed. As I have said this was not deliberately arranged but gradually adopted so that the main objects of the NAACP could not be easily changed. The unfortunate result, however, is that power is now so concentrated into the hands of the secretary and the chairman of the board that even necessary and advisable change is almost out of the question without a fight that would probably disrupt the organization.

This deprives the NAACP of the necessary pendulum of local advice. The Negro problems are not one series of problems. They vary not only from section to section but from locality to locality. What is needed in each locality is advisory bodies investigating

and planning and seeking to work out a program of agitation and action which would make for the emancipation of the Negro race in that locality. If these various plans then were federated into a national organization the business of the national organization would be to sift out and coordinate these plans into something as near a national program as possible. The NAACP has always been afraid of this sort of thing with the result that its local bodies are always weak and temporary. There have been times when the NAACP organizations in Boston, Washington, in Cleveland, northern California were large, virile, powerful and effective bodies. They have had but short life. The moment that they attempted any autonomous action or independent thinking they were squelched by the national office even to the extent of law suits like the one which recently ousted the local officials in Washington.

Here too comes a complication in the problem of support. If the NAACP starts a popular agitation, its local bodies begin to revive and to raise money. At the height of its efficiency most of the money which the NAACP spent came through small

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gifts from colored people. This gave the organization an efficiency and independence which few similar organizations have ever had but also it increased the demand for local autonomy among the branches and when that demand was not granted the contributions fell off. Today the NAACP still receives considerable Negro support but a larger proportion of the support comes from white folk.

If we compare this situation with the Urban League other difficulties are seen. The Urban League, for instance, is working for employment and industrial opportunity for Negroes to increase their incomes, for better housing and things of that sort. Now the uplift of the laboring class to which the Negro belongs has for a century and more depended upon the organization of laborers. The labor union movement is the greatest democratic movement of modern times and its accomplishments have been marvelous. One of the first things, therefore, logically, for the Urban League would have been to build up rapprochment between the labor unions and the Negro people so as to get the power of the unions back of Negro uplift and to cease the underbidding

of wage standards by cheap Negro labor. The Urban League made some efforts in this direction and laid out one or two elaborate plans resulting in conferences with officials of the A F of L and in the plan which T. Arnold Hill fathered. But the Urban League could not go far in this because of their independence upon white philanthropy and the community chest. The people back of relief in general in the United States are the richer folk opposed to union labor and they have often used their influence and their money to increase the rivalry between white and black labor and the underbidding of union wages by colored scabs. The result is that in the midst of its field and in the very place where the greatest social reform is coming in the future, that is, in economic reconstruction, the Urban League has been compelled to be almost silent. Its national officials are elected by a bord with white majority-either actual or in effect and local officials must be suited to local white opinion. Where now is the outcome to be sought in these paradoxes and complications. Evidently it can best come if local organizations not only ask for power and democratic control over the national organization but also completely underwrite the expenses of the national organization. If there were a national organization in the United States

which did not have to pass the hat to people not interested in their main objectives but which knew that every year, regularly, $50,000 or a $100,000 was going to be put into the hands of the national body for their expenses, the local bodies thus furnishing funds would have not only the right but the duty to supervise and control the personnel of the national office and its program. But here, of course, comes additional trouble. This would call for agreement as to what that national program would be. And today one of the difficultics as illustrated by the Negro Congress is to achieve any such agreement. We can agree in general and vaguely that we wish to be full-fledged American citizens without discrimination or segregation and the answer is that no matter what we want it cannot be achieved in a generation inhibited by the customs and beliefs of the present white America. It is unnecessary, however, to jump at the opposite conclusion that because this complete program cannot immediately be achieved that, therefore, it cannot be started and achieved in part with long time planning and temporarily postponed objectives. Just as soon, however, as some one inadvertently suggests that a part of a loaf is certainly in many cases better than none, that

the increased freedom of American Negroes in the recent past shows what gradually can be accomplished in the future.—No sooner than this is suggested than a babel of voices arise in criticism and condemnation. With the result that a national orgranization like the NAACP is often pushed toward a foolish demand or inhibited from espousing a reasonable program because of the fear of its divided constituency. On the other hand the Urban League in a different way is forced into demanding "light without heat" and a fight for freedom without fighting and general compliance with things as they are. Contrasting the NAACP and the Urban League certain things are evident. In the first place the NAACP attempted to spend its entire energy in protest without any attention to constructive planning because all constructive planning demands at least temporary acquience in certain forms of race discrimination and segregation. On the other hand the Urban League attempted to avoid all appearance of protest and dissatisfaction and to confine its constructive work to relief and paliation rather than to give any thought to radical rebuilding. Both organizations resemble each other in the relatively small

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This is as I see it an over-view of Negro organization from 1830 to 1940, a period of one hundred and ten years. The growth of such organization in efficiency and in membership is despite all criticism tremendous. Its still lingering weakness in lack of effective programs and united action and regular support is manifest. But certainly the young men and women starting with 1940 and looking forward to Negro organization in the future have much more to encourage them than those who were starting and looking forward in 1830.

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First Congregational Church
Atlanta, Georgia
10 November 1940

THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS AMONG NEGROES 1896 - 1913

by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

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About 1890 Booker T. Washington established at Tuskegeee Institute a series of workers conferences. They consisted of annual meetings of teachers in the surrounding counties, farmers, and others and gradually a great many visitors, colored and white, were attracted. In 1896 inspired by the success and wide publicity of the Tuskegee conferences, President Dumstead George W. Bradford of Boston, a white trustee of Atlanta University, conceived the idea that just as Tuskegee was through its conferences attacking the problem of the Negro in rural districts so Atlanta University might institute a similar series for the study of city problems. Accordingly, May 26, 1896, there met at Atlanta University the

first conference "for investigation of city problems". The meeting had been planned for November, 1895 during the Atlanta Exposition but was changed to commencement time 1896. Mr. Bradford had become a trustee in 1895 and took charge of the general direction of investigation aided by Edward Cummings, instructor in sociology at Harvard College, in whose classes I had formerly been a student. It was thought best to begin with the topic of Negro mortality. The occasion and purpose of the conference was outlined by Mr. Bradford and this was followed by excellent reports on mortality of the city of Washington collected by L. M. Hershaw. Some attempt was made to supplement these by reports of Atlanta but the records were rather scanty. Lucy Laney of Augusta contributed a short study of conditions leading to excessive mortality and a letter was received from George W. Cable. As a scientific accomplishment the first conference was not important but a permanent organization was made with Horace Bumstead as chairman and James Weldon Johnson and George Towns as recording secretaries. George W. Bradford was the corresponding secretary. Arrangements were made for a second conference in 1897 and during the

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interval Dr. Bumstead made contact with me, then assistant Instructor at the University of Pennsylvania, to ask me to come as a teacher and take charge of the conferences. I did not really take charge however until the third conference. The second conference was held in May, 1897 and some very excellent figures were reported by L. M. Hershaw covering a study of vital statistics in Atlanta, Baltimore, Charleston, Memphis and Richmond. Eugene Harris added figures from Nashville and there was a lively discussion out of which came eventually the colored day nurseries and kindergartens of Atlanta. The conference was especially notable because in the printed reports it published a large number of ~~excellent and~~ reliable figures.

By the time of the third conference I had come upon the ground and had taken charge of the investigations and changed the ~~whole~~ basic plan. This change was partly unconscious and partly deliberate. There had already been set-up on the advice of Robert R. Moton a conference at Hampton but the Hampton and Tuskegee conferences and others which imitated them were places of comparison of conditions, exchange of ideas, personal reminiscences. They got their great value from the various persons which they brought

into close contact. In the case of the Atlanta conferences I united Hershaw's idea of careful and wide investigation on a particular subject with my own intensive study of the PHILADELPHIA NEGRO which I had just finished and which was published in 1899. My idea minimized the conference part of the program, that is, the speeches, the reminiscences, the meeting of people and put the whole stress upon the preceding year-long investigation of social conditions. Moreover, instead of trying to study the whole mass of social conditions and discuss the whole Negro problem, I deliberately put an "s" upon problem and emphasized the study of Negro problems and then took up one problem or one phase of a social problem affecting Negroes for a year's intensive study.

My idea finally ~~then~~ was to set-up a series of annual special studies repeated at decennial intervals and covering the whole condition of the American Negro. The conferences thus provided for made the following studies during the first decade:

NEGRO MORTALITY - 1896
SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL CONDITION OF NEGROES IN CITIES - 1897
EFFORTS FOR SOCIAL BETTERMENT - 1898
NEGROES IN BUSINESS - 1899
COLLEGE-BRED NEGROES - 1900
THE NEGRO COMMON SCHOOL - 1901
THE NEGRO ARTISAN - 1902
THE NEGRO CHURCH - 1903
NEGRO CRIME - 1904
METHODS AND RESULTS - 1905

During the next decade I laid down (but did not wholly carry out) the following program:

THE NEGRO PHYSIQUE - 1906
THE NEGRO FAMILY - 1907
NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS - 1908
THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF NEGROES, I - 1909
THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF NEGROES, II - 1910
THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES - 1911
THE POLITICAL PO ER OF NEGROES - 1912
THE NEGRO CHURCH - 1913
CRIME AMONG NEGROES - 1914
METHODS AND RESULTS - 1915

For twenty years Atlanta University was the only institution in the world that was making systematic and scientific study of the Negro race.

The success of the conferences and reports were phenomenal. The reports were used all over the civilized world and it is fair to say that between 1910 and 1925 no

book on the American Negro was written that was not at least in part based upon our studies ~~here~~ at Atlanta University. In addition to this there were many other indirect results. For instance, when the report on the Negro in Business was published in 1899 Mr. Washington immediately wrote me and asked for a list of Negro businesses and business men. I sent them to him and on the basis of this list he finally formed the Negro Business League. The report on the College-Bred Negro was widely discussed and also that on the Negro Common School. But we could not get money to carry out the conferences. I worked thirteen years on them at $1,200 a year and the University printed them in its own printing office. But nevertheless further support was not forthcoming. For these and other reasons, therefore, I changed somewhat the program. In 1906, I made a study of the Health and Physique of American Negroes which up to the time was the best and most complete study of its kind published. Then instead of following my original plan I turned aside. We got a thousand dollars from the Carnegie Institute of Washington on condition that we publish a study on Economic Cooperation among Negroes. That was made in 1907 and was

followed by a study of the Negro American Family which again came back to matters of health and physique as well as the economics of the family. In 1909, came a study of Social Betterment among Negroes followed by a second study of the Negro College, the Negro Common School, the Negro Artisan.

The final study of which I was directly connected was a study of Morals and Manners. I then left for work with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in New York and took up the publication of the CRISIS.

After I left Atlanta University, I tried to arrange for the continuation of the conferences and the publication of conference studies with my help. I actually got the trustees of the Slater Fund to agree to this and they joined with us in publishing Morals and Manners in 1914. But President Ware did not think it wise to continue this collaboration and I, therefore, severed all connection with the conferences. Other conferences were held (in 1920, 21, 22, 23 & 24; but only) and one study published in 1916, but this was a compilation rather than an investigation. Another investigation was started later and a large amount of material gathered, but it was never published.

I may say frankly that if there had been any reasonable prospect of the continuing support of my work with the Atlanta Conferences, I should never have left Atlanta University even though the salary offered in New York was exactly twice as large as that I was receiving here.

Three or four studies which we made are of special interest to the program which you have tonight but all of them have the deeper interest of having been a pioneer effort toward social investigation which bade fair for a while to be the most unique in the world and failed of accomplishment because funds were not available. I have always regretted that the work had to stop when it did and that a period of nearly ~~thirty~~ 20 years went by when leadership in the social study of the Negro passed from the Negro's own hands here in Atlanta to the hands of white people in North Carolina and many Northern institutions.

I am, however, glad to be able to report that I hope in 1941 to hold the Twenty-Fifth Atlanta University Conference, beginning after a lapse of seventeen years, under the title of the First PHYLON Conference, the 3rd decade of ~~the Atlanta~~ these university conferences.

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by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

About 1890 Booker T. Washington established at Tuskegee Institute a series of workers conferences. They consisted of annual meetings of teachers in the surrounding counties, farmers, and others and gradually a great many visitors, colored and white, were attracted. In 1896 inspired by the success and wide publicity of the Tuskegee conferences, President Bumstead and George W. Bradford of Boston, a white trustee of Atlanta University, conceived the idea that just as Tuskegee was through its conferences attacking the problem of the Negro in rural districts so Atlanta University might institute a sumilar series for the study of city problems. Accordingly, May 26, 1896, there met at Atlanta University the first conference "for investigation of city problems". The meeting had been planned for November, 1895 during the Atlanta Exposition but was changed to commencement time 1896. Mr. Bradford had become a trustee in 1895 and took charge of the general direction of investigation aided by Edward Cummings, instructor in sociology at Harvard College, in whose classes I had formerly been a student. It was thought best to begin with the topic of Negro mortality. The occasion and purpose of the conference was outlined by Mr. Bradford and this was followed by excellent reports on mortality of the city of Washington collected by L. M. Hershaw. Some attempt was made to supplement these by reports of Atlanta but the records were rather scanty. Lucy Laney of Augusta contributed a short study of conditions leading to excessive mortality and a letter was received from George W. Cable. As a scientific accomplishment the first conference was not important but a permanent organization was made with Horace Bumstead as

chairman and James Weldon Johnson and George Towns as recording secretaries. George W. Bradford was the corresponding secretary. Arrangements were made for a second conference in 1897 and during the interval Dr. Bumstead made contact with me, then assistant Instructor at the University of Pennsylvania, to ask me to come as a teacher and take charge of the conferences. I did not really take charge however until the third conference. The second conference was held in May, 1897 and some very excellent figures were reported by L. M. Hershaw covering a study of vital statistics in Atlanta, Baltimore, Charleston, Memphis and Richmond. Eugene Harris added figured from Nashville and there was a lively discussion out of which came eventually the colored day nurseries and kindergartens of Atlanta. The conference was especially notable because in the printed reports it published a large number of reliable figures.

By the time of the third conference I had come upon the ground and had taken charge of the investigations and changed the basic plan. This change was partly unconscious and partly deliberate. There had already been set-up on the advice of Robert R. Moton a conference at Hampton but the Hampton and Tuskegee conferences and others which imitated them were places of comparison of conditions, exchange of ideas, personal reminiscences. They got their great value from the various persons which they brought into close contact. In the case of the Atlanta conferences I subordinated the conference aspect to scientific study. I united Hershaw's idea of careful and wide investigation on a particular subject with my own intensive study of the PHILADELPHIA NEGRO which I had just finished and which was published in 1899. My idea minimized the conference part of the program, that is, the speeches, the reminiscences, the meeting of people and put the whole stress upon the preceding year-long investigation of social conditions. Moreover, instead of trying to study the whole mass of social conditions and discuss the whole Negro problem, I deliberately put an "s" upon "problem" and emphasized the study of Negro problems and then took up one problem or one phase of a social problem affecting Negroes for a year's intensive study.

My idea finally was to act-up a series of annual special studies each to be repeated at decennial intervals and covering the whole condition of the American Negro. The conferences thus provided for made the following studies during the first decade:

NEGRO MORTALITY - 1896
SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL CONDITION OF NEGROES IN CITIES - 1897
EFFORTS FOR SOCIAL BETTERMENT - 1898
NEGROES IN BUSINESS - 1899
COLLEGE-BRED NEGROES - 1900
THE NEGRO ARTISAN - 1902
THE NEGRO COMMON SCHOOL - 1901
THE NEGRO CHURCH - 1903
NEGRO CRIME - 1904
METHODS AND RESULTS - 1905

During the next decade I laid down but did not wholly carry out the following program:

THE NEGRO PHYSIQUE - 1906
THE NEGRO FAMILY - 1907
NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS - 1908
THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF NEGROES, I. - 1909
THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF NEGROES, II. - 1910
THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES - 1911
THE POLITICAL POWER OF NEGROES - 1912
THE NEGRO CHURCH - 1913
CRIME AMONG NEGROES - 1914
METHODS AND RESULTS - 1915

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The success of the conferences and reports were phenomenal. For twenty years Atlanta University was the only institution in the world that was making systematic and scientific study of the Negro race. The reports were used all over the civilized world and it is fair to say that between 1910 and 1925 no book on the American Negro was written that was not at least in part based upon our studies at Atlanta University. In addition to this there were many other indirect results. For instance, when the report on the Negro in Business was published in 1899 Mr. Washington immediately wrote me and asked for a list of Negro businesses and business men. I sent them to him and on the basis of this list he finally formed the Negro Business League. The report on the College-Bred Negro was widely discussed and also that on the Negro Common School. But we could not get money to carry out the conferences. I worked thirteen years on them at $1,200 a year and the University printed them in its

own printing office. But nevertheless further support was not forthcoming. For these and other reasons, therefore, I changed somewhat the program. In 1906, I made a study of the Health and Physique of American Negroes which up to the time was the best and most complete study of its kind published. Then instead of following my original plan I turned aside. We got a thousand dollars from the Carnegie Institute of Washington on condition that we publish a study on Economic Cooperation among Negroes. That was made in 1907 and was followed by a study of the Negro American Family which again came back to matters of health and physique as well as the economics of the family. In 1909, came a study of Social Betterment among Negroes followed by a second study of the Negro College, the Negro Common School, the Negro Artisan.

The final study of which I was directly connected was a study of Morals and Manners. I then left for work with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in New York and took up the publication of the CRISIS.

After I left Atlanta University, I tried to arrange for the continuation of the conferences and the publication of conference studies with my help. I actually got the trustees of the Slater Fund to agree to this and they joined with us in publishing Morals and Manners in 1914. But President Ware did not think it wise to continue this collaboration and I, therefore, severed all connection with the conferences. Other conferences were held in 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924; but only one study published in 1916, this was a compilation rather than an investigation. Another investigation was started later and a large amount of material gathered, but it was never published.
I may say frankly that if there had been any reasonable prospect of the continuing support of my work with the Atlanta Conferences, I should never have left Atlanta University even though the salary offered in New York was exactly twice as large asthat I was receiving here.

Three or four studies which we made are of special interest to the program which you have tonight but all of them have the deeper interest of

having been a pioneer effort toward social investigation which bade fair for a while to be the most unique in the world and failed of accomplishment because funds were not available. I have always regretted that the work had to stop when it did and that a period of nearly twenty years went by when leadership in the social study of the Negro passed from the Negro's own hands here in Atlanta to the hands of white people in North Carolina and many Nothern institutions.

I am, however, glad to be able to report that I hope in 1941 to hold the Twenty-Fifth Atlanta University Conference, beginning after a lapse of seventeen years, under the title of the First PHYLON Conference, the third decade of these conferences.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY CONFERENCES

First Decade

1. NEGRO MORTALITY - 1896
2. SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL CONDITION - 1897
3. EFFORTS FOR SOCIAL BETTERMENT - 1898
4. NEGRO IN BUSINESS - 1899
5. COLLEGE-BRED NEGROES - 1900
6. THE NEGRO COMMON SCHOOL - 1901
7. THE NEGRO ARTISAN - 1902
8. THE NEGRO CHURCH - 1903
9. NEGRO CRIME - 1904
10. METHODS AND RESULTS - 1905

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY CONFERENCES

Proposed Second Decade

11. THE NEGRO PHYSIQUE - 1906
12. THE NEGRO FAMILY - 1907
13. NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS - 1908
14. THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF NEGROES, I - 1909
15. THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF NEGROES, II - 1910
16. THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES - 1911
17. THE POLITICAL POWER OF NEGROES - 1912
18. THE NEGRO CHURCH - 1913
19. CRIME AMONG NEGROES - 1914
20. METHODS AND RESULTS - 1915

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY CONFERENCES

Second Decade

11. HEALTH AND PHYSIQUE - 1906
12. ECONOMIC COOPERATION - 1907
13. THE NEGRO AMERICAN FAMILY - 1908
14. EFFORTS FOR SOCIAL BETTERMENT - 1909
15. THE COLLEGE-BRED NEGRO - 1910
16. THE NEGRO COMMON SCHOOL - 1911
17. THE NEGRO ARTISAN - 1912
18. MORALS AND MANNERS AMONG NEGRO AMERICANS - 1914
19. SELECT DISCUSSIONS OF NEGRO PROBLEMS - 1916

Third Decade

20.
21.
22. no publications
23.
24.

Fourth Decade

25. First PHYLON Conference - 1941

46-5-44

12 January 1941
Lincoln University
Jefferson City, Missouri

THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO STATE UNIVERSITY

by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

The Negro race has touched and influenced the history of the state of Missouri in many and curious ways; some of which are already half forgotten. It was full four hundred years ago that, seven hundred fifty miles southwest of Missouri a black man was the first human being born beyond the Atlantic who looked upon the uncharted empire west of the Mississippi and north of the Rio Grande. In the whirl of revolution which swept the world in the waning eighteenth century the tide of political and economic change ~~which~~ began in the English colonies of America and culminated in France was brought back to America in the fabulous island of Haiti.

It was here that the first of the modern dictators, Napoleon Bonaparte, seeking to stem the insurgent anarchy of his day ~~sought~~ tried to transmute political revolution into American empire and to annex through the gateway of Haiti the whole of what is now the United States west of the Mississippi River. His plan was frustrated by a black leader, Toussaint L'Ouverture and this leader through his dogged resistance to Napoleon, Spain and England finally succeeded in making Haiti independent; in freeing the slaves of the West Indies and South America and in handing the sovereignty of Louisiana including Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and the whole Northwest to the United States.

In this new realm the Cotton Kingdom as it grew to its culminating power toward 1830 looked for increased territory, expanded political power and a new economic basis of society. The battle ground on which the idea of peasant proprietorship and industrial democracy as against economic caste and colonial imperialism was

started in modern times, was this state of Missouri and was personified in the fight which the colossal figure of John Brown made against the border ruffians who were determined to make Kansas a fellow slave state with Missouri. Here the Civil War between two conceptions of American democracy was begun, ending as you well know, not simply with the legal destruction of slavery but with an attempt to extend practical democracy to its ultimate logical theory.

The national reconstruction of the seventies was not merely a matter of hurt and revenge after bitter civil strife, but rather an extraordinary attempt to realize in one of the greatest countries of the world a democracy unhemmed by race or class; a democracy in which any human being of requisite age and character, whether he was a laborer without property, a land holder or a capitalist, should stand equal before the law in his right to have voice in his own government.

The experiment failed and right here in Missouri for two reasons: first, because a laborer without property is not free from the compulsion which his employer

can exercise; and secondly, because despite abolition and the Civil War, the majority of persons in the United States did not believe that Negroes should be included among human beings. The combination of these two facts did not simply frustrate the attempt to enfranchise Negroes, but it also changed and modified the whole democratic development of the United States; and put into the hands of land and capital a political power which nullified to an increasing extent the democratic process.

However, the surrender to the reaction of these two heresies: the refusal to recognize the Negro as an integral part of the national citizenship andthe refusal to protect the rights of labor against the assumptions of capital did not have unquestioned sway. They rose and fell, swayed and shivered in mighty ground swell. One of the first considerations that set the tide in favor of the Negro and raised him at one time to a pinnacle of popular esteem undreamed of before the war was his participation in the war. At first few men, North nor South, would admit that slavery was the

cause or the object of the Civil War | or that black folk could in any real sense be considered the equal of whites; | but the course of the war was extraordinary. | Quite contrary to the plans of the Southern slave barons, the North determined actually to resist secession and called upon its hosts of population | backed by money and material | actually to invade the South. The result was a series of military disasters which seriously threatened the Northern cause and compelled the North to call in | an ally | which they had at first despised | but in whose cooperation now they saw ultimate and certain victory. | And that was the Negro.

It was not merely that the North could put two hundred thousand Negro soldiers actually, in the field; | but they could back these with more than three hundred thousand laborers who could be gathered on the spot | and who made a costly and imported service of supplies unnecessary. This, however, was but a beginning. Back of these fighters and workers | was the possibility of calling to work and arms four million black folk in the very heart of the South | upon whose allegiance the South could only count

as it was willing to give up the corner-stone of its new economic organization | ~~merely~~ Negro slavery. | And in 1864 the South not only called Negro soldiers to its aid but offered them freedom as reward. | These facts, perfectly patent as they are, have never been emphasized | and only now and then recognized. | The revulsion of feeling toward the Negro in this land was for a time miraculous. General Grant said:

> "The problem is solved. The Negro is a man, a soldier, a hero. Knowing of your laudable interest in the colored troops, ~~but particularly those raised under the immediate auspices of the Supervisory Committee,~~ I have thought it proper that I should let you know how they acquitted themselves in the late actions in front of Petersburg, of which you have already received newspaper accounts. If you remember, in my conversations upon the character of these troops, I carefully avoided saying anything about their fighting qualities till I could have an opportunity of trying them."

"The following spring, April 3rd, the Federal troops entered Richmond. Weitzel was leading, with a black regiment in his command - a long blue line with gun-barrels gleaming, and bands playing: 'John Brown's body lies a-moldering in the grave but his soul goes marching on.' President Lincoln visited the city after the surrender. . . . After visiting Jefferson Davis' mansion, he proceeded to the ~~rebel~~ capitol, and from the steps delivered a short speech, ~~and spoke~~ to the colored people, as follows: 'In reference to you, colored people, let me say God has made you free. Although you have been deprived of your God-given Rights by your so-called masters, you are now as free as I am, and if those that claim to be your superiors do not know that you are free, take the sword and bayonet and teach them that you are - for God created all men free, giving to each the same rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'"

The next step loomed. Charles Sumner said in the Senate of the United States, February 5, 1866, in the very year and almost very month of the founding

of this institution:

"I begin by expressing a heart-felt aspiration that the day may soon come when the states lately in rebellion may be received again into the copartnership of political power and the full fellowship of the Union. But I see too well that it is vain to expect this day, which is so much longed for, until we have obtained that security for the future, which is found only in the Equal Rights of All, whether in the court-room or at the ballot-box. This is the Great Guarantee, without which all other guarantees will fail. This is the sole solution of our present troubles and anxieties. This is the only sufficient assurance of peace and reconciliation. . . .

"Our fathers solemnly announded the Equal Rights of all men, and that Government had no just foundation except in the consent of the governed; and to the support of the Declaration, heralding these self-evident truths, they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. . . . And now the moment

has come when these vows must be fulfilled to the letter. In securing the Equal Rights of the freedman, and his participation in the Government, which he is taxed to support, we shall perform those early promises of the Fathers, and at the same time the supplementary promises only recently made to the freedman as the condition of alliance and aid against the Rebellion. A failure to perform these promises is moral and political bankruptcy. . . .

"Twice already, since rebel slavery rose . . .(necessity) has spoken to us, insisting: first, that the slaves should be declared free; and secondly, that muskets should be put into their hands for the common defense. Yielding to necessity, these two things were done. Reason, humanity, justice were powerless in this behalf; but necessity was irresistible. And the result testifies how wisely the Republic acted. Without emancipation, followed by the arming of the slaves, rebel slavery would not have been overcome. With these the victory was easy.

"At last the same necessity which insisted first upon emancipation and then upon the arming of the slaves, insists with the same unanswerable force upon the admission of the freedman to complete Equality before the law, so that there shall be no ban of color in court-room or at the ballot-box, and government shall be fixed on its only rightful foundation - the consent of the governed. Reason, humanity, and justice, all of which are clear for this admission of the freedman, may fail to move you; but you must yield to necessity, which now requires that these promises shall be performed."

It was ten years later that a singular compromise was made. "We see this more clearly today than the nation of 1868, or any of its leaders, could possibly envisage it; but even then, Northern industry knew that universal suffrage in the South, in the hands of Negroes just freed from slavery, and of white people still enslaved by poverty, could not stand against organized industry. They promptly calculated that the same method of controlling the labor vote would come in vogue in the South as they

were already using in the North, and that the industry which used these methods must in the meantime cooperate with Northern industry; that it could not move the foundation stones upon which Northern industry was consolidating its power; that is, the tariff, the money system, the debt, and national in place of state control of industry. This would seem to be what the masters of exploitation were counting upon and it certainly came true in the bargain of 1876.

"Thus by singular coincidence and for a moment, for the few years of an eternal second in a cycle of a thousand years, the orbits of two widely and utterly dissimilar economic systems coincided and the result was a revolution so vast and portentous that few minds ever fully conceived it; for the systems were these: first, that of a democracy which should by universal suffrage establish a dictatorship of the proletariat ending in industrial democracy; and the other, a system by which a little knot of masterful men would so organize capitalism as to bring under their control the natural resources, wealth and industry of a vast and rich country and through that, of the world. For a second, for a pulse of time, these orbits crossed and

coincided, but their central suns were a thousand light-years apart, even though the blind and ignorant fury of the South and the complacent Philistinism of the North saw them as one.

"Reconstruction was an economic revolution on a mighty scale and with world-wide reverberation. Reconstruction was not simply a fight between the white and black races in the South or between master and ex-slave. It was much more subtle; it involved more than this. There have been repeated and continued attempts to paint this era as an interlude of petty politics or nightmare of race hate instead of viewing it slowly and broadly as a tremendous series of efforts to earn a living in new and untried ways, to achieve economic security and to restore fatal losses of capital and investment. It was a vast labor movement of ignorant, earnest, and bewildered black men whose faces had been ground in the mud by their three awful centuries of degradation and who now staggered forward blindly in blood and tears amid petty division, hate

and hurt, and surrounded by every disaster of war and industrial upheaval. Reconstruction was a vast labor movement of ignorant, muddled and bewildered white men who had been disinherited of land and labor and fought a long battle with sheer ~~subsistence~~ Sub-sistence, hanging on the edge of poverty, eating clay and chasing slaves and now lurching up to manhood. Reconstruction was the turn of white Northern migration southward to new and sudden economic opportunity which followed the disaster and dislocation of war, and an attempt to organize capital and labor on a new pattern and build a new economy. Finally Reconstruction was a desperate effort of a dislodged, maimed, impoverished and ruined oligarchy and monopoly to restore an anachronism in economic organization by force, fraud and slander, in defiance of law and order, and in the face of a great labor movement of white and black, and in bitter strife with a new capitalism and a new political framework."

It is significant that the institution whose seventy-fifth anniversary we are celebrating today arose out of this chain of circumstances. It was among the black soldiers of Missouri fighting the last battle of the west which spelled the

final crippling of the Confederacy that the idea arose of systematic education of their fellows in their home state. Nor was there anything unusual or ~~local~~ merely in this thought and movement. The public school system of the whole South is the gift of black folk. An element in the white South had struggled for a public school system, had sought to follow New England and the West in this direction long before the Civil War but it is a needless exaggeration to say that there was in the confines of the former slave states, south of Mason and Dixon's line, any real state public school system until the black votes of Reconstruction furnished one. Even in the Middlewest, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Missouri, the public school system did not usually include or envisage Negroes and it was only when Missouri colored troops saw with their own eyes what Negroes were doing for public education in Louisiana and Texas, that they sent back the idea to their own state.

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The new democratic state which then arose/north and south/after the Civil war/was hampered and curtailed in its powers. Especially its effort to regulate industry and control wages/failed ignominously;/but the consequent demand for Light, more Light" — for wider and deeper understanding of human processes/showed itself in a new attitude toward popular education & consequently toward Negro education

~~Leaving now historical considerations let us consider two matters: first, the relation of the state to education and second, the relation of education to current social problems.~~ I was brought up in a day and state where education beyond the grammar school, beyond ~~the matter of~~ elementary reading, writing and arithmetic was considered to be a private matter. If a child was to be educated in the high school and college and for the professions, this was a matter to which the private individual and private fortunes should attend. This was the New England counterpart of the English idea of education which lasted there down almost to our day.

There grew up consequently in New England endowed high schools and private colleges which have become the best known in the nation and which long prided themselves on giving training not simply to the rich and well-to-do but even to talented children of all classes and races. I can remember that the first catalogue of Harvard University which I ever saw had in it a statement that the experience of the university warrants the statement that no student of ability need leave the institution because of lack

of funds." This situation gradually changed. The demand for high school and college training on the part of the mass of youth in the United States rapidly out-ran the facilities which private institutions supported by private endowments could furnish, and there arose the public town and city high school and the state university. The voting masses of Americans demanded vastly expanded opportunities for learning. These facilities have grown so rapidly and expanded so enormously in work and attendance that it is manifest that by the twenty-first century the problem of higher education is going to be primarily a problem of the State.

This fills some folk with satisfaction and others with dismay, because it puts into the hands of the state the necessity of facing and facing squarely certain social situations and problems which the state as it is now constituted has not shown itself capable of handling. Not only is there the older problem of religion and social status but what are today the much more pressing problems of class distinctions based on income and of racial distinctions based on physical differences and appearances and on historical

associations supported by prejudice and folklore.

The new state system of education, therefore, is faced first of all with this question of income, this question which the democratic experiments following the Civil War attempted to meet and failed. It is all well enough to talk about equality of human beings and their liberty to act; the real fact of the matter, as we have known for generations and as we are beginning to admit today, is that a man who does not have enough to eat or the clothing and shelter necessary for health; and who is uncertain as to how long his present meagre income is going to last, is not free and cannot be called the equal of the man with sufficient and assured income and security of status. The comfortable solution of this economic problem, which regards this situation as largely inevitable; which looks upon poverty as the permanent accompaniment of civilization, is not only being questioned today, but is the real burning problem which ~~lies~~ lay at the basis of the last World War, is the cause of this present World War and of other revolutions to come. The solution of attitudes toward this economic problem, is in the long run in the hands of

our educational system and it goes without saying that the present educational system is not designed to meet it. It is a system largely determined by that very economic inequality which it seeks to solve; and the power to administer the system lies all too largely in hands interested in privilege rather than in justice, in class advantage rather than in democratic control, ~~in race discrimination rather than human unity~~

If this were all, the problem of state education would be a most difficult one but in addition to this we have here in the United States ~~of the world over~~ problems of race and culture concentrated in our vast cities, concentrated in the rural districts of the Southern South and forming a considerable and difficult problem in border regions like this. This set of problems includes minorities of various types, vestiges of religious controversies stemming from other days, remainders of extreme economic inequalities as represented by various migratory groups; differences due to physique and appearance and above all differences due to cultural history. Indeed the whole civilized world today is a mass of race controversies and contacts bound up with all mankind.

46-5-63

Among these you and I especially are victims of those so-called racial problems differences which estrange themselves about the history of slavery in this country, and which have left us some twelve or more millions of people more or less of African descent, of varying cultures and different degrees of education, who stand out, not simply because of visible differences in appearance, but because of historical differences due to their cultural and economic inheritance. They are, for instance, in large majority, poor people with small income. They are ignorant people having been until quite recently very largely deprived of education; and they are associated in the public mind, through the reiteration of the printed word and the pictured fact, with inferiority and lack of ability. The problem of the education of these persons must be faced by state systems of training and this problem is being faced with every conceivable difference of attitude varying from open and careless neglect to desperate and often misguided efforts at solution.

In a state like this the usual attitude long has been to resent the fact

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that such a problem must complicate the policies of the state system of education. It could of course easily be argued that the simpler the problems of education are, the easier it would be to solve them; that if a state school system had to deal with persons of about the same income status, the same cultural background and comparatively few physical differences, that the resultant problem of education would be easy. Perhaps so, but certainly it would not be a problem of education suited to this nation of this world. This is a world where the physical, mental and cultural differences between human beings are vast. Where the absolute segregation of human beings is increasingly impossible and undesirable; where the annihilation of space, the economic interdependence of peoples and the necessary political cooperation, are such that no problem of education in any country can long hope to escape the resultant questions of human contact. It has indeed long been thought in theory at least that one of the great advantages of the United States lay in the very combination and contacts of people which the polyglot citizenship and political organization involved. But even those who advocated this theory were apt to shy a bit (P)

4/6-5-65

and here and there (of Italians + Mexicans)

at the Irish and the Germans, at the Jews and the Slovaks, at Asiatics of all sorts and of course at Negroes.

So admitting today that the state system of education has got to regard the different elements in the state as an inescapable part of its problem, we come to the second situation: namely, that as an heritage from slavery and the Civil War we are required by state law to carry on separate institutions for persons of Negro descent. There is no doubt that this in unfortunate and even idiotic. It is needlessly costly and it is a direct contravention to that democratic equality toward which all education in the end must strive. And yet so far as these laws reflect a real state of mind; so far as they simply put into words ~~a deep~~ deeper than will feeling, and determination on the part of the dominant group that coeducation of the races is a thing more to be feared than the failure of democracy or even of life itself; so far as this remains true or even seems true such a situation has got to be faced.

There is, of course, in everyone's mind the conviction that ~~this~~ such inherited

prejudice largely the result of unconscious and subconscious psychological reactions, is not and cannot be permanent. But it is a difficult matter to say just when and where the end of such prejudice can be looked for or assumed. One would think that in a state like Missouri where Negroes form but one-sixth of the population and where the actual illiteracy of ~~the~~ whites and blacks is not great, that time and a reasonable amount of tolerance time would make the waste and duplication of work necessary in two state universities uncalled for; and that a little patient waiting and thoughtful pressure might even in our day have opened the doors of the University of Missouri to colored students.

In the meantime, however, there were certain losses which could hardly be faced. The admission of a few colored students to the University of Missouri would not alter the mental complexion of the teachers and professors in that institution. They would know as little about the cultural history and group difficulties of Negro students after as before. Even in large national institutions like

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Yale, Harvard and Columbia

the University of Chicago, the University of Illinois, the University of Indiana, colored students have undergone enormous disadvantages and unconscious as well as deliberate discrimination because their white teachers were systematically ignorant of the place of the Negro in human culture. Whole sections of human history have been slurred over or misinterpreted; science has been systematically distorted to prove a prejudice; and above all most of these teachers have refused to visualize the possibility of a negro becoming a full self-respecting American citizen.

Last year in the University of Pennsylvania a Negro student of fine physique, excellent family and unusual ability elected a course under a well-known professor in the social sciences. The professor called him in and said to him ~~quite frankly~~ "Blank, I have heard of your work and I know that you are a good student but I want to tell you frankly openly that I have such prejudice against Negroes that I could not treat you fairly in my classes. If under those circumstances you want to take this course, all right." The student quietly withdrew. There are dozens of white teachers in white universities who only differ from this one in being less frank.

This may be this case with exceptional, but

Whether then it was inevitable or not Missouri has embarked upon the road of establishing a Negro university and of making that institution a center of learning and scientific advance deserving to be classed as the equal of other universities in this land. That, of course, is a difficult job. First of all, any time that a state is compelled by higher law or by lower prejudice to embark upon a program for which it has no real liking the work will be done, at first certainly, in a cheap and slipshod way. The separate institution will be by all standards a poor institution; poor

in physical equipment, poor in cultural advantages, tempted to imitate where it cannot be real, and to boast of what it has not.

Any Negro institution will have natural difficulty in calling to its service persons thoroughly trained for the kind of work which they will have to do.* Having been called such persons to teach, it will ~~have to pay them~~ usually be paid at a rate with which no white man would or ought to be satisfied. ~~It will give them~~ They will be given less security of tenure, fewer surroundings of the larger life and less of honor and spiritual satisfaction. Such a situation will call for unusual sacrifice and devotion on the part of teachers and ~~of~~ rare loyalty on the part of students which ~~do not~~ none of necessarily come for the asking or the need. They must be built up by unusual strains and stresses and by loyalties which may in themselves become dangerous.

Inevitably among a poor people and inexperienced the temptation will come and recur to make an institution like this a means of earning a living or of adding to income rather than an institution of learning. The Negroes of Missouri will be

in physical equipment, poor in cultural advantages, tempted to imitate where it cannot be real, and to boast of what it has not.

Any Negro institution will have natural difficulty in calling to its service persons thoroughly trained for the kind of work which they will have to do. Having called such persons it will have to pay them at a rate on which no white man would be satisfied. It will give them less security of tenure, fewer surroundings of the larger life and less of honor and spiritual satisfaction. Such a situation will call for sacrifice and devotion on the part of teachers and of loyalty on the part of students which do not necessarily come for the asking or the need. They must be built up by unusual strains and stresses and by loyalties which may in themselves become dangerous.

Inevitably among a poor people and inexperienced the temptation will come and recur to make an institution like this a means of earning a living or of adding to income rather than an institution of learning. The Negroes of Missouri will be

tempted in the future, as in the past, to sell their votes not for the establishment of a state university but for small offices and temporary preferment; for the paying of personal debts and squaring of personal dislikes and enmities rather than the larger and more intangible object of building here a center of thought and speculation, of scientific research, of literature and art. Every state university in this nation has gone through this period of petty politics and some are still passing through it. It is only by the hardest effort and the deepest sacrifice and devotion to the greater life that a group and a state can rise to the high conception of what a university can do and what it may be, & what place it should occupy in a democracy

There is always the problem of what an institution like this should aim at. Should Lincoln University try to become another University of Missouri? After all, among the great universities of America, the University of Missouri would hardly be placed among the first. It can be considered a sort of average of those plodding miscellaneous centers of crowds, dispensing an education with varying degrees of

efficiency. Lincoln University has before it certain obvious differences of method and aim: it can and should be smaller and more compact; it can be more certain of its objects and more definite and thorough in its methods. There are certain lines of work in which it can stand out not simply in Missouri but in the United States ~~and in the world,~~ as a focus of research and as a place of culture and civilization for a new and evolving world. *

But for this Lincoln will need freedom and funds. It will need to be administered by men of large vision who think of this school not as a temporary make-shift or as a place where their relatives get positions or their firms sell goods, but rather as a center where the cultural outlook of this country is to be changed and uplifted and helped in the reconstruction of the world.

Lincoln University has already come a long road in this direction. I can remember that forty-seven years ago I received a letter from what was then Lincoln Institute, asking me to be a member of its faculty and promising me a salary considerably

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26½

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You have an extraordinary opportunity, not so much for social imitation and social conflict; but rather for social invention, for planning and carrying through methods by which without hatred, agitation or upheaval you can show how a minority cannot ~~only~~ simply repeat the accomplishments of a majority but can show the majority the way of life and in doing this you but reiterate an age-old custom that not from the overwhelming, rich and powerful groups which from time to time rule the world have come salvation and culture but from the still small voice of the oppressed and the ~~despised~~ determined who knew more than to die and planned more than mere survival.

(To 26*)

larger than that for which I had promised to work at Wilberforce. I refused the invitation almost without second thought, because the Lincoln Institute of that day had an unsavory reputation. It was a center of graft, of low ideals, of inefficient work. It was well-known that no president could stay here who was not a politician of parts and teachers held their positions only by careful negotiation with the trustees and the political bosses of the State. From that time Lincoln Institute, now Lincoln University, has come a long way, but it has a long way still to go. It has not altogether been freed of its purely political relations, but that is true of many other state institutions of higher learning throughout the United States. But there has been a change and after seventy-five years of most difficult effort and self-sacrificing strife one begins to see here the chance of establishing a real university, a Negro university not in the sense that it is teaching Negro science or merely Negro history or Negro mathematics, but in the larger and broader sense that here science and education are being so followed that the place of the Negro in the world and his relation to the body of his fellow human beings is

being made clear; and a fertile starting point prepared for a democracy of human cultures which will make peace in the world not only possible but profitable for all men.

This university and its dark fellows in the land are not simply American, they are inter-national and part of a new world pattern of which Negroes are thinking. For "What do Negroes themselves think of these their problems and the attitude of the world toward them? First and most significant, they are thinking. There is as yet no great single centralizing of thought or unification of opinion, but there are centers which are growing larger and touching edges. The most significant centers of this new thinking are, perhaps naturally, outside Africa and in America: in the United States and in the West Indies; this is followed by South Africa and West Africa and then, more vaguely, by South America, with faint beginnings in East Central Africa, Nigeria, and the Sudan.

"The Pan-African movement when it comes will not, however, be merely a narrow racial propaganda. Already the more far-seeing Negroes sense the coming unities: a unity of the working classes everywhere, a unity of the colored races, a new unity of thinking men. The ~~proposed~~ economic solution of the Negro problem in Africa and America has turned the thoughts of Negroes toward a realization of the fact that the modern white laborer of Europe and America has the key to the serfdom of black folk, in his support of militarism and colonial expansion. He is beginning to say to these workingmen that, so long as black laborers are slaves, white laborers cannot be free. Already there are signs in South Africa and the United States of the beginning of understanding between the two classes.

"In a conscious sense of unity among colored races there is to-day only a growing interest. There is slowly arising not only a curiously strong brotherhood of Negro blood throughout the world, but the common cause of thedarker races against the intolerable assumptions and insults of Europeans has already found expression. Most men in this world are colored. A belief in humanity means a belief in colored men.

The future world will, in all reasonable probability, be what colored men make it. In order for this colored world to come into its heritage, must the earth ~~again~~ be Continuously drenched in the blood of fighting, snarling human beasts, or will Reason and Good Will prevail? That such may be true, the character of the Negro race is the best and greatest hope; for in its normal condition it is at once the strongest and gentlest of the races of men: ~~"Semper Novi quid ex Africa!"~~ but that character can only be raised above Emotion to Planned reason by institutions such as this may become

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THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO STATE UNIVERSITY

by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

The Negro race has touched and influenced the history of the state of Missouri in many and curious ways; some of which are already half forgotten. It was full four hundred years ago that a black man seven hundred fifty miles southwest of Missouri was the first human being born beyond the Atlantic who looked upon the uncharted empire west of the Mississippi and north of the Rio Grande. In the whirl of revolution which swept the world in the waning eighteenth century the tide of political and economic change beginning in the English colonies of America and culminating in France was brought back to America in the fabulous island of Haiti. It was here that the first of the modern dictators, Napoleon Bonaparte, seeking to stem the insurgent anarchy of his day tried to transmute political revolution into American empire and to annex through the gateway of Haiti the whole of what is now the United States west of the Mississippi River. His plan was frustrated by a black leader, Toussaint L'Ouverture and this leader through his dogged resistance to Napoleon, Spain and England finally succeeded in making Haiti independent; in freeing the slaves of the West Indies and South America and in handing the sovereignty of Louisiana including Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and the whole Northwest to the United States.

In this new realm the Cotton Kingdom as it grew to its culmination power toward 1830 looked for increased territory, expanded political power and a new economic basis of society. The battle ground on which the idea of peasant proprietorship and industrial democracy as against economic caste and colonial imperialism was started in modern times,

33-16-34

was this state of Missouri and was personified in the fight which the colossal figure of John Brown made against the border ruffians who were determined to make Kansas a fellow slave state with Missouri. Here the Civil War between two conceptions of American democracy was begun, ending as you well know, not simply with the legal destruction of slavery but with an attempt to extend practical democracy to its ultimate logical theory.

38-16-35

The national reconstruction of the seventies was not merely a matter of hurt and revenge after bitter civil strife, but rather an extraordinary attempt to realize in one of the greatest countries of the world a democracy unhemmed by race or class; a democracy in which any human being of requisite age and character, whether he was a laborer without property, a land holder or a capitalist, should stand equal before the law in his right to have voice in his own government.

The experiment failed and right here in Missouri for two reasons: first, because a laborer without property is not free from the compulsion which his employer can exercise; and secondly, because despite abolition and the Civil War, the majority of persons in the United States did not believe that Negroes should be included among human beings. The combination of these two facts did not simply frustrate the attempt to enfranchise Negroes, but it also changed and modified the whole democratic development of the United States; and put into the hands of land and capital a political power which nullified to an increasing extent the democratic process.

However, the surrender to the reaction of these two heresies: the refusal to recognize the Negro as an integral part of the national citizenship and the refusal to protect the rights of labor against the assumptions of capital did not have unquestioned sway. They rose and fell, swayed and shivered in mighty ground swell.

One of the first considerations that set the tide in favor of the Negro and raised him at one time to a pinnacle of popular esteem undreamed

Civil

of before the war was his participation in the war. At first few men, North nor South, would admit that slavery was the cause or the object of the Civil War or that black folk could in any real sense be considered the equal of whites; but the course of the war was extraordinary. Quite contrary to the plans of the Southern slave barons, the North determined actually to resist secession and called upon its hosts of population backed by money and material actually to invade the South. The result was a series of military disasters which seriously threatened the Northern cause and compelled the North to call in an ally which they had at first despised but in whose cooperation now they saw ultimate and certain victory. And that was the Negro.

38-16-26

It was not merely that the North could put two hundred thousand Negro soldiers actually, in the field; but they could back these with more than three hundred thousand laborers who could be gathered on the spot and who made a costly and imported service of supplies unnecessary. This, however, was but a beginning. Back of these fighters and workers was the possibility of calling to work and arms four million black folk in the very heart of the South upon whose allegiance the South could only count as it was willing to give up the corner-stone of its new economic organization -- Negro slavery. And in 1864 the South not only called Negro soldiers to its aid but offered them freedom as reward. These facts, perfectly patent as they are, have never been emphasized and only now and then recognized. The revulsion of feeling toward the Negro in this land was for a time miraculous. General Grant said:

> "The problem is solved. The Negro is a man, a soldier, a hero. Knowing of your laudable interest in the colored troops, . . . I have thought it proper that I should let you know how they acquitted themselves in the late actions in front of Petersburg, of which you have already received newspaper accounts. If you remember, in my conversations upon the character of these troops, I carefully avoided

saying anything about their fighting qualities till I could have an opportunity of trying them."

The following spring, April 3rd, the Federal troops entered Richmond. Weitzel was leading, with a black regiment in his command - a long blue line with gunbarrels gleaming, and bands playing: "John Brown's body lies a-moldering in the grave but his soul goes marching on." President Lincoln visited the city after the surrender. . . . After visiting Jefferson Davis' mansion, he proceeded to the capitol, and from the steps delivered a short speech, to the colored people, as follows:

"In reference to you, colored people, let me say God has made you free. Although you have been deprived of your God-given Rights by your so-called masters, you are now as free as I am, and if those that claim to be your superiors do not know that you are free, take the sword and bayonet and teach them that you are - for God created all men free, giving to each the same rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

The next step loomed. Charles Sumner said in the Senate of the United States, February 5, 1866, in the very year and almost very month of the founding of this institution:

"I begin by expressing a heart-felt aspiration that the day may soon come when the states lately in rebellion may be received again into the copartnership of political power and the full fellowship of the Union. But I see too well that it is vain to expect this day, which is so much longed for, until we have obtained that security for the future, which is found only in the Equal Rights of All, whether in the court-room or at the ballot-box. This is the Great Guarantee, without which all other guarantees will fail. This is the sole solution of our present troubles and anxieties. This is the only sufficient assurance of peace and reconciliation. . . .

"Our fathers solemnly announced the Equal Rights of all men, and

38-16-37

that Government had no just foundation except in the consent of the governed; and to the support of the Declaration, heralding these self-evident truths, the pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. . . . And now the moment has come when these vows must be fulfilled to the letter. In securing the Equal Rights of the freedman, and his participation in the Government, which he is taxed to support, we shall perform those early promises of the Fathers, and at the same time the supplementary promises only recently made to the freedman as the condition of alliance and aid against the Rebellion. A failure to perform these promises is moral and political bankruptcy. . . .

"Twice already, since rebel slavery rose . . . (necessity) has spoken to us, insisting: first, that the slaves should be declared free; and secondly, that muskets should be put into their hands for the common defense. Yeilding to necessity, these two things were done. Reason, humanity, justice were powerless in this behalf; but necessity was irresistible. And the result testifies how wisely the Republic acted. Without emancipation, followed by the arming of the slaves, rebel slavery would not have been overcome. With these the victory was easy.

"At last the same necessity which insisted first upon emancipation and then upon the arming of the slaves, insists with the same unanswerable force upon the admission of the freedman to complete Equality before the law, so that there shall be no ban of color in court-room or at the ballot-box, and government shall be fixed on its only rightful foundation - the consent of the governed. Reason, humanity, and justice, all of which are clear for this admission of the freedman, may fail to move you; but you must yield ot necessity, which now requires that these promises shall be performed."

It was ten years later that a singular compromise was made. "We see this more clearly today than the nation of 1868, or any of its leaders, could possible envisage it; but even then, Northern industry knew that universal suffrage in the South, in the hands of Negroes just freed from slavery, and of white people still enslaved by poverty, could not stand against organized industry. They promptly calculated that the same method of controlling the labor vote would come in vogue in the South as they were already using in the North, and that the industry which used these methods must in the meantime cooperate with Northern industry; that it could not move the foundation stones upon with Northern industry was consolidating its power; that is, the tariff, the money system, the debt, and national in place of state control of industry. This would seem to be what the masters of exploitation were counting upon and it certainly came true in the bargain of 1876.

38-16-39

"Thus by singular coincidence and for a moment, for the few years of an eternal second in a cycle of a thousand years, the orbits of two widely and utterly dissimilar economic systems coincided and the result was a revolution so vast and portentous that few minds ever fully conceived it; for the systems were these: first, that of a democracy which should by universal suffrage establish a dictatorship of the proletariat ending in industrial democracy; and the other, a system by which a little knot of masterful men would so organize capitalism as to bring under their control the natural resources, wealth and industry of a vast and rich country and through that, of the world. For a second, for a pulse of time, these orbits crossed and coincided, but their central suns were a thousand light-years apart, even though the blind andignorant fury of the South and the complacent Philistinism of the North saw them as one.

"Reconstruction was an economic revolution on a mighty scale and with world-wide reverberation. Reconstruction was not simply a fight between the white and black races in the South or between master and ex-slave. It was much mor subtle; it involved more than this. There have been repeated and continued attempts to paint this era as an interlude of petty politics or nightmare of race hate instead of viewing it slowly and broadly as a tremendous series of efforts to earn a living in new and untried ways, to achieve economic security and to restore fatal losses of capital and investment. It was a vast labor movement of ignorant, earnest, and bewildered black men whose faces had been ground in the mud by their three awful centuries of degradation and who now staggered forward blindly in blood and t ars amid petty division, hate and hurt, and surrounded by every disaster of war and industrial upheaval. Reconstruction was a vast labor movement of ignorant, muddled and bewildered white men who had been disinherited of land and labor and fought a long battle with sheer subsistence, hanging on the edge of poverty, eating clay and chasing slaves and now lurching up to manhood. Reconstruction was the turn of white Northern migration southward to new and sudden economic opportunity which followed the disaster and dislocation of war, and an attempt to organize capital and labor on a new pattern and build a new economy. Finally Reconstruction was a desperate effort of a dislodged, maimed, impoverished and ruined oligarchy and monopoly to restore an anachronism in economic organization by force, fraud and slander, in defiance of law and order, and in the face of a great labor movement of white and black, and in bitter strife with a new capitalism and a new political framework."

It is significant that the institution whose seventy-fifth anniversary we are celebrating today arose out of this chain of circumstances. It was among the black soldiers of Missouri fighting the last battle of the west which spelled the final crippling of the Confederacy that the idea

arose of systematic education of their fellows in their home state. Nor was there anything unusual or merely local in this thought and movement. The public school system of the whole South is the gift of black folk. An element in the white South had struggled for a public school system, had sought to follow New England and the West in this direction long before the Civil War but it is a needless exaggeration to say that there was in the confines of the former slave state , south of Mason and Dixon's line, any real state public school system until the black votes of Reconstruction furnished one. Even in the Middlewest, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Missouri, the public school system did not usually include or envisage Negroes and it was only when Missouri colored troops saw with their own eyes what Negroes were doing for public education in Louisiana and Texas, that they sent back the idea to their own state.

38-16-41

The new democratic state which thus arose North and South after the Civil war was hampered and curtailed in its powers. Especially its effort to regulate industry and control wages failed ignominiously; but the consequent demand for Light, More Light -- for wider and deeper understanding of human processes showed itself in a new attitude toward popular education and consequently toward Negro education.

I was brought up in a day and state where education beyond the grammar school, beyond elementary reading, writing and arithmetic was considered to be a private matter. If a child was to be educated in the high school and college and for the professions, this was a matter to which the private individual and private fortunes should attend. This was the New England counterpart of the English idea of education which lasted there down almost to our day.

There grew up consequently in New England endowed high schools and private colleges which have become the best known in the nation and which long prided themselves on giving training not simply to the rich and well-to-do but even to talented children of all classes and races.

I can remember that the first catalogue of Harvard University which I ever saw had in it a sentence statement that the "experience of the university warrants the statement that no student of ability need leave the institution because of lack of funds." This situation gradually changed. The demand for high school and college training on the part of the mass of youth in the United States rapidly out-ran the facilities which private institutions supported by private endowments could furnish, and there arose the public town and city high school and the state university. The voting masses of Americans demanded vastly expanded opportunities for learning. These facilities have grown so rapidly and expanded so enormously in work and attendance that it is manifest that by the twenty-first century the problem of higher education is going to be primarily a problem of the State.

33-16-42

This fills some folk with satisfaction and others with dismay, because it puts into the hands of the state the necessity of facing and facing squarely certain social situations and problems which the state as it is now constituted has not shown itself capable of handling. Not only is there the older problems of religion and social status but what are today the much more pressing problems of class distinction based on income and of racial distinctions based on physical differences and appearances and on historical associations supported by prejudice and folklore.

The new state system of education, therefore, is faced first of all with this question of income, this question which the democratic experiments following the Civil War attempted to meet and failed. It is all well enough to talk about equality of human beings and their liberty to act; the real fact of the matter, as we have known for generations and as we are beginning to admit today, is that a man who does not have enough to eat or the clothing and shelter necessary for health; and who

is uncertain as to how long his present meagre income is going to last, is not free and cannot be called the equal of the man with sufficient and assured income and security of status. The comfortable solution of this economic problem, which regards this situation as largely inevitable; which looks upon poverty as the permanent accompaniment of civilization, is not only being questioned today, but is the real burning problem which lay at the basis of the last World War, is the cause of this present World War and of other revolutions to come. The solution of attitudes toward this economic problem, is in the long run in the hands of our educational system and it goes without saying that the present educational system is not designed to meet it. It is a system largely determined by that very economic inequality which it seeks to solve; and the power to administer the system lies all too largely in hands interested in privilege rather than in justice, in class advantage rather than in democratic control.

33-16-43

If this were all, the problem of state education would be a most difficult one but in addition to this we have here in the United States problems of race and culture concentrated in our vast cities, concentrated in the rural districts of the Southern South and forming a considerable and difficult problem in border regions like this. This set of problems includes minorities of various types, vestiges of religious controversies stemming from other days, remainders of extreme economic inequalities as represented by various migratory groups; differences due to physique and appearance and above all differences due to cultural history. In deed the whole civilized world today is a mass of race controversies and contacts bound up with all mankind.

Among these you and I especially are victims of those so-called racial problems which range themselves about the history of slavery in this country, and which have left us some twelve or more millions of people more or less of African descent, of varying cultures and different degrees of education, who stand out, not simply because of visible differences

in appearance, but because of historical differences due to their cultural and economic inheritance. They are, for instance, in large majority, poor people with small income. They are ignorant people having been until quite recently very ~~largely~~ deprived of education; and they are associated in the public mind, through the reiteration of the printed word and the pictured fact, with inferiority and lack of ability. The problem of the education of these persons must be faced by state systems of training and this problem is being faced with every conceivable difference of attitude varying from open and careless neglect to desperate and often misguided efforts at solution.

In a state like this the usual attitude long has been to resent the fact that such a problem must complicate the policies of the state system of education. It could of course easily be argued that the simpler the problems of education are, the easier it would be to solve them; that if a state school system had to deal with persons of about the same income status, the same cultural background and comparatively few physical differences, that the resultant problem of education would be easy. Perhaps so, but certainly it would not be a problem of education suited to this nation or this world. This is a world where the physical, mental and cultural differences between human beings are vast. Where the absolute segregation of human beings is increasingly impossible and undesirable; where the annihilation of space, the economic interdependence of peoples and the necessary political cooperation, are such that no problem of education in any country can long hope to escape the resultant questions of facts of human contact. It has indeed been thought in theory at least that one of the great advantages of the United States lay in the very combination and contacts of people which ~~the~~ our poly glot citizenship and political organization involved. But even those who advocated this theory were apt to shy a bit and here and there at the Irish and the Germans, at Italians and Mexicans, at the Jews and the Slovaks, at

Asiatics of all sorts and of course at Negroes.

So admitting today that the state system of education has got to regard the different elements in the state as an inescapable part of its problem, we come to the second situation: namely, that as an heritage from slavery and the Civil War we are required by state law to carry on separate institutions for persons of Negro descent. There is no doubt that this in unfortunate and even idiotic. It is needlessly costly and it is a direct contravention to that democratic equality toward which all education in the end must strive. And yet so far as these laws reflect a real state of mind; so far as they simply put into words deeper than feelings will and determination on the part of the dominant group, that coeducation of the races is a thing more to be feared than the failure of democracy or even of life itself; so far as this remains true or even seems true such a situation has got to be faced.

35-16-45

There is, of course, in everyone's mind the conviction that such inherited prejudice, largely the result of unconscious and subconscious psychological reactions, is not and cannot be permanent. But it is a difficult matter to say just when and where the end of such prejudice can be looked for or assumed. One would think that in a state like Missouri where Negroes form but one-sixth of the population and where the actual illiteracy of whites and blacks is not great, that time and a reasonable amount of tolerance would make the waste and duplication of work necessary in two state universities uncalled for; and that a little patient waiting and thoughtful pressure might even in our day have opened the doors of the University of Missouri to colored students.

In the meantime, however, there were certain losses which could hardly be faced. The admission of a few colored students to the University of Missouri would not alter the mental complexion of the teachers and professors in that institution. They would know as little about the cultural history and group difficulties of Negro students after as before.

Even in large national institutions like the University of Chicago, the University of Illinois, the University of Indiana, Yale, Harvard and Columbia, colored students have undergone enormous disadvantages and unconscious as well as deliberate discrimination because their white teachers were systematically ignorant of the place of the Negro in human culture. Whole sections of human history have been slurred over or misinterpreted; science has been systematically distorted to prove a prejudice; and above all most of these teachers have refused to visualize the possibility of a Negro becoming a full self-respecting American citizen.

35-16-46

Last year in the University of Pennsylvania a Negro student of fine physique, excellent family and unusual ability elected a course under a well-known professor in the social sciences. The professor called him in and said to him "Blank, I have heard of your work and I know that you are a good student but I want to tell you frankly and openly that I have such prejudice against Negroes that I could not treat you fairly in my classes. If under those circumstances you want to take this course, all right." The student quietly withdrew. This man and this case were exceptional, but there are dozens of white teachers in white universities who only differ from this one in being less frank.

Whether then it was inevitable or not Missouri has embarked upon the road of establishing a Negro university and of making that institution a center of learning and scientific advance deserving to be classed as the equal of other universities in this land. That, of course, is a difficult job. First of all, any time that a state is compelled by higher law or by lower prejudice to embark upon a program for which it has no real liking the work will be done, at first certainly, in a cheap and slipshod way. The separate institution will be by all standards a poor institution: poor in physical equipment, poor in cultural advantages, tempted to imitate where it cannot be real, and to boast of what it has not.

Any Negro institution will have natural difficulty in calling to its service persons thoroughly trained for the kind of work which they will have to do. Just because a man is black does not make him a scholar nor a teacher. Having been called to teach such persons will usually be paid at a rate with which no white man would or ought to be satisfied. They will be given less security of tenure, fewer surroundings of the larger life and less of honor and spiritual satisfaction. Such a situation will call for unusual sacrifice and devotion on the part of teachers and rare loyalty on the part of students, none of which necessarily come for the asking or the need. They must be built up by unusual strains and stresses and by loyalties which may in themselves become dangerous.

38-16-47

Inevitably among a poor people and inexperienced the temptation will come and recur to make an institution like this a means of earning a living or of adding to income rather than an institution of learning. The Negroes of Missouri will be tempted in the future, as in the past, to sell their votes not for the establishment of a state university but for small offices and temporary preferment, for the paying of personal debts and squaring of personal dislikes and enmities, rather than the larger and more intangible object of building here a center of thought and speculation, of scientific research, of literature and art. Every state university in this nation has gone through this period of petty politics and some are still passing through it. It is only by the hardest effort and the deepest sacrifice and devotion to the greater life, that a group and a state can rise to the high conception of what a university can do and what it may be, and what place it should occupy in a democracy.

There is always the problem of what an institution like this should aim at. Should Lincoln University try to become another University of Missouri? After all, among the great universities of America, the University of Missouri would hardly be placed among the first. It can be considered

a sort of average of those plodding miscellaneous centers of crowds, dispensing an education with varying degrees of efficiency. Lincoln University has before it certain obvious differences of method and aim: it can and should be smaller and more compact; it can be more certain of its objects and more definite and thorough in its methods. There are certain lines of work in which it can stand out, not simply in Missouri but in the United States as a focus of research and as a place of culture and civilization for a new and evolving world. You have an extraordinary opportunity, not so much for social imitation and social conflict; but rather for social invention, for planning and carrying through methods by which without hatred, agitation or upheaval, you can show how a minority can not simply repeat the accomplishments of a majority, but can show the majority the way of life and in doing this, you but reiterate an age-old custom that not from the overwhelming, rich and powerful groups which from time to time rule the world have come salvation and culture, but from the still small voice of the oppressed and the determined who knew more than to die and plan more than mere survival.

38-16-18

But for this, Lincoln will need freedom and funds. It will need to be administered by men of large vision who think of this school not as a temporary make-shift or as a place where their relatives get positions or their firms sell goods, but rather as a center where the cultural outlook of this country is to be changed and uplifted and helped in the reconstruction of the world.

Lincoln University has already come a long road in this direction. I can remember that forty-seven years ago I received a letter from what was then Lincoln Institute, asking me to be a member of its faculty and promising me a salary considerably larger than that for which I had promised to work at Wilberforce . I refused the invitation almost without second thought, because the Lincoln Institute of that day had an unsavory reputation. It was a center of graft, of low ideals, of inefficient work. It was well-

known that no president could stay here who was not a politician of resource and teachers held their positions only by careful negotiation with the trustees and the political bosses of the state. From that time Lincoln Institute, now Lincoln University, has come a long way, but it has a long way still to go. It has not altogether been freed of its purely political relations, but that is true of many other state institutions of higher learning through out the United States, white and black. But there has been a change and after seventy-five years of most difficult effort and self-sacrificing strife one begins to see the chance of establishing a real university here, a Negro university not in the sense that it is teaching Negro science or merely Negro history or Negro mathematics, but in the larger and broader sense that here science and education are being so followed that the place of the Negro in the world and his relation to the body of his fellow human beings is being made clear; and a fertile starting point prepared for a democracy of human culture which will make peace in the world not only possible but profitable for all men.

This university and its dark fellows in the land are not simply American, they are inter-national and part of a new world pattern of which Negroes are thinking. For "What do Negroes themselves think of these their problems and the attitude of the world toward them? First and most significant, they are thinking. There is as yet no great singly centralizing of thought or unification of opinion, but there are centers which are growing larger and touching edges. The most significant centers of this new thinking are, perhaps naturally, outside Africa and in America: in the United States and in the West Indies; this is followed by South Africa and West Africa and then, more vaguely, by South America, with faint beginnings in East Central Africa, Nigeria, and the Sudan.

23-16-44

"The Pan-African movement when it comes will not, however, be merely a narrow racial propaganda. Already the more far-seeing Negores sense the coming Unities: a unity of the working classes everywhere, a unity of the colored races, a new unity of thinking men. The economic solution of the Negro problem in Africa and America has turned the thoughts of Negroes toward a realization of the fact that the modern white laborer of Europe and America has the key to the serfdom of black folk, in his support of militarism and colonial expansion. He is beginning to say to these workingmen that, so long as black laborers are slaves, white laborers cannot be free. Already there are signs in South Africa and the United States of the beginning of understanding between the two classes.

"In a conscious sense of unity among colored races there is today only a growing interest. There is slowly arising not only a curiously strong brotherhood of Negro blood throughout the world, but the common cause of the darker races against the intolerable assumptions and insults of Europeans has already found expression. Most men in this world are colored. A belief in humanity means a belief in colored men. The future world will, in all reasonable probability, be what colored men make it. In order for this colored world to come into its heritage, must the earth be continously drenched in the blood of fighting, snarling human beasts, or will Reason and Good Will prevail? That such may be true, the character of the Negro race is the best and greatest hope; for in its normal condition it is at once the strongest and gentlest of the races of men, but that character can only be raised above Emotion to planned reason by institutions such as this may become.

33-16-50

12 January 1941
Lincoln University
Jefferson City, Missouri

THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO STATE UNIVERSITY

by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

The Negro race has touched and influenced the history of the state of Missouri in many and curious ways; some of which are already half forgotten. It was full four hundred years ago that a black man seven hundred fifty miles southwest of Missouri was the first human being born beyond the Atlantic who looked upon the uncharted empire west of the Mississippi and north of the Rio Grande. In the whirl of revolution which swept the world in the waning eighteenth century the tide of political and economic change beginning in the English colonies of America and culminating in France was brought back to America in the fabulous island of Haiti. It was here that the first of the modern dictators, Napoleon Bonaparte, seeking to stem the insurgent anarchy of his day tried to transmute political revolution into American empire and to annex through the gateway of Haiti the whole of what is now the United States west of the Mississippi River. His plan was frustrated by a black leader, Toussaint L'Ouverture, and this leader through his dogged resistance to Napoleon, Spain, and England finally succeeded in making Haiti independent; in freeing the slaves of the West Indies and South America; and in handing the sovereignty of Louisiana including Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and the whole Northwest to the United States.

In this new realm, the Cotton Kingdom, as it grew to its culmination power toward 1830, looked for increased territory, expanded political power, and a new economic basis of society. The battle ground on which the idea of peasant proprietorship and industrial democracy as against economic caste and colonial imperialism was started in modern times,

119-5-37

was this state of Missouri and was personified in the fight which the colossal figure of John Brown made against the border ruffians who were determined to make Kansas a fellow slave state with Missouri. Here the Civil War between two conceptions of American democracy was begun, ending, as you well know, not simply with the legal destruction of slavery but with an attempt to extend practical democracy to its ultimate logical theory.

The national reconstruction of the seventies was not merely a matter of hurt and revenge after bitter civil strife, but rather an extraordinary attempt to realize in one of the greatest countries of the world a democracy unhemmed by race or class; a democracy in which any human being of requisite age and character, whether he was a laborer without property, a land holder or a capitalist, should stand equal before the law in his right to have voice in his own government.

The experiment failed and right here in Missouri for two reasons: first, because a laborer without property is not free from the compulsion which his employer can exercise; and secondly, because despite abolition and the Civil War, the majority of persons in the United States did not believe that Negroes should be included among human beings. The combination of these two facts did not simply frustrate the attempt to enfranchise Negroes, but it also changed and modified the whole democratic development of the United States; and put into the hands of land and capital a political power which nullified to an increasing extent the democratic process.

However, the surrender to the reaction of these two heresies: the refusal to recognize the Negro as an integral part of the national citizenship and the refusal to protect the rights of labor against the assumptions of capital did not have unquestioned sway. They rose and fell, swayed and shivered in mighty ground swell.

One of the first considerations that set the tide in favor of the Negro and raised him at one time to a pinnacle of popular esteem undreamed

Civil

of before the War was his participation in the war. At first few men, North nor South, would admit that slavery was the cause or the object of the Civil War or that black folk could in any real sense be considered the equal of whites; but the course of the war was extraordinary. Quite contrary to the plans of the Southern slave barons, the North determined actually to resist secession and called upon its hosts of population backed by money and material actually to invade the South. The result was a series of military disasters which seriously threatened the Northern cause and compelled the North to call in an ally which they had at first despised but in whose cooperation now they saw ultimate and certain victory. And that was the Negro.

It was not merely that the North could put two hundred thousand Negro soldiers actually in the field; but they could back these with more than three hundred thousand laborers who could be gathered on the spot and who made a costly and imported service of supplies unnecessary. This, however, was but a beginning. Back of these fighters and workers was the possibility of calling to work and arms four million black folk in the very heart of the South upon whose allegiance the South could only count as it was willing to give up the corner-stone of its new economic organization — Negro slavery. And in 1864 the South not only called Negro soldiers to its aid but offered them freedom as reward. These facts, perfectly patent as they are, have never been emphasized and only now and then recognized. The revulsion of feeling toward the Negro in this land was for a time miraculous. General Grant said:

> "The problem is solved. The Negro is a man, a soldier, a hero. Knowing of your laudable interest in the colored troops, . . . I have thought it proper that I should let you know how they acquitted themselves in the late actions in front of Petersburg, of which you have already received newspaper accounts. If you remember, in my conversations upon the character of these troops, I carefully avoided

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"In reference to you, colored people, let me say God has made you free. Although you have been deprived of your God-given Rights by your so-called masters, you are now as free as I am, and if those that claim to be your superiors do not know that you are free, take the sword and bayonet and teach them that you are — for God created all men free, giving to each the same rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

The next step loomed. Charles Sumner said in the Senate of the United States, February 5, 1866, in the very year and almost very month of the founding of this institution:

"I begin by expressing a heart-felt aspiration that the day may soon come when the states lately in rebellion may be received again into the copartnership of political power and the full fellowship of the Union. But I see too well that it is vain to expect this day, which is so much longed for, until we have obtained that security for the future, which is found only in the Equal Rights of All, whether in the court-room or at the ballot-box. This is the Great Guarantee, without which all other guarantees will fail. This is the sole solution of our present troubles and anxieties. This is the only sufficient assurance of peace and reconciliation. . . .

"Our fathers solemnly announced the Equal Rights of all men, and

that Government had no just foundation except in the consent of the governed; and to the support of the Declaration, heralding these self-evident truths, they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. . . . And now the moment has come when these vows must be fulfilled to the letter. In securing the Equal Rights of the freedman, and his participation in the Government, which he is taxed to support, we shall perform those early promises of the Fathers, and at the same time the supplementary promises only recently made to the freedman as the condition of alliance and aid against the Rebellion. A failure to perform these promises is moral and political bankruptcy. . . .

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"At last the same necessity which insisted first upon emancipation and then upon the arming of the slaves, insists with the same unanswerable force upon the admission of the freedman to complete Equality before the law, so that there shall be no ban of color in court-room or at the ballot-box, and government shall be fixed on its only rightful foundation — the consent of the governed. Reason, humanity, and justice, all of which are clear for this admission of the freedman, may fail to move you; but you must yield of necessity, which now requires that these promises shall be performed."

46-5-41

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"Thus by singular coincidence and for a moment, for the few years of an eternal second in a cycle of a thousand years, the orbits of two widely and utterly dissimilar economic systems coincided and the result was a revolution so vast and portentous that few minds ever fully conceived it; for the systems were these: first, that of a democracy which should by universal suffrage establish a dictatorship of the proletariat ending in industrial democracy; and the other, a system by which a little knot of masterful men would so organize capitalism as to bring under their control the natural resources, wealth and industry of a vast and rich country and through that, of the world. For a second, for a pulse of time, these orbits crossed and coincided, but their central suns were a thousand light-years apart, even though the blind and ignorant fury of the South and the complacent Philistinism of the North saw them as one.

[FOLLOWING PAGES MISSING]

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46-5-43

Sale-to fl. The Gift of Black Folk

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12 January 1941
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Jefferson City, Miss

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by

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36-5-80

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26-5-21

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36-5-84

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36-5-86

It is significant that the institution whose seventy-fifty anniversary we are celebrating today arose out of this chain of circumstances. It was among the black soldiers of Missouri fighting the last battle of the west which spelled the

final crippling of the Confederacy that the idea arose of systematic education of their fellows in their home state. Nor was there anything unusual or local in this thought and movement. The public school system of the whole South is the gift of black folk. An element in the white South had struggled for a public school system, had sought to follow New England and the West in this direction long before the Civil War but it is a needless exaggeration to say that there was in the confines of the former slave states, south of Mason and Dixon's line, any real state public school system until the black votes of Reconstruction furnished one. Even in the Middlewest, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Missouri, the public school system did not usually include or envisage Negroes and it was only when Missouri colored troops saw with their own eyes what Negroes were doing for public education in Louisiana and Texas, that they sent back the idea to their own state.

Leaving now historical considerations let us consider two matters: first, the relation of the state to education and second, the relation of education to current social problems. I was brought up in a day and state where education beyong the grammar school, beyond the matter of an elementary reading, writing and arithmetic was considered to be a private matter. If a child was to be educated in the high school and college and for the professions, this was a matter to which the private individual and private fortune should attend. This was the New England counterpart of the English idea of education which lasted there down almost to our day.

There grew up consequently in New England endowed high schools and private colleges which have become known in the nation and which long prided themselves on giving the best training not simply to the rich and well-to-do but to talented children of all classes and races. I can remember that the first catalogue of Harvard University which I ever saw had in it a statement that the experience of the university warrants the statement that no student of ability need leave the institution because of lack

of funds. This situation gradually changed. The demand for high school and college training on the part of the mass of youth in the United States rapidly out-ran the facilities which private institutions supported by private endowments could furnish, and there arose the public town and city high school and the state university. The voting masses of Americans demanded vastly expanded opportunities for learning. These facilities have grown so rapidly and expanded so enormously in work and attendance that it is manifest that by the twenty-first century the problem of higher education is going to be primarily a problem of the State.

This fills some folk with satisfaction and others with dismay, because it puts into the hands of the state the necessity of facing and facing squarely certain social situations and problems which the state as it is now constituted has not shown itself capable of handling. Not only is there the older problem of religion but what are today the much more pressing problems of class distinctions based on incomes and of racial distinctions based on physical differences and appearances and on historical

associations supported by prejudice and folklore.

The new state system of education, therefore, is faced first of all with this question of income, this question which the democratic experiments following the Civil War attempted to meet and failed. It is all well enough to talk about equality of human beings and their liberty to act; the real fact of the matter, as we have known for generations and as we are beginning to admit today, is that a man who does not have enough to eat or the clothing and shelter necessary for health; and who is uncertain as to how long his present meagre income is going to last, is not free and cannot be called the equal of the man with sufficient and assured income and security of status. The comfortable solution of this economic problem, which regards this situation as largely inevitable; which looks upon poverty as the permanent accompaniment of civilization, is not only being questioned today, but is the real burning problem which lies at the basis of the last World War, of this present World War and of other revolutions to come. The solution of attitudes toward this economic problem, is in the long run in the hands of

our educational system and it goes without saying that the present educational system is not designed to meet it. It is a system largely determined by that very economic inequality which it seeks to solve; and the power to administer the system lies all too largely in hands interested in privilege rather than in justice, in class advantage rather than in democratic control.

If this were all, the problem of state education would be a most difficult one but in addition to this we have here in the United States problems of race and culture concentrated in our vast cities, concentrated in the rural districts of the Southern South and forming a considerable and difficult problem in border regions like this. This set of problems includes minorities of various types, vestiges of religious controversies stemming from other days, remainders of extreme economic inequalities as represented by various migratory groups; differences due to physique and appearance and above all differences due to cultural history.

Among these you and I especially are victims of those so-called racial differences which arrange themselves about the history of slavery in this country, and which have left us some twelve or more millions of people more or less of African descent, of varying cultures and different degrees of education, who stand out, not simply because of visible differences in appearance, but because of historical differences due to their cultural and economic inheritance. They are, for instance, in large majority, poor people with small income. They are ignorant people having been until quite recently very largely deprived of education; and they are associated in the public mind, through the reiteration of the printed word and the pictured fact, with inferiority and lack of ability. The problem of the education of these persons must be faced by state systems of training and this problem is being faced with every conceivable difference of attitude varying from open and careless neglect to desperate efforts at solution.

In a state like this the usual attitude long has been to resent the fact

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that such a problem must complicate the policies of the state system of education. It could of course easily be argued that the simpler the problems of education are, the easier it would be to solve them; that if a state school system had to deal with persons of about the same income status, the same cultural background and comparatively few physical differences, that the resultant problem of education would be easy. Perhaps so, but certainly it would not be a problem of education suited to this world. This is a world where the physical, mental and cultural differences between human beings are vast. Where the absolute segregation of human beings is increasingly impossible and undesirable; where the annihilation of space, the economic interdependence of peoples and the political alliances, are such that no problem of education in any country can long hope to escape the resultant questions of human contact. It has long been thought in theory that one of the great advantages of the United States lay in the very combination and contacts of people which its citizenship and political organization involved. But even those who advocated this theory were apt to shy a bit

at the Irish and the Germans, at the Jews and the Slovaks, at Asiatics of all sorts and of course at Negroes.

So admitting today that the state system of education has got to regard the different elements in the state as an inescapable part of its problem, we come to the second situation: namely, that as an heritage from slavery and the Civil War we are required by state law to carry on separate institutions for persons of Negro descent. There is no doubt that this in unfortunate and even idiotic. It is needlessly costly and it is a direct contravention to that democratic equality toward which all education in the end must strive. And yet so far as these laws reflext a real state of mind; so far as they simply put into words a deep feeling and determination on the part of the dominant group that coeducation of the races is a thing more to be feared than the failure of democracy; so far as this remains true such a situation has got to be faced.

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There is, of course, in everyone's mind the conviction that this inherited

prejudice largely the result of unconscious and subconscious reactions, is not and cannot be permanent. But it is a difficult matter to say just when and where the end of such prejudice can be looked for or assumed. One would think that in a state like Missouri where Negroes form but one-sixth of the population and where the actual illiteracy of the whites is not great, that time and a reasonable amount of time would make the duplication of work necessary in two state universities uncalled for; and that a little patient waiting and thoughtful pressure might in our day have opened the doors of the University of Missouri to colored students.

In the meantime, however, there were certain losses which could hardly be faced. The admission of a few colored students to the University of Missouri would not alter the mental complexion of the teachers and professors in that institution. They would know as little about the cultural history and group difficulties of Negro students after as before. Even in large national institutions like

the University of Chicago, the University of Illinois, the University of Indiana, colored students have undergone enormous disadvantages and unconscious as well as deliberate discrimination because their white teachers were systematically ignorant of the place of the Negro in human culture. Whole sections of human history have been slurred over or misinterpreted; science has been systematically distorted to prove a prejudice; and above all most of these teachers have refused to visualize the possibility of a Negro becoming a full self-respecting American citizen.

Whether then it was inevitable or not Missouri has embarked upon the road of establishing a Negro university and of making that institution a center of learning and scientific advance deserving to be classed as the equal of other universities in this land. That, of course, is a difficult job. First of all, any time that a state is compelled by higher law or by lower prejudice to embark upon a program for which it has no real liking the work will be done, at first certainly, in a cheap and slipshod way. The separate institution will be by all standards a poor institution: poor

in physical equipment, poor in cultural advantages, tempted to imitate where it cannot be real, and to boast of what it has not.

Any Negro institution will have natural difficulty in calling to its service persons thoroughly trained for the kind of work which they will have to do. Having called such persons it will have to pay them at a rate with which no white man would be satisfied. It will give them less security of tenure, fewer surroundings of the larger life and less of honor and spiritual satisfaction. Such a situation will call for sacrifice and devotion on the part of teachers and of loyalty on the part of students which do not necessarily come for the asking or the need. They must be built up by unusual strains and stresses and by loyalties which may in themselves become dangerous.

Inevitably among a poor people and inexperienced the temptation will come and recur to make an institution like this a means of earning a living or of adding to income rather than an institution of learning. The Negroes of Missouri will be

tempted in the future, as in the past, to sell their votes not for the establishment of a state university but for small offices and temporary preferment, for the paying of personal debts and squaring of personal dislikes and enmities rather than the larger and more intangible object of building here a center of thought and speculation, of scientific research, of literature and art. Every state university in this nation has gone through this period of petty politics and some are still passing through it. It is only by the hardest effort and the deepest sacrifice and devotion to the greater life that a group and a state can rise to the high conception of what a university can do and what it may be.

There is always the problem of what an institution like this should aim at. Should Lincoln University try to become another University of Missouri? After all, among the great universities of America, the University of Missouri would hardly be placed among the first. It can be considered a sort of average of those plodding miscellaneous centers of crowds, dispensing an education with varying degrees of

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efficiency. Lincoln University has before it certain obvious differences of method and aim: it can should be smaller and more compact; it can be more certain of its objects and more definite and thorough in its methods. There are certain lines of work in which it can stand out not simply in Missouri but in the United States and in the world, as a focus of research and as a place of culture and civilization for a new and evolving world.

But for this it will need freedom and funds. It will need to be administered by men of large vision who think of this school not as a temporary make-shift or as a place where their relatives get positions or their firms sell goods, but rather as a center where the cultural outlook of this country is to be changed and uplifted and helped in the reconstruction of the world.

Lincoln University has already come a long road in this direction. I can remember that forty-seven years ago I received a letter from what was then Lincoln Institute, asking me to be a member of its faculty and promising me a salary considerably

larger than that for which I had promised to work at Wilberforce. I refused the invitation almost without second thought, because the Lincoln Institute of that day had an unsavory reputation. It was a center of graft, of low ideals, of inefficient work. It was well-known that no president could stay here who was not a politician of parts and teachers held their positions only by careful negotiation with the trustees and the political bosses. From that time Lincoln Institute, now Lincoln University, has made progress. It has not altogether been freed of its purely political relations, but that is true of many other state institutions of higher learning throughout the United States. But there has been a change and after seventy-five years of most difficult effort and self-sacrificing strife one begins to see here the chance of establishing a real university, a Negro university not in the sense that it is teaching Negro science or merely Negro history or Negro mathematics, but in the larger and broader sense that here science and education are being so administered that the place of the Negro in the world and his relation to the body of his fellow human beings is

being made clear; and a fertile starting point prepared for a democracy of human cultures which will make peace in the world not only possible but profitable for all men.

This university and its dark fellows in the land are not simply American, they are inter-national and part of a new world pattern of which Negroes are thinking. For "What do Negroes themselves think of these their problems and the attitude of the world toward them? First and most significant, they are thinking. There is as yet no great single centralizing of thought or unification of opinion, but there are centers which are growing larger and touching edges. The most significant centers of this new thinking are, perhaps naturally, outside Africa and in America: in the United States and in the West Indies; this is followed by South Africa and West Africa and then, more vaguely, by South America, with faint beginnings in East Central Africa, Nigeria, and the Sudan.

"The Pan-African movement when it comes will not, however, be merely a narrow racial propaganda. Already the more far-seeing Negroes sense the coming unities: a unity of the working classes everywhere, a unity of the colored races, a new unity of men. The proposed economic solution of the Negro problem in Africa and America has turned the thoughts of Negroes toward a realization of the fact that the modern white laborer of Europe and America has the key to the serfdom of black folk, in his support of militarism and colonial expansion. He is beginning to say to these workingmen that, so long as black laborers are slaves, white laborers cannot be free. Already there are signs in South Africa and the United States of the beginning of understanding between the two classes.

"In a conscious sense of unity among colored races there is to-day only a growing interest. There is slowly arising not only a curiously strong brotherhood of Negro blood throughout the world, but the common cause of thedarker races against the intolerable assumptions and insults of Europeans has already found expression. Most men in this world are colored. A belief in humanity means a belief in colored men.

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The future world will, in all reasonable probability, be what colored men make it. In order for this colored world to come into its heritage, must the earth again be drenched in the blood of fighting, snarling human beasts, or will Reason and Good Will prevail? That such may be true, the character of the Negro race is the best and greatest hope; for in its normal condition it is at once the strongest and gentlest of the races of men: 'Semper novi quid ex Africa!'"

the University of Chicago, the University of Illinois, the University of Indiana, colored students have undergone enormous disadvantages and unconscious as well as deliberate discrimination because their white teachers were systematically ignorant of the place of the Negro in human culture. Whole sections of human history have been slurred over or misinterpreted; science has been systematically distorted to prove a prejudice; and above all most of these teachers have refused to visualize the possibility of a negro becoming a full self-respecting American citizen.

Last year in the University of Pennsylvania a Negro student of fine physique, excellent family and unusual ability elected a course under a well-known professor in the social sciences. The professor called him in and said to him quite frankly "Blank, I have heard of your work and I know that you are a good student but I want to tell you openly that I have such prejudice against Negroes that I could not treat you fairly in my classes. If under those circumstances you want to take this course, all right." The student quietly withdrew. There are dozens of white teachers in white universities who only differ from this one in being less frank.

Whether then it was inevitable or not Missouri has embarked upon the road of establishing a Negro university and of making that institution a center of learning and scientific advance deserving to be classed as the equal of other universities in this land. That, of course, is a difficult job. First of all, any time that a state is compelled by higher law or by lower prejudice to embark upon a program for which it has no real liking the work will be done, at first certainly, in a cheap and slipshod way. The separate institution will be by all standards a poor institution; Poor

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SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY
PRAIRIE VIEW STATE COLLEGE
Prairie View, Texas

Thursday, January 23 1941

GENERAL SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE PRESENT SITUATION
Dr W E B DuBois

Ladies and Gentlemen:

When I finished my work at a student of college and graduate school, for several years I was exposed to agricultural talks at Hampton, that is, I used to go there nearly every year and listen to what was said in the conferences.

I was born in a small town — not a great agricultural district — but the farms were near so that I knew about farming. On the whole, I was favorably disposed toward it. But I noticed in the discussions concerning farming at Hampton, there was a peculiar division in the audience. The experts who came there and talked of farming made a most logical presentation. The time a member of the Department of Agriculture at Washington got through talking, you felt like apologizing to your neighbor that you were not a farmer. The conditions of living, the chances for development, etc. were really tremendous on the farms. On the other hand, the people who listened, listened without any particular enthusiasm. They were farmers or they had come in from the farming districts and the talk in general didn't seem to take.

Now after that, I came down to Georgia as a teacher and in the service of the Federal Government I went down to south Georgia I lived in a small town and with a carriage and buggy and my own feet, I went to all parts of Daugherty County, South Georgia. It was a county that was formerly a great cotton county and it was needless to say, a farm and plantation district. When I got through looking into the conditions there and seeing what I could concerning the past, for the next ten years, I said things about Agriculture which I would not like to repeat in this presence. In fine, I told people that so far as I was concerned, I would get out of an agricultural district if I had to crawl out on my hands and knees; that I could not conceive of a worse sort of condition, a worse way of living than those people were not only going through now — at that time — but had been going through for a generation.

Now that brought me finally to this situation which we continually face in social development in social study. The logic is on one side. It is unanswerable logic — we can prove this and that is what ought to be done.

The facts, however, are on the other side. The facts simply do not agree with logic. They do not agree. And you come to where you have a logical argument and you have a set of facts which mean that you are not going to follow that argument. Now some people let themselves stay there, but that, of course, is fatal. That is either social suicide or it is absolute contradiction to the use of your reason. When, therefore, in any situation, you can reason out a thing and prove that a certain course of action might be followed — you can on the other hand look at the facts and

and see clearly that you are not going to follow the logic and that you can't advise other people to do that sort of thing; then there comes a time for you to sit down in conferences of this sort and see what, after all, is wrong because your logic and facts must get together if you are going to have real social development.

Now, in furtherance of that idea, I have been asked to talk to you about the social background of the present situation.

During the last decade or so, there has been a great change and therefore, you can begin with that. But I am going to ask your indulgence to go further back than that because it seems to me that the difficulty we have in agriculture, and in general economic organization, goes back to the beginning or the 19th century or to the end of the 18th century and to the place where you begin the great changes that make the modern world. You begin to get a background that throws light, or throws perspective on the present situation. So that I want to begin with the latter part of the 18th century which was the century of revolution.

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In our minds today, partly because we are scared and have a right to be scared, we think of revolution as violence; but you must remember that the essence of revolution is not violence at all — and that all violence is not revolution. What you mean by revolution in social affairs is fundamental change. Now there came in the latter part of the 18th century, fundamental changes; changes in social life but more particularly, changes in economic life, and it is those changes that I want to talk about. Usually, when you are considering the changes that took place then, your emphasis is put in your textbooks in schools, for instance, upon the political changes or we may go further than that and speak of the social changes — that is — in the sense the relation of classes and the way in which people live and things of that sort But I want to put stress upon the way in which people work and earn their income. because I am more and more impressed by tha fact that in this age of human development that is the fundamental thing.

Now the fundamental thing that made a change in the way of life of the modern world was slavery. Now there again, when I used to have a tendency to emphasize that I think that my auditors thought that I was stressing the slave-trade because it had to do with Negro people; but it is more than that. The slave trade represented a change in the way in which the work of the world was carried on — a tremendous change. A change, for instance, in the application of labor. Now of course, all through the history of the world we have labor forced rules for certain objects but here there was in the world a sudden extension of the land of the world. I say extension — the land was there before of course — but it wasn't known, it wasn't used. You had a sudden extension then of the use of the land and you had an application of

an increasing labor force. Now that meant that there came on a large scale a new agriculture into the world. The raising of certain raw materials by large application of labor. You had the plantation, nothing unknown in Europe. No such use of land had been conceived. The comparatively small parts that were used were used for the raising of material that was eaten — ribbon cane and pork. The farm was a thing that the poor people easily look across and walk across and in a short time there was a tremendous extension of the area of the farm and of the number of laborers that were used on the farm. That meant that agriculture took suddenly a new stature. It became a new way of life, and not only that, the returns from agriculture became so large. In times before that all that we were expect to get out of agriculture was a living.

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In this new way of agriculture there were numbers of people who got not only what they wanted to eat and wear and what was necessary to shelter them, they got a surplus and they used that surplus for further extension of agriculture. And there was born into the modern world, the modern system of capitalism. We do not usually stress that in the textbooks because it isn't altogether pleasant to our pride to base modern capitalism on the slave trade and slavery, but that was the fact of the matter. That was the fact of the matter for in _____ England there it was the slave trade that preceded the great manufacture of cotton and it was the basis of the English Dominance of the sea. So that the era of capitalism came in as an aftermath of the slave-trade. Now that meant that suddenly, numbers of people had great interest in the extension of slavery and the slave trade and of the new agriculture.

There came to you a cry for the chance to do things which is curiously misinterpreted in this age, that is, there came the new cry for freedom. Now the cry for freedom in the latter part of the 18th century and the early part of the 19th century didn't mean what you mean by freedom at all. It meant freedom for individual enterprise for certain people who had chance for enterprise. It didn't mean freedom for surs, for workers, for laborers, for slaves. It meant that this man who had received, perhaps from the Crown, or perhaps by his own enterprise, a thousand or ten-thousand acres, would have a chance to develop it in his own way. And it meant of course (and that is the thing you have been reminded of) that the individual man could set up his own manufacturing and could go ahead and he didn't want the state interfering with that so that you had in the world a new idea of freedom.

Now that freedom developed in two ways. One of which we are quite conscious of and the other which we are rather apt to forget. It developed in the line of

agriculture and that is the side we are apt to forget. It developed into great sugar plantations of Cuba and of Haiti and other places of that sort and perhaps even more than that we ought to speak of the great tobacco planations of Virginia; but the tobacco passed as a dominant thing or rather passed in various phases. But when the sugar planting came, then you had a tremendous develo ment of free enterprise. You had a chance for men of ordinary social status to get out to the Colonies; Frenchmen, for instance_____, and starting what amounted to little kingdoms, living in luxury with a new outlook upon life with masses of slaves working for them and with this sugar being gathered and to sweeten their food. Now that became a tremendous enterprise. It attracted people from all parts of the world. It was a matter of literature, in novels and poems in the peculiar seductive life upon these great plantations of the West Indies.

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Now that was succeeded by the Cotton Kingdom. It took sometime. Sugar planting began about 1640 and the cotton kingdom didn't really come to its full development until 1830, nearly 200 years later. Now the cotton kingdom wasn't any great thing because by that time the surgs that had been used for carrying sugar from the West Indies across the world, had developed a new World Commerce. World Commerce in the sense that we know it, came from these crops which Negro labor was raising it; first in the West Indies and then in the United States. And for the first time in the world, we had the oceans painted with ships that were carrying goods to all sorts of people and from all sorts of people.

Not so much in the case of tobacco and sugar becuase that didn't take so very much processing and the greater part of that processing come on now a day.

The increase of cotton called for a great deal of technical manufacture and there came in answer to that demand, and at the same time pushing the demand, the peculiar set of indigents in the latter part of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. The new loom, the steam engine, the application of power in all sorts of technical ways; so that suddently there arose the cotton manufacture and the cotton of the United States particularly, began to clothe the world. There you had a different line of development. On the one hand you had the agricultural freedom, the agricultural process and development. Now on this hand you had the development of manufacture and trade. And that development of manufacture and trade took tremendous steps. In the first place, it called in more people of ability. It didn't make any difference who in the factories was able to do the certain things who he was, whose father he was, or what blood he bore. If he could do the things, he was given the job. So that all sorts of new blood came into manufacture.

On the other hand, in the development of agriculture, there was even more of stagnation. There was more of thought of social position, so that the development of agriculture didn't get as much of the new brains and the new thought and technique as the development of manufacture.

Now came the Civil War and the there again, I am not interested, just now, in the Civil War from the regards to status of the slaves or the power of the salt (political power) etc., but rather in its economic implications. Now what was the Civil War? The Civil War was the organization of the technical development of agriculture as over against the organiztion of the technical development of manufacture and through the process of the Civil War the organization of manufacture went way beyond anything that was done in Agricutlrue. That explains, more than any other thing, the situation in which Agriculture is in today.

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Now to go back and consider how that came about. The persons who organized the development of the salt and who looked forward into what it might be were thinking, not simply of the efficiency of agriculture, as helping the way of life, but they were thinking also of their social position. They, therefore, paid practically little attention to their laboring class as such. It wasn't a question of the development of the laboring class, It was the question of developing those people who were guiding and organizing society now (in another age) when, for instance, there was not the technical development of labor and manufactures, so that labor became self-conscious. In another age, the agricultural organization might have had a tremendous success. They were looking for new land. This whole state of Texas was a part of that development of a new agriculture. They were thinking of the extension of that organized agriculture, down through Mexico, down to the Isthmus; they were thinking of adding the West Indies; a great organization of agriculture, a great organization of war material that they could send throughout the world themselves as the master. They were thinking of the new ways in which they could do this, or the labor which could be saved and of the efficiency with which they could get these goods to the people who wanted them and who would pay for them.

Now during the whole of the fighting of the Civil War, the organization of that manufacturing went on; went on by leaps and bounds until the North came to be dotted with manufacturing plants and until the United State changed from an Agricultural country preeminently to a manufacturing country.

Now as a part of that, they had to have laborers and they had to have intelligent laborers far as they could get through with it; and before the Civil War and especially afterward, they were attracting some of the best labor of the world.

Now that meant that in their organization of freedom and efficiency of work they had brought in a class of people who were beginning to be self-conscious by their part as a part of this whole processing situation. They wanted their rights, they wanted a voice, etc, so that they were faced with a democratic labor movement, while on the other hand — southern agriculture was not faced with even the beginning of that.

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Now the result of the Civil War was putting a quietus upon the development of agriculture as a great unified development. It meant that the manufacturers got way ahead. They got control of the market. They not only got control of the market but they also began to get control of the land. All of that agricultural development that went on after the Civil War, particularly in the west, was not so much what we see now - a development of agriculture,- as it was a manipulation of land values, of speculation in land and it was that thing that made the West prosperous because out of the money that they were getting from increased land values, they could pay agricultural laborers, the laborers could buy farms; but it wasn't primarily an agricultural prosperity. It was a speculation prosperity.

Now there came with the World War-another economic revoluation. Now that economic revolution of the World War was a different kind of thing. Agriculture had stepped back, but it had greatly increased its importance because it was furnishing war materials for the manufacturers; but the manufacturers were in control. They were the people who set wages and they pushed agriculture behond the field so far as the farmers had anything to do with the determination of prices, with the determination of the condition of the market.

On the other hand they did another thing which was in certain ways, almost fatal for agriculture in the United States. They reached out because they already had this World empire for raw material in all parts of the world so that while we didn't, for a long time, realize it in the United States, the working farmers, the farm laborers were in competition with the worst paid laborers of the world — with the peons of the West Indies and the South Sea Islands, with the surfs of China, with the surfs on the Russian Steps. That labor was the labor that pulled down the wages in every civilized country so far as wages have to do with farm life. The result was that there was a calling back of the status of those people that were interested in agriculture and your first World War was a fight for the domination of cheap war materials all over the world with the same kind of misinterpretation as to what it is. The revolution that you are seeing today (and the revolution is on now) is the revolution of those laboring classes who were a part of the manufacturing organizations and a determination on their part that they are going to have a law to part of the income. In every single country of the World that is openly recognized

except in the United States. In the United States we are talking as though the economic organization was just the same as it was before the beginning of this war and it was going to keep on this same sort of way - we are going to have the same profit system, we are going to have the same division of income, we are going to have the same worship of capital. Now, in no other country in the world is there any such attempt to deceive themselves — the people of the country. Everygody knows that the organization and control of capital is passing through a crucial phase. It is never going back to the old phase. Those workers in the organization of life, particularly in manufactures, are going to have a voice and they are going to have a decisive voice. It doesn't make any difference whether that voice is shown by actual votes or whether it is shown by their power to keep in control the state. A man in whose hands all the power is momentarily concentrated. No matter how it comes about the mass of the working people of Germany are the people for whom the state is being carried on. The same thing stopped the war in Franch and is the crucial question in France. On the other hand, at first it wasn't at all clear as to where the agricultural workers and the farmers were coming in this new revolution but they are being taken in. They have been taken in in Germany, particularly; they have been taken in in Italy; to a less extent in England because they were a small part. England got farm labor outside of England so that you have now, a developing organization based on the investment of capital, based on a voice in the control of capital on the part of the mass of the working people. But you have one thing that is going to bring trouble in the future; and that is there isn't a single thing said, usually, about the status of the laborers outside of Europe; outside the leading countries like Europe and America; that is, where are the great working masses of India coming in in the future organization of work in Denmark. Where are the Chinese? We are very sensitive about the Chinese today, not because of any peculiar condition of the Chinese, but because we are afraid we and England will not have a chance to exploit the Chinese that we used to have and that that monopoly of exploitation is going to the Japanese. The reali question is, of course, what is going to be the condition of those Chinese workers? What part are they going to have in the future organization of the world? And there again you have that extraordinary difference between the <u>facts</u> and the <u>logic</u>.

We are taling about democracy. We can't open our mouths today without saying something about democracy, but we never say anything about democracy in Africa; and we don't say much about democracy in the South. We're taught democracy among those people who have the power, who have had the power and who propose to keep the power. Now that is worse to believe that in the future you are going to have trouble in that wise

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Now this whole thing as you look back over it, comes back to this fact — the difficulty with the farmers in the United States — just as the difficulty with the farmers in China is not working hours, or working in a factory or anything of that sort. No — that isn't the question. The question is the question of income. How much are the farmers going to get. If a man, a young man graduating from this institution would vote to go out and by going into farming get, in the course of ten or twenty years an income of $5,000 a year, he would go out and do it. But with the prospect of getting $500 a year he is not going to do it and nobody can tell him that he ought to do it.

Unless in the division of income, the farmers are going to have a larger share than they have in the past, you are not going to resuscitate farm life or make it the central life of the organization of the country as it ought to be.

Now for the first time in this generation, under the New Deal, we have a discussion of that. It is a discussion which still makes certain people exceedingly warm under the collar; the idea of handing out doles to the farmers when we have been handing out doles to the manufacturers for several generations. The idea of doing that for the farmers is against economics. It is against the reason of the thing and yet we are doing it because you can't do anything else; because either you placate the farmers or the country really is going to get into trouble.

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So that the real Christian future is this question of the income of the farmer. When, in the organization of the world and of life you can so arrange things that the farmers is going to get an income which is comparable to the income of the city laborar, and the manufacturer and the capitalist. Then you are going to put farming on the basis where it ought to be.

I remember in those old discussions at Hampton that the chemists used to come forward and say very impolite things to the farmers as to his neglect of chemistry of what he could do if he would put "such and such" things on his land, etc. and then left the farmer sitting perfectly cold. He didn't have any money to buy that kind of thing and if he did and he increased his crop, what would he get out of it? He was just about as poorly off as before and perhaps even worse off than before.

On the other hand, if the farmer was getting an income and could look forward to an income, pure common sense would lead him to look into the chemistry of the soils and to the rotation of crops and to plan the things that he ought to raise, and how he could make his farm prosperous. This then, is in light and rapid touch the great background out of which the present situation has come, you will be told he will be persuaded, from time to time, that this is much too radical as a cure,

but after all, you can't do anything about people's incomes if incomes are settled by the lords or stockholders or somebody out of your reach.

But, as a matter of fact, we are coming to a time when we know perfectly well that that isn't true, that if you are going to have democracy in the world, that democracy is going to be applied to the matter of income. Somebody decides how much income each one of you is going to get; now it is the business of the people who are going to take part in democracy to have a voice in that decision.

FINIS

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EDUCATION

THE NEGRO COLLEGE AND MINORITY TECHNIQUE

by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

My object in this address is to fix the place of a college for Negroes, in the general effort of a partially suppressed minority to achieve a place in the general culture of the nation; and simultaneously so to modify that culture that it will integrate certain culture patterns of the minority group itself and enable this group not only to advance but to add to the general welfare of the nation.

In order to make this program clear I want first to go back to

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certain fundamental ideas: What is it that practically all men want? It is not easy to answer so vast a generalization; but perhaps if we attempt it we might say this: men want Knowledge - to know the facts of the world, the things that really exist, the fundamental Truth about the universe. In addition to this, they want Happiness - the experience of pleasant reactions and emotions which they may correlate under the general even if vague term of Beauty. And finally, they want the satisfaction of effort -- the opportunity of trying to create greater and more enduring forms to transmute Truth into Beauty.

These more or less vague ideals, float in the upper air of the imaginings and wishes of all men. From dream and ideal they must be translated into actuality - into real experience and this mysterious process has drawn the attention of the world's greatest philosophers since the beginning of thought. Always practical

life is then the endeavor of men to bring ideal down to earth and realize it in actual experience; to translate wish and desire into fact. The result of such efforts is what we call today a culture pattern, a rough approximation in real life of the effort to know truth, to realize beauty and to create a satisfactory world. The culture pattern will always in any group or at any time be imperfect; a distorted approach to what men want. Yet because of the very elusiveness of their desires they will cling desperately and even blindly to every step achieved, so as to lose no knowledge, forget no pleasant experience, lose no effort at creative work. The culture pattern will in earliest times consist of unreasoned repetition frozen into dogmas and tabooes; then will come reasoned science, not as we love to say, absolute knowledge of truth, but working hypotheses continually re-examined and tested by new facts; conventional art and manners, loosed continually into personal respect and courtesy and more or less clearly conceived art forms.

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Finally creative work and skill starting of necessity with those things needed for survival such as food, shelter and defense; will rise afterward to gracious and comfortable living and to free human effort, for literature and art in color and form.

Such human effort is faced first of all by the problem of death; by the difficulty of insuring the continuity of human culture through successive generations. This is met through the education of children; through their direct instruction, through the example of the conduct of their elders, through precept and adage, admonition, threat and punishment. In this way one generation hands to the next a body of beliefs expressed in habits, cutoms and religion which becomes the visible and tangible expression of the group culture.

But this is not enough. Not only are such efforts limited by the pressing work of earning a living but also by a growing accumulation of knowledge

and by the increased use of thought and reason in dealing with the hard actual world. It is here that the invention of the school comes as one of the earliest tools for accomplishing the broad ends of life.

What we call the school, the college, the university, all involve the essential idea of the endeavor to use reason in order to understand and mold this complicated and contradictory universe; the effort by exploration and experiment to collect facts as the raw material which reason may fashion into new cultural patterns; to increase and rationalize individual experience by conference between minds, which inevitably leads to listening to words of wisdom from experienced people, from elders, from men of unusual ability and knowledge.

In all these steps, the higher animals follow man, although mostly from afar: they rise through blind habit and repetition to some use of reason; they explore, they experiment, they confer with each other. The hen scratching with her

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chicks is clearly transferring information. In one further step however the animals scarcely follow: and that is in mass transfer of information from the dead to the living; in the preservation of the tremendous accumulation of wisdom and experience in the dead past not simply by unconscious habit and inherited thought pattern but by conscious giving of the past to the living present through the carved stone, the remembered folklore and poetry and the written word.

All these steps may take place long before anything like a school or college is set apart as a deliberate institution designed as a short-cut between past and present. But soon the School appears. First, in the lonely individual thinker, so poignantly illustrated by Rodin's celebrated statue. Then by the groves of Academe, where older and younger men walked together and argued, in the African Gri-gri bush schools for adolescents. In the conferences of the cloister of the medieval church, the lecture platforms of the universities and always by individual

reading in collected private and public libraries. It early became customary for men, so far as they could find leisure from earning a living, to turn aside and devote several years of certain lives to an intensive gathering of knowledge, especially of the past, so as to make a short-cut from the ignorance of youth to the knowledge which grown men must have in order to live more completely.

Such a short-cut which the school and college provide, was always and had to be, more or less artificial. It was not living real life; it was talking and thinking about life. It had to be superficial dealing with selected and typical incidents and laboratory experiment rather than with beings of flesh and blood and actual deed and events. Especially the course of study had to be hurried - a trying in four years or less to understand what it had taken the world ten thousand years to realize. It had to be an unfinished matter leaving the graduate poignantly aware of what he did not know rather than of the really great mass which he had learned. But all this, which critics of education periodically re-discover as

something new and astonishing is necessarily part and parcel of the educational process, always has been and always must be, by the very nature of the problem. All that is indispensable is that this should be clearly recognized; that men should know that in a four years college course they are attempting the essentially impossible and yet are compelled to attempt it; that they are trying to get a grasp not simply of the ideals of living but of the practical answers to the eternal questions of existence which the culture patterns of modern civilization indicate.

There are then two ways of preserving the accumulated wisdom of past human life: one, the freezing of that past into habit and custom, into partly unconscious and always unreasoned cultural mores; the other is through the conscious process of reasoned and planned education.

The Essential College whether it is represented by the Bush schools of Africa, the Clan training of China, the groves of the Greek academy, the Roman

schools of rhetoric, the cloisters of the medieval church, the vast universities of the Middle Ages, or the colleges of Europe and America, - all are seeking, through temporary withdrawal of a more or less select group of young people from the world, to get that group to understand what the world is, so far as men have learned through the experience of the past. The college process, the college course, can never be a fixed and absolute thing by the very nature of its problem. It must always be in flux. The method of its teaching and learning must change with changing time, the contact of its teachers and students with each other and the outside world must change as human beings themselves change. Above all the reasoned college curriculum must strike against and be modified by the more or less unyielding habits and customs of its day and time.

Above all the college curriculum and its methods of teaching, the character of its teachers and the characteristics of its students, must be all modified by the income of the community, that is, by the ability of the community

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to subsist with enough food, shelter and defense and yet beyond this basic necessity spare time for study, thought and creative work on the part of the Select Few at least, the Talented Tenth if possible and for all men in Utopia.

This matter of income therefore calls for careful analysis. Income is fundamentally psychological; it is satisfaction of the wants and needs of men, so far as this can be accomplished by their activities. Such satisfactions first of all in human history, must be those which come from the support of life: food, shelter, defense; and then various gradations of culture up to matters of indulgence and luxury.

It must be remembered that the school came into being as an institution, after the tribe and group had gotten to a place where the primary matter of earning a living had been settled; so that earning a living depended for the most part upon habits and customs fixed and imparted before the institution of the school

was established. The school was based upon the antecedent certainty of self-support for the mass in the community. It was only then that a part of the community could be set aside for schooling, for higher training. The school, therefore, in itself was not a place where youths were taught to earn a living. They had already been taught that in the home or would be taught later by the community. As students their living was earned for them before they were put in school and was furnished by the community while they were in school.

However, as the intricacy of economic organization increased and its objects broadened, there was need for the application of thought and reason to the organization of industry. In this way training in skill and technique became a part of the institutionalized educational process and remains today an integral and increasing part. Nevertheless, this does not present a new or different educational ideal. The educational ideal still is the transmuting of truth, beauty and creative effort into a body of culture by the spread of that culture; the increase

of the number of persons who can share it and contribute to its depends upon the increasing perfection of the underlying industrial organization; so that today the college faces a problem of realizing the ideals of life through such betterment of the methods of earning a living which will give larger and larger opportunity and leisure for study to the masses of men.

This brings up the whole question as to the relation of the college and the technical school and it has been the subject of such loose thinking that pause a moment to make distinctions clear. We may suppose that over dark waters of some rock-bound coast, there rises a vast tower which is the Light of the World - a lighthouse of no ordinary power but one whose gleams with ever increasing clarity reveal larger and larger parts of the world. The higher the tower and the more powerful the light, the greater and more secure must be the founding stones.

By an understandable inversion of reasoning, we might argue that the object of this lighthouse and its increasingly penetrant gleam was the building, strengthening and permanence of its foundation. Certainly it is true that without this foundation there could be little light and possibly no light at all. On the other hand, the object of the light is not the foundation; it is the world. It might be truly said that this light should always be ready for use in searching out faults in the foundation; for guiding workers who might strengthen, heighten, broaden, and even move and rebuild the foundation stones. All this is true; and yet the founding stones are subordinate and subsidiary to the lighting, and only incidental to the central idea of the lighthouse. It could be said, and must be said, that one of the first duties of lighting would be to strengthen the foundations; but it would be silly to say that this was the last and final and only duty of the Great Light.

Now in the same way I have recently taken occasion to emphasize the fact that the Negro colle e and the Negro college graduate, and more especially the

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state supported land-grant college must make it their first duty to guide the American Negro to a new cultural change in industrial organization; a new foundation of his economic basis, of his capacity to earn a living, and get sufficient food, shelter and comfort in order to be a modern civilized man and to support modern cultural institutions. There is no gainsaying this truth. But on the other hand it would be worse than foolish to say that this is the only object of the college; it is rather an object incidental to the rebuilding of modern culture; to the reorientation of education; to the reestablishment of the Negro college and the shifting of its support in order that it may be about its main business of building a new culture; and through that culture aim to approximate the great ideals of human living: truth, beauty and creative effort.

Having settled now the preliminary problem: the wants of men and the cultural complex which roughly translate these wants into actual life; having noted the role which folkways, mores and morals play in preserving past experience and

especially in earning a living; we have then studied the school as the conscious, rational effort of the group, the tribe and the nation to attain knowledge, art and purposive effort.

Let us now turn to the nation which has its body of culture and its system of education, and analize its composition. It consists invariably of a number of groups, - families, neighborhoods, races and organizations. Some of these groups, coalescing more or less completely, form the Majority Group which represents the nation: sometimes in a conscious and tangible way; sometimes almost unconsciously; and yet always with real power. The prevailing cultural patterns of the nation correspond to the will and belief of this Majority Group.

This body of ideals and its cultural form is never in any case the sole creation of the group which uses them. It depends, and depends for the most part on widely gathered knowledge and experience; so that culture of the present dominant European group in the world is built not simply upon the historical develop-

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ment of Europe, but upon the cultural past of Egypt and Africa and the vast experience of the continent of Asia; upon the contributions of the aboriginal America and islands of the sea like Melanesia. It is a conglomerate of information, experience and custom and into a fairly complete cultural unity.

Of course this majority group itself consists always of a union of minorities. There are always within the majority certain kernels, which at any given time best express and have the power to express the cultural pattern of the whole nation. They are more or less privileged coteries and wield their influence by actual physical power which compells conformity or by customary prestige or by the passive acquiescence of the majority. In the Greek city, for instance, it was a little group of free citizens of Greek birth and of wealth and education who formed and developed and extended the culture which we call Greecian. Outside of them, the mass of slaves and foreigners had but passive influence and acquiesced in the cultural domination of this minority. In the Roman state the citizens of one forceful city

extended their domination over most of the known world, and themselves shared power but to a small degree with parts of Italy and with some immigrant foreigners. The Medieval Catholic Church with its powerful priesthood dominated the culture of Europe for a thousand years, set its cultural patterns by theological dogma, modified again and again by reason and science, but left the mass of middle class people, laborers and peasants, largely out of consideration. Later the British Empire was arranged and extended by the organized work and planning of a minority of privileged aristocrats whose numbers were added to from time to time by men of ability in all walks of life. But again British civilization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a matter of the cultural leadership of a privileged group and not of the masses of middle class and laboring people. In the United States cultural leadership fell into the hands of a larger mass of what we loosely call the Business men; the United States became a vast industrial organization with the laboring classes including former serfs and slaves having larger part to be sure than in most former cultural organizations, but no

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decisive part, in spite of the spread of the democratic ideal. Indeed even today this democratic ideal is sharply challenged even in so-called democracies, by a deep-seated conviction that the cultural leadership of all men always must be a matter of the Few and never of the Many.

This means that always there is in any majority group a number of minorities some of which, and usually one of which, is leading with others acquiescing. But also it means that there are certain non-conformist minority groups outside the closely-welded majority; groups whom the present cultural patterns hurt and hinder in various ways, and who are in more or less conscious rebellion against these patterns. If, of course, the friction is great, this means eventual civil war, either declared or undeclared in revolt, riot and lawlessness. On the other hand, it may be that the non-conformity is partial, as in the case of the Negro in the United States, who is on the whole in agreement, and making effort at further agreement with the general

cultural patterns of the white nation but suffering at many points friction and hindrance in his efforts.

In that case there arises what one may call a social torque, a social twist, different from our older conception of the social lage, where a part of the community has not reached the cultural standards of another part, but is allowed and urged to reach them; and is more or less consciously trying to reach them. In the case which I have in mind there is such a twist or dislocation between the patterns of majority group and the more or less dimly conceived patterns of the minority group that direct accomodation is difficult if not impossible.

To illustrate: there is in the cultural pattern of the vast majority of Americans a tradition, rising to folkway and mores, that civilization is the invention and property of the white race and that while its extension to colored people is to a degree possible and desirable, that this can only be allowed in so far as it does not threaten the cultural standards and survival of whites; that these

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standards are threatened by higher education, race-mixture, mastery of economic technique and political power; and that, therefore, distinct limits upon the cultural development of blacks must be set up and maintained.

On the other hand, the black minority distinctly and passionately believes in itself; in its legal and moral right to equality with white folk and its inherent ability to share and advance modern culture; it desires increased wealth and income, advanced training and technical efficiency to attain these goals; and it rationalizes a conviction that culture is international and interracial and cannot in the long run be denied to black folk; that it is distinctly to the advantage even of the dominant majority, that black folk should contribute to the cultural whole.

Here is a distinct twist, dislocation and antipathy in cultural pattern; and under such circumstances it would easily have happened in the past, and is a

possibility even today, for two absolutely antagonistic cultures to arise from these premises. To eliminate the possibility of this I am discussing the question as to how far the college, and especially the college which represents the black minority, can accomodate and bring into agreement the cultural dislocation and social torque which I have indicated.

First of all it must be clear that the black minority has got to bring itself into cultural unity and understanding with its own elements; that is, it is not simply a problem of cultural disagreement with whites; it is the clear understanding of that disagreement and a building up and sharpening into unity of form and detail of distinct cultural patterns for the blacks.

This is difficult. It is a problem of dynamic rather than static sociology; that is, it is a problem of the accommodation and guidance of organized forces while they are in rapid change and not when they are still. This first of all brings to the front, the fact that this minority culture, in order to express

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itself and understand itself must certainly to a degree solve the primary problem of self support; it has got to earn its living; it has got to provide for the support of its masses, its Talented Tenth, and of its withdrawn college group, which is trying to understand the past, interpret the present and plan the future. And it has got especially to understand this social torque between its own cultural ideals and those of the white world.

It is often argued that such arrangement and planning are easy because after all, democratic freedom and broad opportunity for men is the theoretical ideal of white civilization and should be logically extended to all human beings who wish this way of life and are able to take advantage of it. But it must be remembered, as Pareto has pointed out and emphasized, that most human conduct is non-logical and though this may eventually lead to reasoned action, such development does not necessarily follow and may in any case involve long and devious courses of conduct.

The plain fact is that in the opinion of most leading thinkers today among white folk, and particularly in the more or less exaggerated opinion of the great white masses, democracy, economic opportunity and freedom are designed for white Europeans; not for Negroes, Indians, Asiatics or South Sea Islanders. Possibilities of including some such folk are of course always expressed and discussed and yet it is characteristic of our day that the Atlantic Charter of Roosevelt and Churchill should be designed to establish peace among white people and not take into consideration hundreds of millions of yellow, black and brown peoples. As Mr. Churchill himself frankly admitted it did not apply to Africa or India.

Not only this, but in the great and fundamental change that is taking place in our economic ideas, - the extension of democratic control of industry and a more just distribution of wealth and income, - again the servitor peoples of the earth, - the serfs and workers, who are largely dark folk and who raise the most precious of the world's raw material, these are not envisaged as partners in the plan.

When people speak of "freedom" and "our way of life" they are thinking primarily of the extraordinary degree of freedom of movement, action and expression which has been achieved and insisted upon for well-to-do white folk, especially titled Englishmen and rich Americans the world over, but which has been and still is usually and brazenly denied to colored peoples the world over.

Realizing this, there is on the part of some American Negroes, most Indian leaders and all the Japanese a conviction that the civilization of white folk is founded on hypocrisy and so steeped in injustice and cruelty that we should seek no part in it.

Between these extreme attitudes, assumption of our easy admittance to modern culture and our total exclusion, comes the effort to apply to this impasse reason and planning under the leadership of the Negro college and university. While no exact difference in function between the college and university can be laid down,

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I seem to see a possible difference in function which may in future, grow. It is the primary function of the college to interpret the cultural concepts of present European civilization to the American Negro; to make the young student and graduate understand his cultural day and age, with the conviction that this belongs to him by inheritance, just as much as it belongs to any other race; that while one can never determine with mathematical niceties just how much the different races and nations of men have contributed to civilization, yet it is certain that the ancestors of Negroes had part in its building and contributed more or less to its development. It is impossible to say how far present civilization is the product of Europe and how far it is the product of Asia and Africa. Certain elements there are which each continent has contributed to with especial success and while in the unusual technical and economic development of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the preeminence of Europe is clearn, it is also clear that this contribution is not the only contribution nor even the greatest contribution made by man to men.

The content of this European culture pattern begins with a broad knowledge of modern science and a symthesis of this knowledge in the mind of teachers and students. It is not sufficient for an understanding of today's culture that we should have specialists in history, in chemistry, in biology, in the social sciences. It is much more important that these men, with their emphasis on and knowledge of particular fields, should have such general knowledge of all science as will make possible the transmission and teaching of a complete and rounded cultural pattern to their students as a unified and mutually understandable thing. If we were differently circumstanced and could think merely of the development of individuals as such, who later could be integrated into a group we might be satisfied with a college split from top to bottom into departments; but that idea is difficult of realization among any people or any race and impossible for us. Completeness of understanding, encyclopaedic knowledge of present culture is more and more demanded for the training of men who must live in a social world and not in ivory towers.

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A lack of this synthesis is a just criticism of practically all Negro colleges. There is evident and patent effort not to pool knowledge and learn each from the other's department, and subject oneself to inter-departmental criticism and inspiration. The college which ought to be, therefore, a cultural unity becomes a discreet unrelated congeries of separated and isolated persons or groups of scholars; and while they may come together weekly to play cards they cannot apparently meet monthly to allow one to teach the other. We have, therefore, the extraordinary spectacle of persons teaching history who know nothing of economics; of persons teaching biology who know nothing of history; of persons teaching chemistry who are innocent of sociology; and in general of the attempt to make isolated ignorance build automatically unified knowledge.

The burden on the Negro college is larger and more intricate than that which rests on the white college because outside science, much if not most of the effort to realize Beauty, of studying and testing pleasurable reaction to stimulus,

durable ideals of effort and manners to guide the intercourse of human beings, is taught to the white group in family life and by organized social intercourse. The interference with family life which is characteristic of the history of the Negro in America, together with its general change and breakdown in the country at large; the failure of Negroes to take the organization of general social intercourse seriously and let it stagger along as it will while awaiting admission to white society on basis of merit, puts into our Negro colleges as raw material men and women who to a large degree are in no sense of the word gentlemen and ladies.

When one remembers that in university circles in England and Germany in particular, in France and in New England, manners were once counted as the most important part of education; when Englishmen could say "manners maketh man", and declare that Latin was a study which "a gentlemen should have forgotten", we can realize how curiously twisted our present emphasis is. The manners of the students in a college like this are largely set by the alleys. It is impossible to tell by

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the conduct and speech of one of our college students whether he is a man of education or a loafer from Auburn Avenue. The treatment of women by college-bred men, once a criterion of good breeding, today is not simply a rebound from the perhaps exaggerated and hypocritical courtesy of other days, but is so distinctly casual as to be insulting. We used to invite visitors to eat with students and teachers together in the university dining rooms. We are ashamed to do so today. Here is a neglected phase of cultural training which Negro colleges have to attack in some way. Perhaps the students could do it themselves. Perhaps we might have fraternities who refused to initiate as members persons who did not have the manners of gentlemen; who will not dress appropriately, talk grammatically and show to each other the deference due to human beings.

All this is the cultural content of the white world. It has been shaken and disturbed in our day and our reaction is in part an echo of that debacle

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in manners and courtesy which followed the first World War and perhaps anticipated it. Nevertheless it is a body of cultural concepts which must be restored; and in the case of the Negro race more than restored since it was never restored after the tragedy of the African slave trade.

Beyond science and the experience of pleasant reactions and emotions which we loosely call beauty, comes the creative effort which transmutes fact into beauty. We need for instance to objectify and dramatize the facts of our daily existence, the deep content of our spiritual life, not simply by giving entertaining plays but in a real folk theatre, with true portrayal of contemporary life and social problems, and deliberately encouraged creative effort in writing and acting color and form. We need to raise the artisan up to the artist; and the drudgery of work to the divine madness of creation. There is scant difference in the total effort involved, but the difference of result is that between Hell or Heaven.

This creative effort, I imagine falls more in the realm of the University which brings us to a consideration of the way in which college and university, at least in theory, might contrast with and complement each other. So far in our development, we have nothing among American Negroes which really deserves the term university; that is, which sets as its opportunity and duty not so much the understanding of surrounding culture, as the dynamic problem of adapting a new and loosely conceived culture pattern of American Negroes to the larger and more embracing culture of the surrounding white European and American world and at the same time of modifying and extending that white culture. In other days and places the function of the university has been similar but with a different body of facts and stresses to deal with. For instance, the university of the Middle Ages had to reconcile the severe cultural divergence of religion and science; the great German universities of the nineteenth century worked to reconcile political autocracy with intellectual freedom; the older American universities had the task of establishing something of unity between European

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culture and the rough pioneer production venture of America. In all these cases the basic duty was clear: to apply reason to social problems and particularly to social torques, to twists in cultural concepts and movements so as to allow progress in the ways and methods of civilization.

Unless the university attempts this leadership, the necessary result will be gotten at by rough and anti-social methods; by War which is always destructive of civilization and nearly always costs far more than it gains for either victor or vanguished; by segregation which seeks the impossible task of dividing a world which naturally seeks human union, diversified contacts and experiences, and which today more than ever before is crowded into ever nearer neighborhoods by recent technological advance; and which is hindered in this natural unity by prejudice and ignorance. Or the same ends may be sought by submission to force and power, by bowing to the pressure of prejudice and committing racial suicide, or giving up intellectual integrity in the face of overwhelming tyranny to the eternal and fatal loss of human gifts which we

dare not spare. To oppose these methods, calls for independence and daring, and both these virtues must be pinned to action based on science and guided by reason.

For the most part the Negro university hitherto has been simply an extension of the college; an extension usually in the direction of preparation for professional careers in medicine, law and teaching; or to some extent in the encouragement of individual specialization along certain scientific avenues. Beyond this, the great and insistent problem of integrating a new group of people into the culture of the present civilization and of giving this new group its own cultural patterns designed to be incorporated in the larger culture; for adding to current culture not only quantitatively and qualitatively, new dimensions and i eas suited for a wider world, - of this vision and duty, the Negro university is scarcely aware.

Here on the seven hills of Atlanta there has been given us peculiar opportunity. It is evidenced physically by this astonishing array of fifty buildings on one hundred acres of land with two hundred teachers and two thousand students; but

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more especially by the character of conceived affiliation among these institutions. A series of colleges are here for men and women and both; a series of homes, halls, recitation rooms, laboratoes and related institutions; and then imposed upon this, not so much by legal compulsion as by the rational completeness of the scheme and to eliminate profiteers, rivalry and senseless repetition, an higher institution designed for graduate study; designed as I have aid for integrating two systems of culure, one larger and one smaller, one older and one younger, one white and one black, - but both essential for the development of a really civilized world.

This was the conception of the New Atlanta University but it has never gotten far beyond the conception stage. We can say frankly that in the last five years we have advanced but slowly in the development of this great idea; we are little more than the older Negro universities were, - a more or less uncertain extension of college courses. Yet the vision and the duty still lie before us and the need is evidenced and emphasized by this horrible war. Today on even a larger

scale than ever there is in America the distressing need to integrate into one human culture the separate and partially antagonistic cultures of Europe, Asia and Africa, not to mention the antagonisms in Europe itself. The universities of the world are the media and the only adequate media to put by teaching, thought and effort, plans and reason into this situation. It is for the Negro university in America to lead the way.

It has often been argued with considerable plausibility that such an arrangement and planning is not only difficult but impossible. Agreeing that it is difficult we find the Negro college bearing a double if not a triple burden. First of all, as I have said, with all colleges it has to support the effort toward realizing the great ideals of living: truth, beauty and the creative effort to make them one. Then beyond that it has got to transmit the new cultural pattern which the world today can use in this vast process and that cultural pattern must be overwhelmingly the inherited cultural pattern of the majority group. It is not a question

of starting a black civilization or overthrowing white civilization. White civilization is a part of our heritage and is not "white". It consists overwhelmingly of things in which we have as great an interest as anyone; but this white civilization has got to be modified if the world and the majority of peoples in the world are going to have a chance for cultural civilization.

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It is to the delicate task of this modification that the universities of the minority group must be addressed. First of all then the Negro college even more than most colleges must involve a synthesis of present knowledge and culture. It must not and cannot consist of discreet, unrelated fields of study, of men learned in chemistry who know nothing of economics; of men trained in sociology who are ignorant of biology; the faculties of these Negro colleges must represent in themselves and in their presentation to the student body a mass of unified and tested knowledge and this knowledge must go beyond the written record into ability to reason, explore and experiement; and above all into that personal relationship

which we cal l manners the knowledge of which has apparently been almost lost in the present student body.

Then in addition to this there must be the integration of minority and majority culture. A clear understanding as to just where the social torque comes and indication as to the way in which this can be resolved and settled. This is the task of the university. The greatest hindrance to this is not a matter of reason and conference. The whole tendency of the reasoned consideration in race relations today moves overwhelmingly and inevitably toward the justifiction of the Negro attitude but one must remember that the amjority cultural pattern is not a matter simple of reason and conference. It is largely a psychological inheritance. It will change. It must change. But that change will be slow; it will involve not years simply but generations. In the meantime the majority group with its synthesized cultural patterns and with its insistence upon its new cultural contribution must subsist, must be supported, must support its own education and its own leisure which

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brings us down to the economic hurdle which stands before cultural understanding and integration in this land.

A large part of the culture pattern of the world and an especially large part of American culture has to do with the technical processes of earning a living and amassing wealth. An institution then like the Negro college endeavoring to induct the young into a conception of American culture cannot neglect this aspect. In white colleges the home and social clique of the boy prepares him for earning a living; and the technical school, the industry itself and the office, finish this training; leaving the college to attend to his general training in intelligence, scientific knowledge and art appreciation. Of course the poor and dull and the socially disadvantaged even among whites have many difficulties; while women, certain races, and recent foreign immigrants, meet often prohibitive obstacles.

But the American Negro suffers the greatest disadvantages of all elements of our nation, so much so that his main institution for social uplift,

the college, cannot neglect this aspect of his training. The weak family organization of the American Negro has limited possibilities for preparing him for work. The white employer, union and shop usually hire Negroes only in exceptional case and then deny him training, promotion and authority. What then can the college do to counteract this? It is the wisest course to make him an intelligent, cultured man and then depend on different social institutions to give him skill and technique and work. These other institutions must be not only carefully conceived technical and professional schools, but especially shops and occupations which will take and train apprentices.

This calls for economic organization on the part of Negroes and such organization and intelligent planning itself calls for another sort of training based on the university. One of the most difficult of these university tasks is that which affects this economic situation of the American Negro. We might at first thought lay on the college the duty of training the student for a proper place in American industry

so that his income would be such as would support normal family life on a plane of civilized existence. The Negro college has long seen this problem and tried to settle it by the industrial school either as part of the college or associated with the college. But the difficulty there is that the skills which must be taught the modern worker have changed in the past and are changing so rapidly today that training for them cannot be undertaken for them successfully by the schools for the most part. The success of the German industrial organization is that industry itself has taken over from the school and the college the training of apprentices and does it much more rapidly and effectively, securing for industry trained, permanent and skilled helpers.

In the case of the American Negro that has been almost impossible because of the attitude of industry and until recently the attitude of union labor. This apparently to many minds simplifies the task of the college in training for work, but in truth it makes the problem much more complicated. The re-organization

of work which is facing the world today involves the overthrow of many of our basic concepts of income and business. A thorough understanding of the new economic culture which has already overtaken the world and which will be clearer and more dominant after the present series of world war, is something which American Negroes do not to any extent understand and which is the business of the university as a cultural center to explain and spread. Toward this duty the Negro university is doing comparatively little. In fact one finds on a whole more economic reaction and failure to see the way in which work is going to be re-organized in university circles than among many organizations who have not university status or ideals.

It is for this reason that I have in the last year tried to emphasize the fact that the college graduate must guide the economic development of the American Negro. But what I have in mind is that first this economic development must follow patterns laid down by wise university planning in accord with the new economic thought and change of the day; and again economic progress is never an end, always a means. It is not an end in our case. It ought never to be in any case. It is for the sake

of the resultant efforts at education and the building of new cultural patterns which aim toward truth, beauty and creative work.

Here then is the function of the Negro college and the technique which it must use in integrating its own new cultural pattern into the older cultural pattern of European civilization.

In theory the college group is happily circumstanced to an unusual degree. Here partially sequestered and protected from the outer world, live a company of men and women of education and some cultural background united in a quest and crusade not only of personal interest but of world value. A splendid duty has been laid upon them involving the untiring patience, the unyielding pertinacity and incorruptible honesty of the true student of science. Beyond this comes the chance to guide and inspire youth in high ideals and creative effort.

And yet despite this schools are often, too often, seats of petty envy, low <u>schaden freude</u> and eagerness to believe and spread the worst interpretation

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of the efforts of men. This situation is not, as many within these walls firmly believe, a monopoly or peculiarity of any race or color. To be sure the lower the average of culture is in any particular group, the more the schools of that group are liable to this kind of dry rot and yet the prevalence of it is curiously widespread.

I have in the years of my life been a student in two of the greatest universities of the world; I have held official place in three colleges; for longer or shorter periods I have visited all the leading universities of America, many of those of Europe and some of those of Asia and Africa and the West Indies. From repeated visits, I know practically every considerable Negro institution in the United States. In all these seats of learning one finds more or less evidence of the festering week of lethargy and distrust choking fine faith in the highest and noblest.

I believe this becomes true whenever the main task of the college

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becomes obscured and neglected; and when it comes to be considered as a method of earning a living, a factory for supplying technicians, a secure and easy place for earning a living. From this dry rot we here have not escaped. There is strangely, perhaps fatally, missing on this hill of the dreams of the founders, that fine and generous fellowship of scholars and gentlemen; of artists and laborers, which should characterize Atlanta University and its affiliated and associated institutions. And it is only by conscious and determined effort that we can re-capture from the old Atlanta University and from the old Morehouse, that high spirit of intellectual adventure, of divine curiosity, of the crusade to storm the bastions and look full on the fair face of beauty "all too fair to see!" In fine: to do and feel that which is the essence of the true university.

36-8-95

RECONSTRUCTION: 75 YEARS AFTER

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

IT IS NOW THREE-QUARTERS OF A CENTURY SINCE THE END OF THAT EPISODE IN AMERICAN HISTORY KNOWN AS RECONSTRUCTION. IT BEGAN WITH THE CLOSE OF THE CIVIL WAR IN 1864 AND LASTED 12 YEARS. IT IS NOTABLE FOR HISTORIANS BECAUSE IT IS ALMOST THE ONE MAJOR PERIOD OF OUR HISTORY WHICH HAS NOT UNDERGONE REVISION, RECTIFICATION OR MODIFICATION OF HISTORICAL JUDGMENT. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO FIND A SIMILAR STRETCH OF HUMAN HISTORY WHICH IN THE SAME TIME HAS NOT UNDERGONE REPEATED AND DRASTIC RE-EXAMINATION AND REASSESMENT.

THIS IS A SERIOUS INDICTMENT OF OUR SCIENCE AND ESPECIALLY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. THE ATTEMPT TO REDUCE THE ACTIONS OF HUMAN BEINGS TO EXACT MEASURMENT AND SCIENTIFIC LAW HAS EVER HAD TWO SERIOUS HANDICAPS: FIRST THE IRRE-
concilable

CONCEPT OF NATURAL LAW AND HUMAN INITIATIVE; AND SECONDLY, THE ATTEMPT TO DRAW A LINE OF DEMARKATION BETWEEN WHAT MAN IS DOING TODAY AND WHAT HE DID YESTERDAY. THIS LATTER FIELD OF HISTORY HAS BUILT UP ITS OWN CANNONS OF INVESTIGATION AND ACCEPTED TRUTH, WHICH OFTEN TRANSGRESS ALL OTHER CONVENTIONAL TESTS. THIS IS APPARENT IN THE HISTORY OF THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD. THE ACCEPTED VERSIONS OF TRUTH IN THIS CASE, CONTAIN DISTORTIONS, FALSHOODS AND DELIBERATE LIES, EASILY PROVABLE AND WIDELY KNOWN: AND YET SECURELY EMBALMED IN TEXTBOOKS, STANDARD HISTORICAL WORKS AND CURRENT TEACHING. THE EXCUSE FOR THIS, SOFAR AS THERE IS EXCUSE, IS THE FEELING AND EMOTION AND DEEPLY BURIED HURT OF THOSE FOLK WHO THREE QUARTERS OF A CENTURY AGO LOST A WAR TO CONTINUE NEGRO SLAVERY AS A SYSTEM OF LABOR. GRANTING THAT THE SOUTH WAS BITTERLY CHAGRINED AT FAILURE IN THE CIVIL WAR, IMPOVERISHED BY EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES AND THE OTHER LOSSES OF WAR: AND THAT THEY SUFFERED

36-8-96

AND WERE HUMILIATED/ BY THE EFFORTS TO RESTORE NORMAL LIFE/ AFTER FOUR YEARS OF MURDER AND DESTRUCTION,/ NONE- THE-LESS THIS GENERATION/ AND THIS CIVILIZATION/ HAS A RIGHT TO ASK/ WHETHER THIS IS EXCUSE/ FOR CHANGING HISTORY FROM SCIENTIFIC FACT/ TO PERSISTENT PROPAGANDA/ AND RENDERING A REAL SCIENCE OF HUMAN ACTION/ DIFFICULT/ IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE.

36-8-97

TO ILLUSTRATE MY MEANING,/ LET ME LAY BEFORE YOU ~~TEN~~ certain STATEMENTS,/ WIDELY MADE TODAY:/ DEFENDED AS UNDOUBTED TRUTH/ AND MADE THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH/ AND IN MANY NORTHERN CIRCLES AND UNIVERSITIES/ A TEST OF SCIENTIFIC ORTHODOXY/ AND EVEN SOCIAL DECENCY.

1. THAT NEGRO SLAVERY/ IN THE UNITED STATES/ WAS A SYSTEM OF LABOR/ NOT UNLIKE CURRENT SYSTEMS OF WORK/ AND INVOLVING NO INDEFENSIBLE/ INVASION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

2. THAT WAR AND CONTROVERSY/ COULD HAVE BEEN AVOIDED/ IF THE NATION HAD HAD THE PATIENCE/ TO WAIT FOR THE SOUTH TO EMANCIPATE ITS SLAVES,/ WHICH IT

WOULD HAVE DONE/ WITHIN A REASONABLE TIME.

3. THAT THE CIVIL WAR/ WAS NOT FOUGHT/ OVER THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY.

4. THAT THE NEGRO SLAVE/ TOOK NO ESSENTIAL PART/ IN THE CIVIL WAR/ EXCEPT TO WORK PEACEFULLY/ AND QUIETLY FOR HIS MASTERS.

36-8-98

5. THAT THE ATTEMPT TO MAKE NEGROES/ CITIZENS AND VOTERS/ AFTER THE WAR/ WAS A MONSTROUS EFFORT/ TO REVERSE NATURE/ AND PUT A CONGENITALLY INFERIOR RACE/ IN CONTROL OF A HIGH CIVILIZATION.

6. THAT NEGRO SUFFRAGE/ WAS THE EFFORT OF AN UNGRACIOUS FOE/ TO PUNISH A HELPLESS AND DEFEATED ENEMY/ AND NOT A MEASURE/ OF JUSTICE FOR THE NEGRO.

7. THAT NO EFFORT/ WAS MADE TO PREPARE/ THE FREEDMEN/ FOR THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF CITIZENSHIP/ BEFORE GIVEING HIM THE VOTE.

8. THAT THE RESULT/ OF THE ATTEMPT/ TO ENFRANCHISE THE NEGRO/ WAS THE COLLAPSE OF DECENT GOVERNMENT,/ UNEXAMPLED STEALING AND DEBAUCHERY/ BY NEGROES

AND SUCH FAILURE/OF THE NECESSARY METHODS OF GOVERNMENT/THAT THE WHITE FOLK IN SELF DEFENCE/WERE COMPELLED/TO DISFRANCHISE THE NEGROES/ BY FORCE AND FRAUD/AND FINALLY BY LAW.

9. THAT THE TOTAL RESULT/ OF RECONSTRUCTION/WAS TO EMBITTER THE SOUTH, SEPERATE IT FROM THE MAIN CURRENT/OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT/ AND TO RETARD THE PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO.

Stet

36-8-99

I SUBMIT TO YOU,/ WHO HAVE ATTENDED SCHOOL SINCE I HAVE/IF THIS NOT A FAIR STATEMENT/OF WHAT IS TAUGHT TODAY/IN THE UNITED STATES/CONCERNING RECONSTRUCTION,/WITH SOME SLIGHT/AND ALMOST CLANDESTINE MODIFICATION/HERE AND THERE.// AND I AM MERELY SUGGESTING/IN THIS BRIEF TALK,/ THAT THE MAIN THESIS OF THESE PROPOSITIONS/ARE FLASE AND KNOWN TO BE FALSE:/ AND THAT THIS FACT/IS THE MEASURE OF THE STATURE/OF HISTORICAL SCIENCE/IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY.

LET ME NOW TAKE THESE PROPOSITIONS/IN ORDER AND EXAMINE THEM BRIEFLY.

36-8-100

1. THAT NEGRO SLAVERY IN THE UNITED/STATES WAS A SYSTEM OF LABOR/ NOT UNLIKE CURRENT SYSTEMS/AND INVLOLVING NO INDEFENSIBLE INVASIONS/OF HUMAN RIGHTS.// LET ME DIGEST THE SLAVE CODES:/ SLAVES WERE NOT CONSIDERED MEN./ THEY HAD NO RIGHT OF PETITION./ THEY WERE "DEVISABLE LIKE ANY OTHER CHATTEL."/ THEY COULD OWN NOTHING:/ THEY COULD MAKE NO CONTRACTS:/ THEY COULD HOLD NO PROPERTY,/ NOR TRAFFIC IN PROPERTY:/ THEY COULD NOT HIRE OUT:/ THEY COULD NOT LEGALLY MARRY/NOR CONSTITUTE FAMILIES:/ THEY COULD NOT CONTROL THEIR CHILDREN: THEY COULD NOT APPEAL/FROM THEIR MASTER:/THEY COULD BE PUNISHED AT WILL./ THEY COULD NOT TESTIFY IN COURT:/ THEY COULD BE IMPRISONED/BY THEIR OWNERS,/ AND THE CRIMINAL OFFENSE/OF ASSULT AND BATTERY/COULD NOT BE COMMITTED ON THE PERSON OF A SLAVE.// THE "WILLFUL, MALICIOUS AND DELIBERATE MURDER"/ OF A SLAVE WAS PUNISHABLE BY DEATH,/ BUT SUCH A CRIME/WAS PRACTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE OF PROOF.

36-8-101

THE SLAVE OWED TO HIS MASTER/AND ALL HIS FAMILY/A RESPECT "WITHOUT BOUNDS, AND AN ABSOLUTE OBEDIENCE."// THIS AUTHORITY/COULD BE TRANSMITTED TO OTHERS. A SLAVE COULD NOT SUE/ HIS MASTER;/ HAD NO RIGHT OF REDEMPTION;/ NO RIGHT TO EDUCATION OR RELIGION;/ A PROMISE MADE TO A SLAVE/BY HIS MASTER/HAD NO FORCE NOR VALIDITY./ CHILDREN FOLLOWED/THE CONDITION OF THE SLAVE MOTHER./ THE SLAVE COULD HAVE/NO ACCESS TO THE JUDICIARY./ A SLAVE MIGHT BE CONDEMNED TO DEATH/FOR STRIKING ANY WHITE PERSON.

LOOKING AT THESE ACCOUNTS, "IT IS SAFE TO SAY THAT THE LAW REGARDS A NEGRO SLAVE,/ SOF FAR AS HIS CIVIL STATUS IS CONCERNED,/ PURELY AND ABSOLUTELY PROPERTY,/ TO BE BOUGHT AND SOLD/AND PASS AND DESCEND/AS A TRACT OF LAND, A HORSE, OR AN OX."

THE WHOLE LEGAL STATUS OF SLAVERY/WAS ENUNCIATED IN THE EXTRAORDINARY STATEMENT/OF A CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES/THAT NEGROES HAD ALWAYS BEEN REGARDED IN AMERICA/ "AS HAVING NO RIGHTS WHICH A WHITE MAN WAS BOUND TO RESPECT."

IT IS TRUE/THAT THE WHITE LABOR OF THE 18th CENTURY /OCCUPIED LOW STATUS,/ LIVING IN SLUMS,/ IGNORANT AND POVERTY-STRICKEN;//IT IS TRUE THAT SOUTHERN SLAVERY/WAS OFTEN MILDER/THAN THE LAW BENEATH IT;// NEVERTHELESS IT IS ALSO TRUE/THAT THE NEGRO SLAVE IN AMERICA/REPRESENTED THE LOWEST POINT/ TO WHICH A HUMAN WORK MAN COULD DESCEND;/ THAT WE KNEW THIS/AND WERE ASHAMED OF IT/AND WE TRIED NOT TO MENTION IT IN THE CONSTITUTION ARE STILL SO ASHAMED/THAT THE LAND OF LIBERTY SUSTAINED SUCH AN INSTITUTION FOR 250 YEARS/ THAT WE HARDLY LET THE TRUTH APPEAR IN OUR TEXT BOOKS.

36-8-102

(2.) THAT THE SOUTH/IN 1860/IF LET ALONE AND NOT VILIFIED/AND ATTACKED WOULD HAVE ABOLISHED SLAVERY/OF ITS OWN ACCORD/IN A REASONABLE TIME. WHAT DID THE SOUTH SAY BOUT THIS?/ I QUOTE THE "RICHMOND, VIRGINIA EXAMINER" IN 1854:// "LET US NOT BOTHER OUR BRAINS/ABOUT WHAT "PROVIDENCE" INTENDS TO DO WITH OUR NEGROES/IN THE DISTANT FUTURE,/ BUT GLORY IN AND PROFIT/TO THE UTMOST/ BY WHAT HE HAS DONE FOR THEM/IN TRANSPLANTING THEM HERE,/AND SETTING THEM TO WORK ON OUR PLANTATIONS./. TRUE PHILANTHROPY

~~TO THE NEGRO, BEGINS, LIKE CHARITY, AT HOME: AND~~ IF SOUTHERN MEN WOULD ACT AS IF THE CANOPY OF HEAVEN WERE INSCRIBED WITH A COVENANT, IN LETTERS OF FIRE, THAT THE NEGRO IS HERE, AND HERE FOREVER: IS OUR PROPERTY, AND OURS FOREVER: ...THEY WOULD ACCOMPLISH MORE GOOD FOR THE RACE IN FIVE YEARS THAN THEY BOAST THE INSTITUTION ITSELF TO HAVE ACCOMPLISHED IN TWO CENTURIES..."

36-8-103

JUDGES ON THE BENCH SAID THAT NEGRO SERVITUDE WAS TO LAST, "IF THE APOCALYPSE BE NOT IN ERROR, UNTIL THE END OF TIME." THE ATLANTA DAILY INTELLIGENCER OF JANUARY9, 1860, SAID, "WE CAN'T SEE FOR THE LIFE OF US HOW ANYONE UNDERSTANDING FULLY THE GREAT PRINCIPLE THAT UNDERLIES OUR SYSTEM OF INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE, CAN DISCOVER ANY MONSTROSITY IN SUBJECTING A NEGRO TO SLAVERY OF A WHITE MAN. WE CONTEND ON THE CONTRARY THAT THE MONSTROSITY, OR AT LEAST, THE UNNATURALNESS IN THIS MATTER, CONSISTS IN FINDING NEGROES ANYWHERE IN WHITE COMMUNITIES NOT UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE WHITES. WHENEVER WE SEE A NEGRO, WE PRESUPPOSE A MASTER, AND IF WE SEE HIM IN WHAT IS

COMMONLY CALLED A 'FREE STATE' WE CONSIDER HIM OUT OF HIS PLACE. GOVERNOR MCDUFFIE OF SOUTH CAROLINA SAID; "GOD FORBID THAT MY DESCENDANTS, IN THE REMOTEST GENERATIONS, SHOULD LIVE IN ANY OTHER THAN A COMMUNITY HAVING THE INSTITUTION OF DOMESTIC SLAVERY."

36-8-104

THE MAN WHO MURDERED ABRAHAM LINCOLN SAID: "LOOKING UPON AFRICAN SLAVERY FROM THE SAME STANDPOINT HELD BY THE NOBLE FRAMERS OF OUR CONSTITUTION, I, FOR ONE, HAVE EVER CONSIDERED IT OF THE GREATEST BLESSINGS (BOTH FOR THEMSELVES AND US) THAT GOD EVER BESTOWED UPON A FAVORED NATION.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, WHO KNEW THE WHITE PLANTER AND THE SYSTEM OF SLAVERY SUMMED UP THE PLANS OF THE PLANTERS AS HE INTERPRETED THEM JUST BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR: "I UNDERSTAND THIS POLICY TO COMPREHEND FIVE CARDINAL OBJECTS, THEY ARE THESE: 1st, THE COMPLETE SUPPRESSION OF ALL ANTI-SLAVERY DISCUSSION. 2nd, THE EXPATRIATION OF THE ENTIRE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR FROM THE UNITED STATES. 3rd. THE UNENDING PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY IN THIS REPUBLIC.

4th, THE NATIONALIZATION OF SLAVERY/TO THE EXTENT OF MAKING SLAVERY RESPECTed/in every STATE OF THE UNION. 5th, THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY OVER MEXICO/ AND THE ENTIRE SOUTH AMERICAN STATES."

36-8-105

3. THAT THE CIVIL WAR/WAS NOT FOUGHT/OVER THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY./ THE TESTIMONY OF SOUTHERNERS IN 1860,/ AFTER THE ELECTION OF LINCOLN/SHOULD HELP ANSWER THIS STATEMENT./ JEFFERSON DAVIS SAID/THAT THE NORTH WAS "IMPAIRING THE SECURITY OF PROPERTY/AND SLAVES/AND REDUCING THOSE STATES WHICH HELD SLAVES/TO A CONDITION OF INFERIORITY."// SENATOR TOOMBS/SAID THAT PROPERTY IN AND SLAVES/MUST BE ENTITLED/TO THE SAME PROTECTION/FROM THE GOVERNMENT AS ANY OTHER PROPERTY.// THE SOUTH CAROLINA CONVENTION/ARRAIGNED THE NORTH/FOR INCREASING HOSTILITY/"TO THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY,"/AND DECLARED FOR SECESSION/BECAUSE THE NORTH HAD ASSUMED THE RIGHT OF DECIDING/UPON THE PROPRIETY OF SOUTHERN DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS./ GOVERNOR R. C. WICKLIFFE IN

HIS MESSAGE/AT THE EXTRA SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE OF LOUISIANA/EXPRESSED HIS BELIEF/THAT THE ELECTION/WAS "A DELIBERATE DESIGN/TO PERVERT THE POWERS OF THE GOVERNMENT/TO THE IMMEDIATE INJURY/AND ULTIMATE DESTRUCTION OF THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION OF THE SOUTH."

36-8-106

SLIDEL'S FAREWELL SPEECH/IN THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE/OF FEBRUARY 5, 1861: "WE SEPARATE",/ HE SAID,/"BECAUSE OF THE HOSTILITY OF LINCOLN/TO OUR INSTITUTIONS.../. IF HE WERE INAUGURATED WITHOUT OUR CONSENT/THERE WOULD BE SLAVE INSURRECTIONS IN THE SOUTH."

THE ALABAMA COMMISSIONER TO MARYLAND/ARRAIGNED THE LINCOLN GOVERNMENT AS PROPOSING/NOT "TO RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT/OF THE SOUTHERN CITIZENS TO PROPERTY IN THE LABOR OF AFRICAN SLAVES." /THE GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA ARRAIGNED THE REPUBLICANS/FOR DESIRING "THE DESTRUCTION OF THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY." IN THE SOUTHERN CONGRESS,/ AT MONTGOMERY ON THE 2nd OF FEBRUARY, 1861, SENATOR WIGFALL, FROM TEXAS,/ SAID THAT HE WAS FIGHTING FOR SLAVERY,/ AND FOR NOTHING ELSE.

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BUT THE CLASSIC STATEMENT ON THE MATTER WAS MADE BY THE VICE*PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERACY, ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS: " THE NEW CONSTITUTION HAS PUT AT REST FOREVER ALL THE AGITATION OF QUESTIONS RELATING TO OUR PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS--AFRICAN SLAVERY AS IT EXISTS AMONG US--THE PROPER STATUS OF THE NEGRO IN OUR FORM OF CIVILIZATION. THIS WAS THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE LATE RUPTURE AND PRESENT REVOLUTION. OUR GOVERNMENT IS FOUNDED UPON EXACTLY THE OPPOSITE IDEA. ITS FOUNDATIONS ARE LAID, ITS CORNER-STONE RESTS UPON THE GREAT TRUTH THAT THE NEGRO IS NOT EQUAL TO THE WHITE MAN. THAT SLAVERY--SUBORDINATION TO THE SUPERIOR RACE--IS HIS NATURAL AND NORMAL CONDITION. THIS, OUR NEW GOVERNMENT IS THE FIRST IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, BASED UPON THIS GREAT PHYSICAL AND MORAL TRUTH."

4. THAT THE NEGRO SLAVE TOOK NO PART IN THE CIVIL WAR EXCEPT TO WORK PEACEFULLY AND QUIETLY FOR HIS MASTERS.

36-8-108

A RECENT BIOGRAPHY OF GRANT REPEATS THIS FABLE THAT THE NEGROES ARE THE ONLY RACE IN HISTORY WHO SAT ABOUT PLAYING THE BANJO WHILE OTHERS FOUGHT TO MAKE THEM FREE. WHILE SOUTHERNERS HAVE OFTEN BEEN TEARFUL IN LAUDING THE SLAVES WHO PROTECTED THE WHITE MENS HOMES WHILE THESE MEN FOUGHT TO KEEP THEM IN SLAVERY.

HISTORICAL FACT DOES NOT SUPPORT THIS FABLE. FIRST CONSIDER THE MERE MATHEMATICS OF THIS SITUATION. THERE WERE 9 MILLION AND A QUARTER PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH IN 1860: OF THESE 5 MILLION WERE WHITES AND 4¼ MILLION WERE NEGROES. OF THE WHITES, 50,000 OWNED 4 MILLION OF THE SLAVES AND ALL THE BEST LAND. THE REST OF THE WHITES AND A QUARTER MILLION NEGROES WERE AS FREE AS POVERTY IGNORANCE AND DISEASE LET THEM BE. WHAT DID THEY THINK OF THE WAR? THEY LEFT LITTLE LITERATURE. BUT ~~WHAT HAPPENED?~~ BEFORE THE WAR WAS HALF OVER THERE

WERE 20,000 NEGROES IN WASHINGTON, D. C. WHO HAD LEFT THE PLANTATIONS/ 50,000 IN NORTH CAROLINA;/ 100,000 IN VIRGINIA,/ 50,000 IN SOUTH CAROLINA,/ 50,000 EACH IN GEORGIA AND LOUISIANA// THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI WAS FULL OF RUNAWAY NEGROES/ WHO AMOUNTED TO AT LEAST 500,000 ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL FIGURES// AND THERE WERE 3 MORE MILLION/ READY TO MOVE WHEN THEY KNEW WHETHER THE NORTH/ WAS FIGHTING FOR OR AGAINST SLAVERY.// FOR AT FIRST THE NORTHERN ARMIES DISCLAIMED ALL INTENTION OF INTERFERING WITH SLAVERY. ON THE 4th OF JULY, 1861 COLONEL PRYOR OF OHIO/ DELIVERED AN ADDRESS/ TO THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA/ IN WHICH HE REPUDIATED/ THE ACCUSATION/ THAT THE NORTHERN ARMY WERE ABOLITIONISTS: "I DESIRE TO ASSURE YOU/ THAT THE RELATION OF MASTER AND SERVANT/ AS RECOGNIZED IN YOU STATE/ SHALL BE RESPECTED./ YOUR AUTHORITY OVER THAT SPECIES OF PROPERTY/ SHALL NOT IN THE LEAST/ BE INTERFERED WITH./ TO THIS END, I ASSURE YOU/ THAT THOSE UNDER MY COMMAND/ HAVE PEREMPTORY ORDERS/ TO TAKE UP AND HOLD

36-8-109

ANY NEGROES/ FOUND RUNNING ABOUT THE CAMP/ WITHOUT PASSES FROM THEIR MASTERS." THEN THEY NORTH CHANGED ~~THEIR~~ ITS MINDS./ WHEN THE SOUTH REFUSED TO BE LICKED WITH PROMISES,// AND WHEN THEY HAD SENT THE NORTHERN ARMIES/ RUNNING LIKE RABBITS AT BULL RUN,/ THE NORTH DISCOVERED THAT ARMIES NEED LABOR/ ~~ALMOST~~ AS MUCH AS SOLDIERS,/ AND SPIES MORE THAN GUNS.// THEY FOUND THAT NEGROES WERE "CONTRABAND OF WAR"/ THAT IS,/ VALUABLE WAR MATERIAL/ AND THEY USED IT.// "NEGROES BUILT MOST OF THE FORTIFICATIONS/ AND EARTH-WORKS,/ FOR GENERAL GRANT IN FRONT OF VICKSBURG./ THE WORKS IN AND ABOUT NASHVILLE/ WERE CAST UP BY THE STRONG ARM AND WILLING HAND OF THE LOYAL BLACKS./ DUTCH GAP WAS DUG BY NEGROES, AND MILES OF EARTH-WORKS,/ FORTIFICATIONS, AND CORDUROY ROADS/ WERE MADE BY NEGROES./ THEY DID FATIGUE DUTY IN EVERY DEPARTMENT/ OF THE UNION ARMY./ WHEREEVER A NEGRO APPEARED WITH A SHOVEL IN HIS HAND,/ A WHITE SOLDIER TOOK HIS GUN AND RETURNED TO THE RANKS./ THERE WERE 200,000 NEGROES IN THE CAMPS AND EMPLOY OF THE UNION ARMIES,/ AS SERVANTS, TEAMSTERS, COOKS, AND LABORERS."

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1

EVENTUALLY THEY HAD/AT LEAST 300,000 BLACK LABORERS/ SPIES AND SERVANTS/ IN THEIR ARMIES TO CONQUER THE SOUTH.//AND THIS THE NEGROES FURNISHED BY A GENERAL STRIKE/WHICH DENUDED THE PLANTATIONS/AND THREATENED TO STARVE THE SOUTHERN ARMIES.//THEN, TOO, THE POOR WHITES LOST THEIR ENTHUSIASM/ FOR WHITE PLANTERS' PROPERTY/AND DESERTED THE ARMY IN DROVES.// THE LAST STRAW/WAS THE APPEARANCE OF BLACK SOLDIERS./ HUNTER RAISED A REGIMENT IN SOUTH CAROLINA/ WHEN WASHINGTON TOLD HIM IT COULD NOT RAISE MORE WHITE SOLDIERS/IN THE NORTH.//WHEN CONGRESS GOT THE NEWS, IT RAGED./ WHAT?YELLED WICKLIFFE OF KENTUCKY/ HAS THE GOVERNMENT ARMED FUGITIVE SLAVES,/ "NO", ANSWERED GENERAL HUNTER,/"NO REGIMENT OF 'FUGITIVE SLAVES' HAS BEEN/ OR IS BEING ORGANIZED/IN THIS DEPARTMENT./ THERE IS, HOWEVER, A FINE REGIMENT OF LOYAL PERSONS/WHOSE LATE MASTERS ARE FUGITIVE REBELS."

CONGRESS LAUGHED SO LOUD/AT THE ANSWER/ THAT THE USE OF SLAVES AS SOLDIERS WAS NEVER AGAIN QUESTIONED.// BUT COULD NEGROES FIGHT? LINCOLN DOUBTED IT IN 1862,/ AND SAID THAT IF HE GAVE ARMS TO NEGROES:/"I FEAR THAT IN A FEW WEEKS

THE ARMS WOULD BE IN THE HANDS OF REBELS"//BUT IN 1863, HE HAD CHANGED HIS MIND./ "THE SLIGHTEST KNOWLEDGE OF ARITHMETIC/WILL PROVE TO ANY MAN/THAT THE REBEL ARMIES CANNOT BE DESTROYED/WITH DEMOCRATIC STRATEGY./ IT WOULD SACRIFICE ALL THE WHITE MEN OF THE NORTH/TO DO IT./ THERE ARE NOW IN THE SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES/NEAR ~~TEN~~ TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND ABLE-BODIED COLORED MEN/ MOST OF THEM UNDER ARMS,/DEFENDING AND ACQUIRING UNION TERRITORY...

"ABANDON ALL THE POSTS/NOW GARRISONED BY BLACK MEN:/ TAKE TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN/FROM OUR SIDE/AND PUT THEM IN THE BATTLEFIELD/OR CORNFIELD AGAINST US,/ AND WE WOULD BE COMPELLEDTO ABANDON/THE WAR IN THREE WEEKS.... "

WHAT HAD HAPPENED?/ NEGRO SOLDIERS HAD FOUGHT:/ "BANKS LAID SIEGE TO PORT HUDSON WITH ALL HIS FORCES,/ INCLUDING TWO BLACK REGIMENTS./ ON MAY 23, 1863, THE ASSAULT WAS ORDERED,/ BUT THE VARIOUS COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS DID NOT ADVANCE SIMULTANEOUSLY./ THE NEGRO REGIMENTS, ON THE NORTH, MADE THREE

DESPERATE CHARGES,/ LOSING HEAVILY, BUT MAINTAINED THE ADVANCE/OVER A FIELD COVERED WITH RECENTLY FELLED TREES./ CONFEDERATE BATTERIES OPENED FIRE UPON THEM./ MICHIGAN, NEW YORK AND MASSACHUSETTS WHITE TROOPS/WERE HURLED BACK, BUT THE WORKS HAD TO BE TAKEN./ TWO NEGRO REGIMENTS WERE ORDERED TO GO FORWARD, THROUGH A DIRECT AND CROSS FIRE.

36-8-113

"THE DEEDS OF HEROISM/PERFORMED BY THESE COLORED MEN/WERE SUCH AS THE PROUDEST WHITE MEN MIGHT EMULATE./ THEIR COLORS ARE TORN TO PIECES BY SHOT, AND LITERALLY BESPATTERED/BY BLOOD AND BRAINS./ THE COLOR-SERGEANT OF THE 1st LOUISIANA,/ ON BEING MORTALLY WOUNDED,/ HUGGED THE COLORS TO HIS BREAST,/ ~~WHEN~~ A STRUGGLE ENSUED/BETWEEN THE TWO COLOR-CORPORALS/ON EACH SIDE OF HIM, AS TO WHO SHOULD HAVE THE HONOR/ OF BEARING THE ~~SACRED~~ STANDARD,/ ~~AND DURING THIS GENEROUS CONTENTION,~~/ ONE WAS SERIOUSLY WOUNDED./ ONE BLACK LIEUTENANT ACTUALLY MOUNTED THE ENEMY'S WORKS/THREE OR FOUR TIMES,/ AND IN ONE CHARGE/THE

ASSAULTING PARTY CAME WITHIN FIFTY PACES OF THEM./ INDEED, IF ONLY ORDINARILY SUPPORTED BY ARTILLERY AND RESERVE,/NO ONE CAN CONVINCE US/THAT THEY WOULD NOT HAVE OPENED A PASSAGE THROUGH THE ENEMY'S WORKS."

36-8-114

" ~~COLONEL BASSET BEING DRIVEN BACK,/COLONEL FINNEGAS TOOK HIS PLACE, AND HIS MEN BEING SIMILARLY CUT TO PIECES,~~/LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BASSET REFORMED AND RECOMMENCED:/ AND THUS THESE ~~BRAVE~~ PEOPLE WENT ON,/ FROM MORNING UNTIL3:30 P.M.:/UNDER THE MOST HIDEOUS CARNAGE/THAT MEN EVER HAD TO WITHSTAND, AND THAT VERY FEW WHITE ONES/ WOULD HAVE HAD NERVE TO ENCOUNTER, EVEN IF ORDERED TO.// DURING THIS TIME, THEY RALLIED,/AND WERE ORDERED TO MAKE SIX DISTINCT CHARGES.// THE MAJORITY, IF NOT ALL,/ OF THESE BEING IN ALL PROBABILITY NOW LYING DEAD ON THE ~~SOIL~~ FIELD,/AND WITHOUT THE RITES OF ~~SEPULTURE~~ BURIAL: FOR WHEN,/ BY FLAG OF TRUCE,/ OUR FORCES ~~IN OTHER DIRECTION~~/WERE PERMITTED TO RECLAIM THEIR DEAD,/ THE BENEFIT THROUGH SOME NEGLECT,/WAS NOT EXTENDED TO THESE BLACK REGIMENTS." forget

There were many other incidents. I cannot. That of the 54th Mass, where one of my cousins was a corporal; Who served months without pay rather than accept less than whites. These raw

Colored boys were picked to lead on Fort Wagner

~~THE BLACK FIFTY-FOURTH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT WAS TO LEAD~~ THE ASSAULT.

"WAGNER LOOMED, BL CK, GRIM AND SILENT./ THERE WAS NO GLIMMER OF LIGHT./ ~~NEVERTHELESS,~~ But IN THE FORT,/ DOWN BELOW THE LEVEL OF THE TIDE, ~~AND UNDER ROOFS MADE BY HUGE TRUNKS OF TREES,~~ LAY TWO THOUSAND CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS, HIDDEN. OUR TROOPS ADVANCED/ ~~TOWARD THE FORT, WHILE OUR MORTARS IN THE REAR TOSSED BOMBS OVER THEIR HEADS.~~/ BEHIND THE 54th CAME FIVE white REGIMENTS FROM CONNETCIUT NEW YORK, NEW HAMPSHIRE,/ PENNSYLVANIA AND MAINE./ THE MASS WENT QUICKLY AND SILENTLY IN THE NIGHT./ THEN, SUDDENLY, THE WALLS OF THE FORT BURST WITH A BLINDING SHEET OF VIVID LIGHT./ SHOT, SHELLS OF IRON AND BULLETS/ CRUSHED THROUGH THE DENSE MASSES OF THE ATTACKING FORCE./ I SHALL NEVER FORGET THE TERRIBLE SCUND/ OF THAT AWFUL BLAST OF DEATH WHICH SWEPT DOWN, and BATTERED OR ~~DEAD,~~ A THOUSAND OF OUR MEN./ NOT A SHOT HAD MISSED ITS AIM./ EVERY BOLT OF IRON AND LEAD/ TASTED OF HUMAN BLOOD./

36-8-115

"THE COLUMN WAVERED AND RECOVERED/ ~~ITSELF~~. THEY REACHED THE DITCH BEFORE THE FORT./ THEY CLIMBED ON THE RAMPARTS/ AND SWARMED OVER THE WALLS. IT LOOKED AS THOUGH THE FORT WAS CAPTERED./ THEN THERE CAME ANOTHER BLINDING BLAZE/ FROM CONCEALED GUNS IN THE REAR OF THE FORT,/ AND THE MEN WENT DOWN BY SCORES./ THE REBELS RAL IED, AND WERE REENFORCED BY THOUSANDS OF OTHERS,/ WHO HAD LANDED ON THE BEACH IN THE DARKNESS/ ~~UNSEEN BY THE FLEET~~. THEY HURLED THEMSELVES UPON THE ATTACKING FORCE./ THE STRUGGLE WAS TERRIFIC./ THE SUPPORTING UNITS/ HURRIED UP TO AID THEIR COMRADES,/ BUT AS THEY RAISED THE RAMPARTS,/ THEY FIRED A VOLLEY WHICH STRUCK DOWN ~~MANY OF~~ THEIR OWN MEN. OUR MEN RALLIED AGAIN,/ BUT WERE FORCED BACK TO THE EDGE OF THE DITCH./ COLONEL SHAW, WITH SCORES OF HIS BLACK FIGHTERS,/ WENT DOWN STRUGGLING DESPERATELY./ RESISTANCE WAS VAIN./ THE ASSAILANTS WERE FORCED BACK TO THE BEACH,/ AND THE REBELS DRILLED/ THEIR RECOVERED CANNONS ANEW/ ON THE REMAINING

36-8-116

Colored boys were sent out at night as shock troops against Fort Wagner, while white regiments stood behind

SURVIVORS."

WHEN A REQUEST WAS MADE LATER FOR COLONEL SHAW'S BODY, A CONFEDERATE MAJOR COURTEOUSLY SAID: "WE HAVE BURIED HIM WITH HIS NIGGERS."

SMALL WONDER THAT WHEN RICHMOND WAS CAPTURED, THE UNION ARMY MARCHED IN LED BY NEGRO TROOPS SINGING "JOHN BROWN'S BODY LIES A-MOULDERING IN THE GRAVE BUT HIS SOUL GOES MARCHING ON." AND CAPTURED IN NO SMALL MEASURE BY THE BRAVERY OF NEGRO TROOPS

That the attempt to make Negroes citizens was a monstrous effort to reverse nature & put an inferior race in control of a high civilization

L11-8-918

5. THE WHITE SOUTH IN 1860 DID NOT POSSESS A HIGH CIVILIZATION. THE GREAT MAJORITY OF WHITES WERE POOR, DISEASED AND ILLITERATE. A MINORITY OF WHITE PLANTERS 50,000 OR MORE IN NUMBERS AND PERHAPS AN EQUAL NUMBER OF THE ONHANGERS OF THE SLAVE SYSTEM HAD A PLEASANT AND GRACIOUS CULTURE: BUT IT PRODUCED NEITHER SCIENCE LITERATURE NOR ART, BUT IT BUILT some BEAUTIFUL HOMES, WITH HORDES OF BLACK SERVANTS, it DRANK much GOOD LIQUER AND CHASED WOMEN, WHITE, BLACK, AND YELLOW WITH RARE PERSISTENCE.

IT WAS thus A TYPICAL 18th CENTURY ARISTOCRACY BUILT ON SLAVERY AND EXPLOITATION. BUT TO CALL IT A HIGH CIVILIZATION IS A MISNOMER. IT WAS ARGUED THAT TO SUBJECT THIS CULTURE TO THE CONTROL OF NEGROES WAS AN ATTEMPT TO INVERT NATURE AND NATURES LAWS: THAT NEGROES WERE CONGENITALITALLY INFERIOR AND ALWAYS WOULD BE. THAT THEY COULD NOT BE EDUCATED AND THAT THEIR ENFRANCHISEMENT WAS MONSTROUS. THIS ARGUMENT HAD DEEP EFFECT IN THE NORTH AND IN EUROPE. NO ANSWER TO THIS THESIS IS NECESSARY TODAY. THE IGNORANCE, INEXPERIENCE AND POVERTY OF NEGROES IN 1865 WAS THE SAME SORT OF DISABILITY THAT HAS ALWAYS HANDICAPPED DISADVANTAGED PEOPLES AND CLASSES AND JUST AS CAPABLE OF CURE BY EDUCATION AND A DECENT INCOME AS IN THE CASE OF ENGLISH, IRISH AND POOR SOUTHERN WHITES.

6. BUT COMPLAINS THE SOUTH | Negro suffrage was the effort of an ungracious foe to punish a helpless enemy and not a measure of justice for the Negro

8-11-918

36-8-119

THE ANSWER IS CLEAR. THE NORTH IN 1865, HAD NO IDEA OF GIVING NEGROES VOTES. BUT THE UNRECONSTRUCTED SOUTH FACED THEN WITH AN INESCAPABLE DILEMMA: THEY INSISTED ON REINSTATEMENT IN THE GOVERNMENT NOT ONLY WITH THEIR FORMER POLITICAL POWER, BUT WITH 29 ADDITIONAL REPRESENTATIVES BASED ON THE DISFRANCHISED NEGRO POPULATION. WITH THIS POWER, ADDED TO THE INSURGENT WEST, THE SOUTH MIGHT HAVE ~~BEEN ABLE TO~~ REDUCED THE TARIFF ON WHICH A VAST POST-WAR INDUSTRY HAD BEEN BASED; REPUDIATED AT LEAST Part OF THE WAR DEBT OR MADE THE NATION PAY THE SOUTHERN WAR DEBT AND REMUNERATE THE SOUTH FOR EMANCIPATED SLAVES. FACED WITH SUCH AN INDUSTRIAL CATASTROPHE THE NORTH OF ALL OPINIONS SAID: IF YOU ARE GOING TO USE ~~THE NEGRO VOTE~~ the political power based on the negro population, WE WILL LET THE NEGRO CAST HIS OWN VOTE. WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO THE SOUTH OR THE NEGRO, THE COMMERCIAL NORTH DID NOT CARE. THEY DID CARE AS TO WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO THE GREATEST INDUSTRIAL EMPIRE IN THE WORLD WHICH WAS then BUILDING. IF THE SOUTH DOES NOT LIKE ~~IT~~, this said the commercial North.

PERHAPS IT WILL LATER SEE REASON. IT DID.

I AM NOT DEFENDING the North. IAM SIMPLY SAYING THAT TO BLAME THIS SITUATION ON THE NEGRO IS AN OUTRAGEOUS INJUSTICE. NOR WAS IT THE FAULT OF ALL THE NORTH. ABOLITIONISTS LIKE SUMNER AND THADDEUS STEVENS KNEW THE DANGER OF IGNORANCE AND INEXPERIENCE AND STROVE TO GUARD AGAINST IT. THEY STROVE FOR NEGRO SUFFRAGE AND EDUCATION.

36-8-120

7. ~~IT IS NOT TRUE~~ THE ABOLITIONISTS ~~STROVE~~ tried DESPERATELY AND IN VAIN AGAINST THE OPPOSITION OF BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH TO GIVE THE FREEDMEN, PROTECTION, EDUCATION, LAND AND HEALTH SERVICES BEFORE THEY ASKED FOR HIS ENFRANCHISEMENT. EVEN AFTER THEY URGED VOTES FOR NEGROES IT WAS WITH CONVICTION AS EXPRESSED BY SUMNER THAT ENFRANCHISEMENT WOULD BRING EDUCATION AND JUSTICE IN SHEER SELF-DEFENCE. THADDEUS STEVENS STATES THE CASE FOR THE NEGRO IN BLISTERING LOGIC, WHICH IS THE REASON THE WHITE SOUTH STILL HATES HIS NAME:

"WE HAVE TURNED, OR ARE ABOUT TO TURN, LOOSE FOUR MILLION SLAVES WITHOUT A HUT TO SHELTER THEM OR A CENT IN THEIR POCKETS. THE INFERNAL LAWS OF SLAVERY HAVE PREVENTED THEM FROM ACQUIRING AN EDUCATION, UNDERSTANDING THE COMMONEST LAWS OF CONTRACT, OR OF MANAGING THE ORDINARY BUSINESS OF LIFE. THIS CONGRESS IS BOUND TO PROVIDE FOR THEM UNTIL THEY CAN TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES. IF WE DO NOT FURNISH THEM WITH HOMESTEADS, AND HEDGE THEM AROUND WITH PROTECTIVE LAWS: IF WE LEAVE THEM TO THE LEGISLATION OF THEIR LATE MASTERS, WE HAD BETTER HAVE LEFT THEM IN BONDAGE."

36-8-121.

THE DIFFICULTY WAS THAT THE SOUTH DID WANT THEM LEFT IN SLAVERY AND DID EVERYTHING IT COULD TO ACCOMPLISH THIS UNDER ANDREW JOHNSON. AS BURGESS OF COLUMBIA, PROBABLY THE MOST DISTINGUISHED OF THE PROFESSIONAL "NIGGER-HATERS" WHO HAVE GRACED CHAIRS IN OUR LEADING UNIVERSITIES, SAID OF THE POST WAR BLACK CODES: "ALMOST EVERY ACT, WORD OR GESTURE OF THE NEGRO, NOT CONSONANT

WITH GOOD TASTE AND GOOD MANNERS AS WELL AS GOOD MORALS, WAS MADE A CRIME OR MISDEMEANOR, FOR WHICH HE COULD FIRST BE FINED BY THE MAGISTRATES AND THEN CONSIGNED TO A CONDITION OF ALMOST SLAVERY FOR AN INDEFINITE TIME, IF HE COULD NOT PAY THE BILL."

36-8-122

TWO OF THE YOUNGER WHITE STUDENTS OF RECONSTRUCTION SAY: "BUT IT IS MONOTONOUS ITERATION TO REVIEW THE EARLY LEGISLATION OF THE RECONSTRUCTED GOVERNMENTS ESTABLISHED UNDER THE PROCLAMATION OF THE PRESIDENT. IN MOST OF THE STATES THE LAWS ESTABLISHED A CONDITION BUT LITTLE BETTER THAN THAT OF SLAVERY, AND IN ONE IMPORTANT RESPECT FAR WORSE. FOR IN PLACE OF THE PROPERTY INTEREST WHICH WOULD INDUCE THE OWNER TO PRESERVE AND CARE FOR HIS SLAVE, THERE WAS SUBSTITUTED THE GUARDIANSHIP OF PENAL STATUES: AND THE IGNORANT BLACK MAN, INNOCENT OF ANY INTENTION TO COMMIT A WRONG, COULD BE BANDIED ABOUT FROM ONE TEMPORARY OWNER TO ANOTHER WHO WOULD HAVE NO OTHER

INTEREST/THAN TO WRING OUT OF HIM,/WITHOUT REGARD TO HIS ULTIMATE CONDITION, ALL THAT WAS POSSIBLE/DURING THE LIMITED TERM OF HIS THRALDOM."

36-8-123

THE EFFORT TO ESTABLISH A FREEDMENS BUREAU/TO PROTECT AND EDUCATE THE FREEDMEN/WAS NEVER SUCCESSFUL.// AFTER TEMPORARY MAKESHIFTS A BILL FOR A PERMANENT BUREAU WAS INTRODUCED IN 1866./ IT PROVIDED:/THAT THE BUREAU SHOULD CONTINUE IN FORCE/UNTIL ABOLISHED BY LAW:/THAT IT SHOULD EMBRACE THE WHOLE COUNTRY/WHEREVER THERE WERE FREEDMEN AND REFUGEES;/ THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD SET APART/FOR THE USE OF FREEDMAN AND LOYAL REFUGEES/UNOCCU PIED LANDS IN THE SOUTH,/ TO BE ALLOTTED IN PARCESL/NOT EXCEEDING FORTY ACRES EACH:/ THAT THE COMMISSIONER PROCURE LAND/AND ERECT SUITABLE BUILDINGS/AS ASYLUMS AND SCHOOLS/FOR DEPENDENT FREEDMEN AND REFUGEES:/ THAT IT BE THE DUTY OF THE PRESIDENT/TO EXTEND MILITARY PROTECTION AND JURISDICTION/OVER ALL CASES WHERE ANY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS OR IMMUNITIES/BELONGING TO WHITE PERSONS/ARE REFUSED OR DENIED/BY LOCAL LAW, PREJUDICE/ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR OR

PREVIOUS CONDITION OF SERVITUDE:/OR WHERE DIFFERENT PUNISHMENTS OR PENALTIES/ ARE INDLICTED/THAN ARE PRESCRIBED FOR WHITE PERSONS/COMMITTING LIKE OFFENSES:

36-8-124

IT PASSED THE STNATE/AND STEVENS IN THE HOUSE/TRIED TO STRENGTHEN IT: THAT PUBLIC LAND BE SET ASIDE/IN FLORIDA, MISSISSIPPI, ALABAMA, LOUISIANA AND ARKANSAS,/AND ALSO FROM FORFEITED ESTATES,/TO THE EXTENT OF THREE MILLION ACRES OF GOOD LAND:/ AND THAT THIS SHOULD BE PARCELED CUT/TO LOYAL WHITE REFUGEES AND BLACK FREEDMEN/AT A RENTAL NOT TO EXCEED TEN CENTS AN ACRE:/AND THAT AT THE END OF A CERTAIN PERIOD/THIS LAND BE SOLD TO THE APPLICANTS/AT A PRICE NOT TO EXCEED TWO DOLLARS AN ACRE. ~~XXXX

Johnson, despite his promises

THIS FAILED. | THE ORIGINAL BILL PASSED | BUT THE PRESIDENT VETOED IT. THE FINAL MEASURE WAS A TEMPORARY MAKESHIFT, | WHICH NEVER HAD SUFFICIENT FUNDS OR AUTHORITY | AND AFTER HERCULEAN EFFORTS, | PAID FOR CHIEFLY BY CHARITY AND UNPAID BOUNTIES OF DEAD NEGRO SOLDIERS | WAS FINALLY HOOTED OUT OF EXISTENCE. /// THE GREAT ARGUMENT OF THE OPPONENTS OF RECONSTRUCTION IS that in this era, decent government collapsed in the South or the contrary

36-8-125

8. "IN LEGISLATION COVERING PROPERTY, | THE WIDER FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE, | THE PUNISHMENT OF CRIME AND THE LIKE, | IT IS SUFFICIENT TO SAY | THAT THE LAWS ON THESE POINTS | ESTABLISHED BY RECONSTRUCTION LEGISLATURES | WERE NOT ONLY DIFFERENT FROM | AND EVEN REVOLUTIONARY | TO THE LAWS IN THE OLDER SOUTH, | BUT THEY WERE SO WISE | AND SO WELL SUITED TO THE NEEDS OF THE NEW SOUTH, | THAT IN SPITE OF A RETROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT | FOLLOWING THE OVERTHROW OF THE NEGRO GOVERNMENTS | THE MASS OF THIS LEGISLATION | WITH ELABORATION AND DEVELOPMENT, | STILL STANDS ON THE STATUE BOOKS OF THE SOUTH.

"RECONSTRUCTION CONSTITUTIONS, | PRACTICALLY UNALTERED, | WERE KEPT IN

FLORIDA	1868-1885	17 Years
VIRGINIA	1870-1902	32 Years
South Carolina	1868-1895	27 Years
MISSISSIPPI	1868-1890	22 Years

36-8-126

"EVEN IN THE CASE OF STATES | LIKE ALABAMA, GEORGIA, NORTH CAROLINA, AND LOUISIANA, | WHICH ADOPTED NEW CONSTITUTIONS | TO SIGNIFY THE OVERTHROW OF NEGRO RULE, | THE NEW CONSTITUTIONS ARE NEARER THE MODEL | OF THE RECONSTRUCTION DOCUMENT | THAN THEY ARE TO THE PREVIOUS CONSTITUTIONS. | THEY DIFFER FROM THE NEGRO CONSTITUTIONS IN MINOR DETAILS | BUT VERY LITTLE IN GENERAL CONCEPTION."

SOUTHERN STATES | WITH NEGRO MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURES | ESTABLISHED the first free PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM even map; in THE SOUTH, | GAVE THOUSANDS OF WHITE MEN THE RIGHT TO VOTE | AND INITIATED LEGISLATION | FOR SOCIAL RELIEF AND PROGRESS. // IT IS CHARGED THAT IN DOING THIS | THE NEGROES STOLE LARGE SUMS OF MONEY. | THE CHARGE IS

There was stealing and waste in the South which some Negroes shared. But this charge

ABSURD. IT FORGETS THAT MONEY IN 1870 WAS CHEAP AND A MILLION DOLLARS IN 1860 WAS INFLATED TO TWO MILLION TEN YEARS LATER; THAT LAND HAD FALLEN IN VALUE ABSOLUTELY AND BECAUSE OF EMANCIPATION; THAT THE TAX BASE WAS LOWER AFTER THE WAR BECAUSE OF LOSS AND DESTRUCTION; THAT THE WHOLE COUNTRY, NORTH AND SOUTH, WAS CHEATING, LYING AND STEALING TO AN EXTENT NEVER KNOWN BEFORE: AS DUNNING SAYS: "AS TO CORRUPTION UNDER THE NEGRO GOVERNMENT OF THE SOUTH, THIS MUST BE NOTED: FIRST, THE DECADE WHEN THE NEGROES WERE USHERED INTO POLITICAL LIFE, FROM 1867 TO 1877, WAS PROBABLY THE MOST CORRUPT DECADE IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, AND OF ALL PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

"THE FORM AND MANNER OF THIS CORRUPTION, WHICH HAS GIVEN SO UNSAVORY A CONNOTATION TO THE NAME 'RECONSTRUCTION', WERE NO DIFFERENT FROM THOSE WHICH HAVE APPEARED IN MANY ANOTHER TIME AND PLACE IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

" WHEN WE COME TO EXAMINE THEM, THE CHARGES MADE BY SUCH MEN AS RHODES, OBERHOLTZER, DUNNING, BOWERS, ETC., EVEN IF TAKEN AT THEIR FACE VALUE,

WHICH THEY ASSUREDLY SHOULD NOT BE, ARE CHARGES THAT MIGHT WITH EQUAL FORCE BE LEVELED AGAINST EVERY GOVERNMENT, FEDERAL, STATE AND MUNICIPAL, NORTH AND SOUTH, REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC, OF THE TIME---AND AGAINST 'LILY WHITE' RESTORATION GOVERNMENTS THAT FOLLOWED IN THE SOUTH WITH REACTION."

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT POOR MEN TAKE BRIBES AND STEAL WHEN THEY HAVE THE CHANCE AND EMANCIPATED NEGROES WERE POOR. BUT FOR SOUTHERN CHIVALRY AND NORTHERN WEALTH TO CHARGE FOR 75 YEARS THAT NEGREOS INVENTED STEALING IN THE UNITED STATES IS A BIT THICK, AND HARDLY WORTH CONTINUED TEACHING IN CHICAGO UNIVERSITY.

The results of Reconstruction

9. ONE NEED SAY LITTLE ABOUT [redacted]. WHAT EMIBTTERED THE SOUTH WAS DEFEAT IN WAR AND LOSS OF SLAVES. WHAT SEPARATED IT FROM THE NATION WAS THE DETERMINATION TO GET NEGRO LABOR FOR NOTHING DESPITE THE LAW.

AND WHAT HAS RETARDED THE PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO / IS RACE PREJUDICE, / CONTINUED ~~LYING AND~~ DEPRIVATION OF EDUCATION / AND DECENTLY PAID WORK. / NO AMOUNT OF TALK OR ARGUMENT CAN REFUTE THESE CLEAR FACTS.

It may be asked, why bring this up today? Why not 50 years ago?

36-8-129

36-5-120

INDIVIDUALISM, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is always a good thing to reconsider a general idea in times of distress and difficulty because words continually lead us astray. We get hold of a word that expresses an idea and then we hold on to that word after that idea has changed. Now, that is the case in the matter of democracy. When we discuss it today we think we are familiar with it, but in many cases we do not know what it means.

I presume I have told some of you in my Introduction to Democracy about the little town of about 5,000 inhabitants where I was born. We had a very excellent example of democracy. The small number of people living in the town and the farmers surrounding it came together and had the town meeting. The town meeting was a place where the government of the town was settled and for some reason I was asiduous in attending the town meeting every year in March in a little building. Three select men presided and the whole business of the town was discussed. Everybody knew everybody else. I knew everybody there by sight. A great many of the people took part in the discussion. We knew all the candidates to be elected. They discussed things that were clear to us, matters of bridges, roads, appropriations for the schools and high school. I was very interested in this because I was a high school student. There were two teachers in this school and there were many things that needed to be done. There was always opposition. There was a ragged, dirty old man who came down from the hills and paid his respects to high school education and expressed his opinion about what he did not like. All the people in the town meeting voted for the appropriation for the high school. It was a splendid example of democracy.

Since then things have changed. They no longer have town meetings and everybody knowing each other as they did when I was in high school. Irish and German men have come into the town to work and they had to be considered. They did not believe that the Irish were the same as other people. They did not allow them to be represented on the school board. The Irish were outside of democracy. Their children went to the high school but they were not altogether inside of democracy. The chief thing in that town that was noticeable was the respect that was paid to individualism. That, after all, is the object of democracy though we forget it. We think of democracy as having to do with the group, but the group is composed of individuals and they are the ones who give

the information and are the object of all group action. In that town and in the towns represented in the United States, the great thing was the development of this extraordinary thing which we call individualism. We had great respect for the individual. We had some particular people in the town. Mr. Culvert, who was a pretty well-to-do but dressed out of date. He spoke his mind to anybody at any time. We had a respect for him. We find the find the endless gains of people through this respect for individualism. All of us sooner or later come to know that there are certain times in the history of the world and in individual life when they are in distress. You are living in a time now when the group rather than the individual is stressed. We should try to see that the group is based on the individual it is trying to put the individual in its place. The object of the group is the individual. We begin to realize it when we become members of a group. Sooner or later it occurs to us when a child come into the family that it develops in its own way and the parents realize that it is not an exact replica of either of them. It does not do what the father or mother wants it to but develops in its own way.

36-5-121

Then to you who have to do with farmers and know the peculiarities of farm life, for a long time the farmer was a sort of an ideal on his own farm. He was a king. He owned his land, he owned his house, he owned his wife, and he owned his children and he owned his stock. His word was law. There was a lot of him in literature. He was the man who was king of the full development of the individual.

When I was a boy we read many legends about heroes and even today we read about the exploits of Jesse James. Bert Tomes was a great big man who ruled his land and slaves and friends. When someone made him angry all the country heard about it. One of the first graduates of Atlanta University went to Bert Tomes and asked him for a donation for the school. Mr. Tomes was drunk and gave him a dollar and said, "Give it to the nigger and tell him to go and get drunk". When we think of that example of individualism in its extreme form we begin to see a paradox. You cannot have all these individuals develop in their own way and have a society to act as a group. What are you going to do about it? You cannot lean on anarchy. The early primitive people avoided anarchy by leaving the power with the grandfather.

Then we gradually came to a measure of control by putting the power into the hands of a few outstanding individuals the power over all individuals. This came to be called <u>kingship</u>. At times there was a

family of kings, other times they went through an election. Some seized the power. There grew up in the world this idea of kingship. In the United States we have a great contempt for kings.

I wonder if any of you have ever seen a king by the grace of God. It is a tremendous experience. I remember as a young man on the streets of Berlin I found myself taking off my hat. There was the opening of a gate, the prancing of horses and sitting in a coach was Kaiser Wilhelm, by the grace of God, German Emperor, and King of Prussia. We had seen it many times but it impressed us. We were living with a German widow. One evening we were discussing Wilhelm and suddenly she struck the table and said, "He is your Emperor, stop!

36-5-122

The difficulty of the kingship based on divine power was the difficulty of the succession. You may have a man who could really rule the group in the way that the group ought to be ruled so that the stream of divinity goes on. But the big difficulty was that the sons were not like their father. We like to believe that this is not true. Sometimes it is not but, on a whole, nature is curiously democratic so that the sons of great kings may be poor individuals. There naturally grew up some way of curbing the power of the king and making him think of someone besides himself. There grew up out of this the idea of the king and council. They had the right to advise the king and in time became very powerful. The king and council and not the king was the real ruler. Then they declared their rights and said that they would have some voice in the government. The idea of democracy gradually emerged.

There were several comings of democracy. As in the Greek states there was the Aristocratic Democracy. It was a natural and logical thing. There were in the state certain persons who had power and wealth. These people thought that they ought to have a voice in the government and they usually took it. When we refer back to the Magna Carta, it was declared by the aristocracy of England that they were going to have some voice in King John's government. It may be the aristocracy of Plato or Aristotle, but it composed a small part of the people of the land. They could interrupt the king, they could stand in the presence of the king with their hats on to show that they were equal to him. If they were dukes of England they could call the king cousin.

It was that equality in the small mass of the people but the great mass was not represented. It caused the earlier philosophers some difficulty in explaining this. Most of the slaves being born slaves were happy as slaves and the great mass of people were slaves. And gradually after that development of democracy among the aristocracy, a few people began to rule the government. That was the true nature of the French Revolution. There were other people who were coming up on account of the Industrial Revolution. Gradually they began to demand some voice in the French Government. At first, this was not a demand for democracy in a sense as we think we understand it today. It was a demand for admission into the places of power on the part of a rich enterprise. It is a subtle difficulty that comes back time and time again. When you have a certain few to form the center of power in a country whether large or small there comes a question, "What is the object of their ruling"?

36-5-123

Theoretically, the object of the ruling of aristocracy is to benefit the whole group. You have picked out by some process the better people of the community and they are ruling for the benefit of the community. Then what is the community? It is composed of many people, then the aristorcacy begins to rule for the benefit of the aristocracy and not for the benefit of the community. What is the community? It is the great mass of ignorant people or people who cannot be educated. The aristocracy wants to carry on the traditions of culture and usually over a long space of time the object of the ruling of the state is that ruling for the aristocracy and no one else. These other people naturally are not satisfied and sooner or later they begin to push forward and ask for a place.

The French Revolution was an attempt of the mass of people with very little education to have a part in the government. The French state belonged to them because of their very numbers. The disgust of these people who were in the revolution was something that you can only realize as you read about it. There came after that part of the French Revolution the idea of the equalitarian democracy. It was that idea that determined the democracy of that little town where I came from. One man was as good as the other. In the church, grocery store and other places one brought forth the idea that one man was the equal of the other.

We have another idea or production of the idea of democracy. Democracy was organized of equal people or people potentially equal.

The government is composed of a large part if not the majority of the state and they were to have equal voice and equal responsibility and there came the idea that the less government you have the more you will have the chance for the individual to develop. This is the idea of free individual development, the idea that the state ought to do just as little as possible has become the idea of democracy. It worked in the United States because of our great possibilities in the line of land and chances for work because of our great frontier. So that we had here that equalitarian democracy which reached its highest point under the reign of Andrew Jackson.

36-5-124

The world has changed from the more primitive forms of organization. In the case of my own little town the process of life, the process of work and the matter was pretty well known to everybody. We went to the store and looked over potatoes and if the price was too high you said, "I will not pay that for the potatoes. If you don't come down on your price, I will not buy them". You knew how clothes were made. Practically the whole of the processes were known to people. Now you are gradually transformed into another situation. Suppose you had an assembly of two hundred people like this and you suddenly got the news that the rest of the world had disappeared. No one else was living, you were the world. How far could you reproduce the world? You could do better here at Prairie View than we could do at Atlanta. You would probably be able to have electric lights until your materials were out and you probably would be able to reproduce the gas engine, that would carry you for a time. But there are other things that you could not reproduce. You would say, "How did people do these things"? Now you can get up and reach over to the telephone and if there does not appear on the table spice that has been grown in Arabia you ask, "What is the matter with the grocery system in this town"?

When as a boy we used to sing "Music in the Air" we fancy that you might hear far off chants that might have been sung. Today you can hear it but you are not mystified. I sat in my car and heard Mr. Roosevelt give his inaugural address. I was near Maridian Mississippi. We have the magic carpet. I went to see the movie where the magic carpet was shown. Mr. Patterson said he went out on one the other day with perfect safety and took very little time. The complication of life today is so tremendous that nobody knows the totality or the technique we use. In the matter of human knowledge it develops that we

have got to have specialists. Who is it today that can stand up and tell us what he has learned in psychology in the last few years. Most people have learned nothing at all. We leave it to the psychologist. You cannot put anybody in a place and have him do a job that he does not know how to do. In your city if you want water works you have got to get someone who knows how water is purified. You cannot go down and build your own water system. That may be theoretically democratic but it is not common sense. We are beginning again to change this matter of democracy in an infinite world and beginning to see in some way we have got to organize much more the manner of social control of people. In some way we have got to make the state do the intricate work that it has to do. We try to think that we have got to do this by democratic methods. In the present world they do not see how the thing can possibly work. There is one answer. We are going to do it through education. You ought to go back and read the great speech of Charles Sumner. It was a magnificant statement of the theory of democracy. He said that men who have been in slavery allthe time are not ready to go into a democracy but they must be educated and after that they will be able to take part in the government. But we come to the time when education was palatial. As to what education is going to do depends on what it is used for. For a long time it was used to keep the aristocracy in control. There is a story, I do not know how authentic it is, that one of the great difficulties of the life of the great Nevile Chamberlain was the fact that he was not an English public school man. Unless you understand the educational system in England you would not know how that is. In England a gentlemen goes to a tutor first and then to public school which is not public but private and there he was trained in mathematics and some classics and very specifically in the manner of a gentleman. After eight years he is in a position to take a particular career. He goes to Oxford and Cambridge, acquires an English accent and way of doing things. That type of education prepared the aristocracy but it did not have any thing to do with the masses of the people and today the results of that can be seen. You have the University of London but the graduate of this university is not quite the equal to the graduate of Oxford. So that when we begin to see that education is going to be a palatium, we have the necessary education for that. We have changed in the United states. At first we said education was for general knowledge so the

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person who comes out of school and begins life is going to have a general idea of what the world is. Then comes the difficulty that general knowledge does not benefit people and we then made the discovery that it was not general knowledge but it was to show man how he could earn a living. What are you in the world for except to earn a living and to know how to earn it well.

When I went out to my fiftieth anniversary at Harvard a few years ago, we had our meeting in the School of Business Administration. Years ago people would as what business has that in Harvard. It is a very important part of the school now. Every institution who does not have a School of Agriculture, Business, Journalism etc. is not a center of education. But if the objective of education is to learn the technique of work, where does democracy come in? If a man knows how to make a wagon does he know how to make a state? If you are not going to educate a man for democracy how are you going to have it? You have lost an idea that after all you can have effetive democracy. The fact is that if you are going to have education you have got to have ideals. That is the object of the state to educate people. There you have all kinds of differences of ideals. For a long time in that little town where I was born the object of education was to train the people of English descent to rule that town. They did not include Irish, Germans and very few Negroes were there. It was a matter of training certain classes.

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I have noticed with great interest the proposals that have been put forth for peace. That peace is for the white people. The things we are thinking about was in Mr. Winston Churchill's speech a few weeks ago when he forgot Ethiopia. All the plans of the white people are to dominate the world. Just as sure as you do this you cannot have a democracy, you are going to have a paradox of democracy when 50 or 60 millions of people in England are ruling 460 millions of people in India and they do not have voice in the government at all. England is a typically democratic country. If you are going to fight for democracy what are you going to include in it? The churches have tried to solve this problem but it has not been tried in politics. If you consider people who are capable of development then you come back to that belief in individualism where you have as much development as those people who are going to rule.

We go into a new idea of technology. Some people say that engineers are going to rule this country but you cannot say this because the question comes, for whom are they going to rule? You will have to get hold of experts who are ruling for the mass for they are going to see that this is done. To do this you have got to have democratic control. I can remember in old Atlanta University we had in control a small number of six or eight professors. They ruled the university. The president sat in with them. They talked things over. They gave each other a chance to talk. The discussions were always unanimous. Any important decision was unanimous and all came to the same conclusion. You see the idea of what we could have in the world. When by unselfishness experts are put into control then you have a government for the people.

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To sum up what I have said. You have got to have fullness of individualism. You have got to have individual development carried on by all men. You have got to have expert guidance to carry on the work of the government. You get it by democratic voting. The object of all this is full freedom. Compatible with this is social control. You only get this by sacrifices you will have to make for the advantages of the whole group.

COLONIAL PEOPLES AND TWO WORLD WARS

c1943

There are certain easily recognized characteristics of colonial peoples. All colonies or quasi colonies do not exhbit these characteristics in the same degree. But colonial peoples are, in the first place, poor; they exibit a degree of poverty almost unknown in civilized lands except in small depressed classes. These people are ignorant; this does not say by any means that they are stupid or incapable of learning. It means that they do not know of the scientific advances in knowledge of the last two or three centuries. They have their own cultures with some valuable survivals and some residues broken down by contact with the West. They have wide-spread use of fiction and misinterpretation of the natural phenomena and for the most part they are unable to read and write so that the accumulated wisdom in the past is largely shut out from their pen save by work of mouth and other imperfect methods of communication. These people are diseased; in some respects their health is as good as that of the leading nations, but many of the great scurges of man like smallpox, malaria and tuberculosis which have been partially conquered in the centers of modern civilization, still take terrific hold of the colonial people. Especially diseases and neglect of children are widespread.

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These people are subject more or less directly to the political control of Europe and America. Such control is considered necessary and is the base upon which the civilization of the West has been built. This contact is popularized and strengthened by caste systems based on color and race as well as poverty. It is this proposition and the wide and deep seated belief in it, that makes colonies today a great and central problem. Because it is certainly clear that if civilization depends upon colonial status for its basic support; and if this colonial status must involve poverty, ignorance and disease for the majority of men, then we fact one kind of a world. But if in this general and wide spread conclusion there is something fundamentally wrong, then the sooner we realize it, the better.

We may perhaps more carefully approach this problem, if we consider certain colonies, or so-called colonies as they exist today. We may begin with India, characterized by a vast population, intrically differenciated by race and color, with over 90 percent of illiteracy; ignorance of modern science and technique is wide spread; divided among diverse religions and languages, and with varying degrees of cultural status. Disease is widespread, there is a vast death rate among children and unrest and dissatisfaction concerning the social condition and the political relation both to the British Empire and to the Indian Princes whom the Empire supports. There is no vaster nor more poignant problem which faced the First World War;which developed between the two world wars and which is going to be a major world problem after this war. Does the civilization of Great Britain depend upon the continuance with only slow and gradual change of present conditions in India.

We may turn to a second country: China, which from some points of view might be called an independent country, but which as a matter of fact because of the influence which the West have had for centuries upon the Chinese economy is practically in the colonial status. Here again we have poverty coupled with incessant toil. There are no harder workers in the world than Chinese coolies and yet the wages from their hard labor gives them scarcely enought to eat and to wear; their whole life is hard and unlimited toil. Despite an ancient and valuable culture, their ignorance of the advance of science in the last three centuries is so dismal that their industrial organizations is almost entirely dependent upon Western exploitation; their wide-spread victims of disease. What is said of China and India may be repeated of Indonesia. There to be sure, as in other parts of the Eastern World, Western exploitation is coupled with the exploitation of the Chinese merchant. Here is a vast change of islands with ancient culture, ignorance of modern science, illiterarcy and hard work. The toil of the people is chiefly concentered upon things which they themselves do not use but which are transported abroad, and the kind and aim of their industry is determined by the investments of the Dutch, the British and the Americans. There is some effort at education but among the 80,000,000 Indo-

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nesians there are not as many children in school as among the 13 million American Negroes. The revenue from these countries, just as the revenue to Great Britain from India is immense, but the wage paid are so low that poverty is the lot of the average native. Africa tells a similar tale within a difference only in the degree to which the native workers have been pitched into European machine. The African worker has been only partially absorbed into modern industry. He mines gold, diamonds, cooper and tin. He raises vegetable oil and fibers, but still to a degree he lives under his ancient tribal conditions and his broken culture is dominated by the interest of present and future industrial development in the West. The African laborer is consequently poor, illiterate and diseased. He is part of that mass of labor upon whose bent back the civilization of Europe largely rests. The Caribbean area approximates more or less the colonial status. The political domination varies; it is apparently absent in independent countries like the Domenican Republic and Haiti; it is modified in British colonies like Jamaica and Bermuda . Nevertheless the economic organization in Europe, the civilization of the Western World depend upon the work and personal service of West Indians, and the West Indians again are poor with low wage, with inadequate clothing and housing and with wide spread illiteracy. In Central and South America the pattern varies by the fact that home-born elements exploits and rule natives of the land and are the ones who carry on the government and who share in the spoils of exploitation based on European and American investment. The results however upon the Indian, Negro and Latin workers and the mixture of the three, is the same. There is the great mass of desperately poor illiterate and diseased workers whose conditions are the corner stone upon which prosperity and civilization both for South America and Western Europe is built. In the Middle East and the Balkans is something of the same situation. Which means that the majority of mankind are today in poverty, ignorance and disease because the domination of their work and their wage is in the hands of the Europeans or of those who are

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their own countryman, but share home with foreign spoilers. The interest of those dominated empires, nations and classes are regarded as necessarily involving the degradation of the colonial mass. There is no counteract to this two points of view.

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Colonial Peoples & Two World Wars — undated

CHARACTERISTICS

3 Scourges
CONTROL { POLITICAL POWER / INVESTMENT
CASTE – TRIBUTE

Civil Service

COLONIES

South AFRICA – LAND + GOLD
CONGO – LABOR + COPPER
W. AFRICA – OIL – COCOA – INVESTMENT
INDIA – POLITICAL POWER – INVEST.
CHINA – LABOR – INVESTMENT

POOLING of POWER
LATIN AMERICA
WEST INDIES
BALKANS

38-13-250

MAJORITY of MEN
CIVILIZATION
ANALOGY
{ Second Class / INFERIORITY

18th CENTURY REVOLT
NOBILITY
DEMOCRACY FREEDOM EQUALITY
SCIENCE & CAPITAL
TECHNIK MONOPOLY

COMPARATIVE CULTURES
WORLD DOMINATION
CURB ON CULTURES
CURB of DEMOCRACY
EMPIRE of LABOR & CAPITAL

CONCENTERED CAPITAL

REVOLT of CAPITAL

FIRST WORLD WAR

COLONIAL AID

COLONIAL PEOPLES AND TWO WORLD WARS

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COLONIES

3 SCOURGES

CONTROL — { POLITICAL / INVESTMENT

CASTE - TRIBUTE { INDIA - 1900 = $30 000 MIL / 1900 - $200 MILLION ANNUALLY

CIVIL SERVIC

LAND - SOUTH AFRICA

80% POPULATION own 8% of LAND

WAGES 50¢ a day +

— 1935 - $17,000, Million, Gold, Diamonds

INVESTMENT — NIGERIA to LEVER Bros.

TIN — 50-80% dividends

25¢ a day wages

CHINA - SILK, TEA, CHINA

Factory Hours 10-12, 7d. Opium War - INDEMNITY - LOANS

3-4 Cts an Hour TAXES — TARIF

INDIA

$\frac{2}{3}$ — to Capital - L — $\frac{1}{3}$ to 33 Middle.

$\frac{1}{3}$ — 66 Laborers

$ 25 yr. — 4-7 factory W-la.

69% (Bombay 1911) in 1 room

HEALTH - EDUCATION

90% illet., India, 9 million in School (350 M)

20¢ per cap (U.S. $17) Death rate 26 (U.S. 12)

Infant mortality 200 per 1000 births (U.S. 92)

600 Calories a day instead of 3600

INDONESIA - 2 mill. in school

CASTE

INCOME, HOUSING, SHANGHAI,
EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY
POLITICAL RIGHTS

POOLING of POWER.

CHINA.

LATIN AMERICA - WEST INDIES

BALKANS - EAST

MAJORITY of MEN

SECOND STORY

RACISM

BACKWARD

SUPPORT of CIVILIZATION

ANALOGY

EUROPEAN STATE

PRIVILEGE

FREEDOM

SCIENCE + TECHNIK

MONOPOLY of CAPITAL

COMPARATIVE CULTURE

DOMINATION of OTHER CULTURES

CURB on DEMOCRACY

ALLIANCE of LABOR + CAPITAL

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REVOLT of GERMAN CAPITAL

1ST WORLD WAR

COLONIAL AID

MEN, MATERIALS

COLONIAL UPSURGE

INDUSTRIALIZATION of ASIA

FACTORIES in CHINA

1900-200 1930-2000

INDIA

INDUSTRY - POLITICS

DYARCHY

JAPAN

1917-27

Exports 1900-100; 1934-159

AFRICA

UNIONS — CONGRESS W.A.

~~INDIRECT RULE~~

OPINION

38-13-254

REVOLT of RUSSIA

DEPRESSION & SUICIDE of EUROPE

THE BEAST

38-13-255

GERMANY, ITALY, SPAIN
WITHDRAW
JAPAN SEIZES ASIA
CAPITAL - LABOR UNITE
G+ BRITAIN + U.S.A.
FRANCE REVOLTS.
RUSSIA DEFEND HERSELF
CHINA
+
COLONIES
QUASI - COLONIES } APPEASED
ATLANTIC CHARTER
LEND-LEASE

2nd WORLD WAR

DEMOCRACY REEXAMINED
MASS { GENIUS
EQUALITY { INCOME
INTELLIGENCE
HEALTH
FREEDOM
CULTURE - ART

COST
PROFITS
EXPORT & IMPORT
SCHOOLS & SCIENCE

IMPULSE
RELIGION

(11)

no date

Colonies in the Post-War World

by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

On October 16, 1944, I attended a meeting in the State Department in Washington, D. C., where ninety-six national organizations were represented by one hundred and twelve delegates. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Stetinius, the under-Secretary of State, who had present the staff which had worked with him on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. At that conference, as representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I brought up briefly the statements in the Dumbarton Oaks declaration which touched the matter of colonies. I said

"As I have gone through the published proposals at Dumbarton Oaks, I am depressed to realize with what consistency the matter of colonies has been passed over. In chapter one, paragraph three, the emphasis is on the fact that

this is a union of nations, not of races, groups, or organizations of men, not recognized as nations; in chapter two, paragraph one, peace-loving "States" alone may join the Union; in chapter six, apparently an aggrieved party must be a state in order to complain or appear before the Council; similarly in chapter seven, no colonies as such can appeal for hearing before the International Court of Justice. Elaborate effort is made to protect states from aggression, but I find no provisions in chapter seven even to consider aggression of a nation on its own colonial peoples while apparently international military force can be called in to suppress colonial revolt. Indeed in paragraph seven of that chapter it seems definitely to say that colonial disputes lie entirely beyond the jurisdiction of this proposed government of men. The Economic and Social Council set up in this chapter offers some ray of hope: it can recommend and consider complaints and situations; but there is no direct power to investigate conditions. The Council is appointed by eighteen states with no

colonial participation indicated. In other words this proposal, as I read it, virtually says to six hundred million human beings, if not to a majority of mankind, that the only way to human equality is the philanthropy of masters who have historic and strong interest in preserving their present power and income."

This was part of a much longer statement which if I had had time I should have made. The longer statement was as follows: In the proposals made at the Dumbarton Oaks conference, apparently one-third of the peoples of the earth, and possibly a majority of mankind, are to have no direct representation in the general international organization. I refer primarily to the population living in colonies. Classifying autonomus colonies like Canada and Australia as Free Nations in the meaning of the proposals, there remain not less than six hundred million persons disfranchised in the General Assembly, and represented only by the master nations. In addition there are on earth, a number of other nations, nominally independent, who by reason of accumulated debt owed creditor nations and current control of

their labor and industry, by absentee capital, will be in no position to act independently or speak freely, even if admitted to seats in the Assembly. Thus perhaps a thousand millions of human beings, will have no direct voice, nor exercise any real degree of democratic control in the proposed United Nations.

There is no need here to discuss the advantages or disadvantage of modern imperialism, nor to attempt to assess the gain or loss to peoples arising from their subordination to the great nations. That the colonial system has involved in the past much that was horrible and inhuman will be admitted. That vast numbers of backward peoples have made notable cultural advance under the colonial regime is equally true. Despite this, if the world believes in democracy; and is fighting a war of incredible cost to establish democracy as a way of life, it is both intolerable in ethics and dangerous in statecraft to allow, for instance, eight million Belgians to represent ten million Congolese in the new internation,

7½ mill Portuguese 5 — 11 mill on Cabo Verde

without giving these black folk any voice even to complain. It is equally unfair that nine million Dutchmen should be the sole arbiters and spokesmen for sixty-seven million brown men of the South Seas. It cannot be reconciled with any philosophy of democracy, that fifty million white folk of the British Empire should be able to make the destiny of four hundred and fifty million yellow, brown and black people a matter solely of their own internal decision. Or again, inside that same empire, it is astonishing to see among the leading "Free Nations" battling for democracy, the Union of South Africa, where two million white folk, not only in international affairs but openly in their established government, hold eight million black natives in a subordination unequalled elsewhere in the world.

This is not for a moment to deny the technique and elementary schools which Belgium has given black Congo; or the fact that the Netherlands has perhaps the most liberal colonial program of any modern empire; or that Great Britain gave the African freedom and education after slavetrade and slavery. But it is equally

true that the advance of colonial peoples has been hesitant and slow, and retarded unnecessarily because of the denial of democratic method to the natives, and because their treatment and government have had and still have, objects and methods incompatible with their best interests and highest progress. The substantial and permanent advance of a group cannot be allowed to depend on the philanthropy of a master, if the desires and initiative of its members are given no freedom, no democratic expression; and if on the other hand, the will of the master is swayed by strong motives of selfish aggrandizement and gain. How often this selfish interest has prevailed in the past is too well-known to require reminder. But today the temptation is stronger rather than less: with Holland reeling under murder, theft and destruction, can the world expect unselfish surrender by the present generation of the profit of rich colonies capable of

helping restore her losses? Is it likely that Belgium after her crucifixion will be satisfied with less profit from Congo and greater expenditure for education, health and social service? With Great Britain straining every nerve to satisfy the demands of her own laboring classes, is it likely that she will of her own initiative extend these reforms to India coupled with the autonomy necessary for Indian initiative and self government?

No. The united effort of world opinion should now be brought earnestly to bear on the nations owning colonies to make them realize, that great as the immediate sacrifice may be, it is the only way to PEACE. To set up now an internation with near half mankind disfranchised and socially enslaved is to court disaster. In the past and the recent past we know how the lure of profit from rich, unlettered and helpless countries has tempted great and civilized nations and plunged them into bloody rivalry. We know what part colonial aggression has played in this present world disaster. We know that capital investment can earn more in Africa,

The temptation in this situation was that colonial proprietorship gave the leading countries of the world certain tremendous advantages. The colonial

contribution to imperial government was in itself small and often an actual loss; but to the individual investors in these countries, cheap labor and cheap raw material was the basis of tremendous and increasing wealth which made the luxury and power of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries remarkable. To enter into rivalry with these countries it was necessary for Germany, Italy and Japan to seek the control of colonies and in that way to gain a vast number of men, wide stretches of land and abundance of raw material.

The first world wa-

Asia and the South Seas, because there it suffers few of the restrictions of civilized life; that the foreign investor in these lands is himself the prime ruler and seat of power and without local democratic control, he has but to appease public opinion at home, which is not only ignorant of the local facts, but perhaps all too willing to remain ignorant as long as dividends continue.

If this situation is not frankly faced and steps toward remedy attempted, we shall seek in vain to find peace and security; we shall leave the door wide open for renewed international ~~strife~~ rivalry to secure colonies and eventually and inevitably for colonial revolt.

Nor is it seeking the impossible to attempt this change. The centuries when we envisaged a world of peoples capable of civilization, but engulfed by hordes of folk whose progress was unthinkable, have disappeared along with witches and alchemy. The phenomenal rise of the Russian peasant, the advance of Negroes in America; indeed the position today of the great mass of the peoples of Europe,

is proof, to those who want it, that in the backward peoples of the world, civilization has a rich reservoir for its restoration from disaster, and not merely a burden of relief. The method of realizing this is not ~~more~~ solely philanthropic uplift, but a breaking of the bonds of suppression so as to encourage self-expression, self-help and initiative.

The General Assembly of the United Nations should begin by insisting that there sit in the assembly, not simply representatives of the Free Nations, but with them representatives of all colonial peoples over whom they claim control. The matter of the number of such colonial delegates can well wait on time and experience. The method of their choice and the fair representation of all angles of opinion can be gradually adjusted as the Economic and Social Council gains power to investigate. But it is absolutely essential that at the beginning, the voices of all peoples that on earth do well be raised fearlessly and openly in the parliament of man to seek justice, complain of oppression and demand equality.

Difficult as this program will doubtless prove it will not be nearly as difficult, horrible and utterly devastating as two world wars in a single generation.

This places the matter of colonies in the post-war world squarely before us and perhaps I might here emphasis this proposed situation:

One, the government of the proposed United Nations will consist of five great powers comprising perhaps five hundred million white and yellow people who will rule the world through a Security Council and have military power to enforce their decision. However, the three hundred and fifty million yellow people represented by China may not for historic reasons be recognized as racial equals and because of present economic disruption may be largely in the power of white nations.

Two, an indeterminate number of free nations, most white folk and comprising about one thousand million people, will function in an assembly in which each nation is represented; the Assembly will have the right of petition,

discussion, advice and action insofar as the Security Council allows. Some of these nations, however, are so under the economic domination of great powers that they will hadly be able to take an independent stand. The assembly will choose representatives of six nations who will be associated with the great powers in the Security Council; but their ability to influence those powers will depend largely upon the method of voting in the Security Council which has not yet been decided.

Three, there will be six hundred million colored and black folk inhabiting colonies owned by white nations, who will have no rights that the white people are bound to respect. Any revolt on their part can be put down by military force at the disposal of the Security Council. This mass of people will have no right of appeal to the Security Council or to the Assembly. They will have no standing before the International Court of Justice. Any dispute concerning their status lies beyond the jurisdiction of the Security Council or the Assembly.

The Economic and Social Council of the Assembly may make recommendations and consider complaints but they will apparently have no direct power of investigation; and on this Economic and Social Council no colony will have representation. It may be said that the interests of these colonial peoples will be represented in the world government by the master nations. In the same way it was said in 1787 in the United States that slaves would be represented by their masters. Courts Property Family

Four, there is no designated function for the enemy states which have been guilty of imperial aggression in this war. They will comprise perhaps one hundred fifty million people. Presumably they will eventually take their places among the friendly nations and possibly at some day among the great powers.

Evidently the one weak point in this outline for a government of men is the fact that at least one-fourth of the inhabitants of the world have no power part in it; no democratic power, not even a recognized right of petition. This puts all effort at reform and uplift on the shoulders of imperial countries and

does this at a time when the countries because of loss and disruption in this war are least able to undertake philanthropic enterprise.

insert A

Evidently there is indicated here the necessity of earnest effort to avoid the non-democratic and race inferiority philosophy here involved. There should be consultation among colonial peoples and their friends as to just what measures ought to be taken. This consultation should look toward asking for the following successive steps:

One, representation of the colonial peoples along side the master peoples in the assembly. Whether such representatives should at first have a right to vote or only the right to complain and petition, should be determined by the assembly.

Two, the organization of a Mandate Commission under the Economic and Social Council with distinct power to investigate complaints and conditions in colonies and make public their findings.

Three, a clear statement of the intentions of each imperial power gradually but definitely to take all measures designed eventually to raise the peoples of colonies to a condition of complete political and economic equality with the peoples of the master nations and eventually either to incorporate them into the polity of the master nations or to allow them to become independent free peoples.

* The reply of Secretary Stetinius to my statement was off the record so far as exact words were concerned but amounted to saying that the proposals were trying to leave the door open at least for a consideration of colonial problems but he did not go further than that.

This, of course, is rather serious; we are in this war even more than in the last war facing the problem of democracy: how far are we going to have a world where the people who are ruled are going to have effective voice in

their government. We have stated and reiterated that this democratic method of government is going to be applied just as widely as possible. But of course in this program we recognize that beyond the logic of democracy looms the inevitable logic of facts; and the fact is that most of the people of the world have not been ruled in the past by democratic methods; and that the progress toward democracy has been disappointingly slow.

A century ago the explanation of this was clear. You had in the world a minority of people who were capable of civilization; who by their inherent gifts and long and difficult trial and experience were the natural rulers of the world. They composed most of the white people of the world, although even among those people there was a certain proportion of the lower classes who were incapable because of deficiency in natural gifts to take effective part in democracy.

On the other hand, the majority of the people of the world, composing mainly the colored and black races were naturally so inferior that it was not

to be hoped that in any reasonable time, if ever, they would be capable of self-government. This was supposed to be proven by their history, and current scientific investigation seemed to back up historical judgment.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century there has come great change in these judgments. In the first place we have practically given up the idea that there is any considerable portion of the civilized peoples who cannot by education and by the training of experience be made into effective voters and administrators in democratic governments. Further than this we are not nearly so sure today as we used to be of the inherent inferiority of the majority of the people of the earth who happen to be colored. We know, of course, that skin color itself has no particular significance and the other physical characteristics whatever their significance are not certain indications of inferiority. The

testimony of history we, of course, realize is not decisive. History has been written deliberately to emphasize the accomplishments of certain people and decry or omit the work of other people. It is always astonishing for Americans to contrast the history of the Revolutionary War as set down in English and American textbooks. In addition to that the testimony of biology and anthropology and of various social studies convince us more and more that absolute and essential differences between races as self-perpetuating groups are difficult to fix if not non-existent. That consequently we have no way of being certain that education and experience will not do for the backward races of man what it has already begun to do for the depressed classes in civilized states.

But these facts do not affect our actions today, because government and economic organization has already built a tremendous structure upon the nineteenth century conception of race inferiority. This is what the imperialism of our day means. In order, therefore, to judge our present attitude and proposed action toward colonies we must note the growth of the colonial idea.

Roman imperialism did not involve national inferiority. It was simply a matter of political control and centralized taxation with a large degree of autonomy left to the individual states which submitted to Rome. The taxation, to be sure, was often oppressive and amounted to considerable subjection but the Roman Empire was not ~~any~~ by any means the counterpart of modern empires. When during the Middle Ages Rome fell to pieces the world established itself on the basis of separate states who were brought into correspondence with each other through trade and conference. A Marco Polo interpreted an independent Asia to an unknown Europe; and Othello, real or ficticious, was a respected stranger from Africa who offered aid to an European king. There arose in Asia and in the Sudan independent kingdoms equal in many respects and certainly distinguished from each other by no evident superiority or inferiority. It was the discovery of America and the sudden demand of labor supplied by the African slave trade that changed this; that based the new European capitalism upon extreme subjection of labor to an organized

plantation system; and that rationalized slavery by a new doctrine of inevitable and unchangeable inferiority especially so far as the blacks were concerned.

Negro slavery in America was the passing phase of a great world labor problem but on it was built a new imperialism. Great Britain, from an empire supported by slavery, came to be an empire ruling a wide stretch of countries where cheap labor more or less compulsory exported valuable raw material in large quantity to manufacturing centers in the United Kingdom. Other countries followed suit especially Holland and France. Spain sought to reorganize her empire of conquest and extortion but became in the long run subject to the British organization of industry. Finally, Germany and Italy seeing the tremendous advantage which imperial capital gave to Great Britain, Holland and France tried to enter into effective competition.

The temptation in this situation was that colonial proprietorship gave the leading countries of the world certain tremendous advantages. The colonial

contribution to imperial government was in itself small and often an actual loss; but to the individual investors in these countries, cheap labor and cheap raw material was the basis of tremendous and increasing wealth which made the luxury and power of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries remarkable. To enter into rivalry with these countries it was necessary for Germany, Italy and Japan to seek the control of colonies and in that way to gain a vast number of men, wide stretches of land and abundance of raw material.

The first world war was a war of rivalry between imperial powers, with the exploitation of Asia and Africa as the prize to be won. Germany felt that her share in Africa was too small to be commensurate with her manufacturing, commercial and technical possibilities. Japan felt that European imperialism was monopolizing the exploitation of Asia in which she was by situation and race the natural leader.

Let us now pause to see what the imperial setup between the first and second world war actually was. We note in that perior 7 imperial powers. Naming them in the order of the number of people which they dominated they were: first, Great Britain, who has in her colonies (not counting the autonomous regions like Canada, Australia and New Zealand) 495 million people ruled by the 50 million in the United Kingdom and including two million whites in the Union of South Africa. Second, comes Japan where, before the present war, 73 million in Japan proper ruled 68 million including the disputed Chinese territory of Manchucuo. Next France where 38 million ruled 71 million folk. Then comes the Netherlands where 9 million rule 67 million. Then the United States of North America where 130 million ruled 19 million of people including the inhabitants of Alaska and the Phillipines. Findally comes Belgium where $8\frac{1}{2}$ million rule $10\frac{1}{2}$ million in the Belgian Congo & Portugal where $7\frac{1}{2}$ million rule 11 million

Another way of listing these colonies would be to take into account the disproportion between the numbers in the ruling class and those ruled. This would put the British Empire again first with each British subject ruling ten colonials. Next would come the Netherlands where each Dutch citizen rules between 8 and 9 colonials. In France a citizen rules something less than two colonials. While in Japan, Portugal and Belgium he rules a little more than one. The United States is the only imperial power where the number of colonials ruled is very much smaller than the number of citizens amounting to over six rulers to one ruled.

Of course mere numbers do not give the whole picture. A much more revealing study would give the extent and kind of land and the sort and value of the materials. Beyond this we need, and have never had, a very careful study of the industrial and financial arrangement of colonial organization:

at least half the world area a Colonial

just what has been actually invested and by whom; how has the invested wealth been used in the colony; what has been the rate of profit and wages and how far the investment has helped the colony by taxation. It has been pretty easy in the past by manipulation of investment figures to argue that the rate of return for colonial investment has been low and the profit to the colonial people high. But such factual studies are absolutely disproven: first, by the astonishing way in which capital investment has poured into the colonies; and second, by the fact that the colonial people almost without exception have the lowest standard of living on earth with the fewest social services for education, health and other means of social uplift and almost no chance to participate in government or even to voice their complaints in an orderly manner.

These broad facts, although difficult to substantiate by actual figures, are an indictment against colonial government to which the world must listen. This fact was felt and felt strongly at the time of the Treaty of

Versailles; and in the organization of the League of Nations, advantage was taken of the situation of the German colonies to attempt a solution to the whole colonial problem. The German colonies were distributed among France, Great Britain and Japan under the control of a Mandates Commission. The Mandates Commission was supposed to see that the people of these colonies were fairly treated; and that something was done for their social uplift and their economic betterment. The statute that governed the Mandate Commission was, however, deliberately limited in such a way that the commission really had very little power. It could not of its own initiative inquire into or investigate facts in the various colonies; the colonial peoples themselves had no vested right of appeal to the Commission and as a matter of fact the mandated colony soon became indistinguishable from the other colonies of the countries holding the mandates. It had been hoped that the opposite would

happen and that the authority of the Mandate Commission would eventually extend, not only to the former German colonies, but to all colonies of all nations. This never took place and the only organ of the League of Nations that helped the colonial situation was the International Labor Office which succeeded in setting-up certain minimum standards of labor usage.

Meantime, between the two world wars there was at first an intensified effort, particularly in the British Empire and to some extent in France, to increase colonial exploitation in order to repay cost of war. This led to bitter complaints especially in British West Africa and finally to a colonial movement there which secured for five of the colonies the right of elected representation in the Governor's Councils; but these councils continued to have a majority of appointed officials representing the home government and also representing large investment interests in England. Elsewhere on the continent, in Kenya and in the Union of South Africa the deprivation of colonial people of their lands

continued; while in Asia the new Japanese imperial expansion gained headway and purpose. Among the Dutch colonies some effort was made to increase the participation of colonial peoples in government and to systematize education. In the Belgian Congo elementary education under the Catholic Church was broadened in extent and recognition of local government throughout tribal organizations; but no secondary or higher education and no participation in the colonial government was encouraged.

The second World War, therefore, found the colonial question really unsettled and was precipitated by the determination of Italy to enter upon an imperial career in Africa. On the part of Germany there was distinct and increasing pressure for the return of her colonies and for even larger colonial expansion. Thus the problem of colonies has been certainly a main cause of two world wars and unless it is frankly faced and its settlement begun, it may easily cause a third.

This funds us today facing an unsettled problem and a problem far greater than the number of people apparently involved might lead us to think. The colonial organization today is primarily economic. It is a method of carrying on industry and commerce and of distributing wealth. As such it not only confines colonial people to a low standard of living and encourages by reason of its high profit to investors a determined and interested belief in the inferiority of certain races but it also affects the situation of the working classes and minorities in civilized countries.

When, for instance, during and after this war the working people of Great Britain, the Netherlands, France and Belgium in particular are going to demand certain costly social improvements from the government: the prevention of unemployment, a rising standard of living, health insurance, increased education of children; the large cost of these improvements must be met by increased public taxation falling with greater weight than ever heretofore upon the rich. This

means that the temptation to recoup and balance the financial burden of increased taxation by investment in colonies where social services are at their lowest and standards of living below the requirements of civilization, are going to definitely increase; and the disposition of parties on the left, liberal parties and philanthropy to press for colonial improvement will be silenced by the bribe of vastly increased help of government to better their condition. The working people of the civilized world will thus largely be induced to put their political power behind Imperialism and democracy in Europe will continue to impede and nullify democracy in Asia and Africa.

In this way the modern world after this war may easily be lulled to sleep and to forget that the exclusion of something between one-fourth and one-half of the whole population of the world from participation in democratic government and socialized wealth is a direct threat to the spread of democracy and a certain

promise of future war; and of war not simply as justifiable revolt on the part of colonial peoples who are increasing in intelligence and efficiency, but also of recurring wars of envy and greed because of the present inequitable distribution of colonial gain among civilized nations.

Moreover, the continuation of vested interest in the theory of racial inferiority and the dislike of minorities of any sort will be encouraged but failure to face the problem of the future of colonies.

I appeal to you as representatives of a minority which in this war has suffered more gravely than any other, not only to sympathize with this vaster minoirty but that you consider the colonial problem as an integral part of your own problem of emancipation and justice. The problem of those hundreds of millions of people on whom the world has walked with careless and insolent feet.

about 1945

Colonies in the Post-War World

by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

On October 16, 1944, I attended a meeting in the State Department in Washington, D. C., where ninety-six national organizations were represented by one hundred and twelve delegates. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Stetinius, the under-Secretary of State, who had present the staff which had worked with him on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. At that conference, as representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I brought up briefly the statements in the Dumbarton Oaks declaration which touched the matter of colonies. I said

"As I have gone through the published proposals at Dumbarton Oaks, I am depressed to realize with what consistency the matter of colonies has been passed over. In chapter one, paragraph three, the emphasis is on the fact that

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this is a union of nations, not of races, groups, or organizations of men, not recognized as nations; in chapter two, paragraph one, peace-loving "States" alone may join the Union; in chapter six, apparently an aggrieved party must be a state in order to complain or appear before the Council; similarly in chapter seven, no colonies as such can appeal for hearing before the International Court of Justice. Elaborate effort is made to protect states from aggression, but I find no provisions in chapter seven even to consider aggression of a nation on its own colonial peoples while apparently international military force can be called in to suppress revolt. Indeed in paragraph seven of that chapter it seems definitely to say that colonial disputes lie entirely beyond the jurisdiction of this proposed government of men. The Economic and Social Council set up in this chapter offers some ray of hope: it can recommend and consider complaints and situations; but there is no direct power to investigate conditions. The Council is appointed by eighteen states with no

colonial participation indicated. In other words this proposal, as I read it, virtually says to six hundred million human beings, if not to a majority of mankind, that the only way to human equality is the philanthropy of masters who have historic and strong interest in preserving their present power and income."

This was part of a much longer statement which if I had had time I should have made. The longer statement was as follows: in the proposals made at the Dumbarton Oaks conference, apparently one-third of the peoples of the earth, and possibly a majority of mankind, are to have no direct representation in the general international organization. I refer primarily to the population living in colonies. Classifying autonomus colonies like Canada and Australia as Free Nations in the meaning of the proposals, there remain not less than six hundred million persons, disfranchised in the General Assembly, and represented only by the master nations. In addition there are on earch, a number of other nations, nominally independent, who by reason of accumulated debt owed creditor nations, and current control of

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their labor and industry, by absentee capital, will be in no position to act independently or speak freely, even if admitted to seats in the Assembly. Thus perhaps a thousand millions of human beings, will have no direct voice, nor exercise any real degree of democratic control in the proposed United Nations.

There is no need here to discuss the advantages or disadvantage of modern imperialism, nor to attempt to assess the gain or loss to peoples arising from their subordination to the great nations. That the colonial system has involved in the past much that was horrible and inhuman will be admitted. That vast numbers of backward people have made notable cultural advance under the colonial regime is equally true. Despite this, if the world believes in democracy; and is fighting a war of incredible cost to establish democracy as a way of life, it is both intolerable in ethics and dangerous in statecraft to allow, for instance, eight million Belgians to represent ten million Congolese in the new internation,

without giving these black folk any voice even to complain. It is equally unfair that nine million Dutchmen should be the sole arbiters and spokesmen for sixty-seven million brown men of the South Seas. It cannot be reconciled with any philosophy of democracy, that fifty million white folk of the British Empire should be able to make the destiny of four hundred and fifty million yellow, brown and black people a matter solely of their own internal decision. Or again inside that same empire, it is astonishing to see among the leading "Free Nations" battling for democracy, the Union of South Africa, where two million white folk, not only in international affairs but openly in their established government, hold eight million black natives in a subordination unequalled elsewhere in the world.

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This is not for a moment to deny the technique and elementary schools which Belgium has given black Congo; or the fact that the Netherlands has perhaps the most liberal colonial program of any modern empire; or that Great Britain gave the African freedom and education after slavetrade and slavery. But it is equally

true that the advance of colonial peoples has been hesitant and slow, and retarded unnecessarily because of the denial of democratic method to the natives, and because their treatment and government have had and still have, objects and methods incompatible with their best interests and highest progress. The substantial and permanent advance of a group cannot be allowed to depend on the philanthropy of a master, if the desires and initiative of its members are given no freedom, no democratic expression; and if on the other hand, the will of the master is swayed by strong motives of selfish aggrandizement and gain. How often this selfish interest has prevailed in the past is too well-known to require reminder. But today the temptation is stronger rather than less: with Holland reeling under murder, theft and destruction, can the world expect unselfish surrender by the present generation of the profit of rich colonies capable of

helping restore her losses? Is it likely that Belgium after her crucifixion will be satisfied with less profit from Congo and greater expenditure for education, health and social service? With Great Britain straining every nerve to satisfy the demands of her own laboring classes, is it likely that she will of her own initiative extend these reforms to India coupled with the autonomy necessary for Indian initiative and self government?

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No. The united effort of world opinion should now be brought earnestly to bear on the nations owning colonies to make them realize, that great as the immediate sacrifice may be, it is the only way. To set up now an internation with near half mankind disfranchised and socially enslaved is to court disaster. In the past and the recent past we know how the lure of profit from rich, unlettered and helpless countries has tempted great and civilized nations and plunged them into bloody rivalry. We know what part colonial aggression has played in this present world disaster. We know that capital investment can earn more in Africa,

Asia and the South Seas, because there it suffers few of the restrictions of civilized life; that the foreign investor in these lands is himself the prime ruler and seat of power and without local democratic control, he has but to appease public opinion at home, which is not only ignorant of the local facts, but perhaps all too willing to remain ignorant as long as dividends continue.

If this situation is not frankly faced and steps toward remeby attempted, we shall seek in vain to find peace and security; we shall leave the door wide open for renewed international strife to secure colonies and eventually and inevitably for colonial revolt.

Nor is it seeking the impossible to attempt this change. The centuries when we envisaged a world of peoples capable of civilization, but engulfed by hordes of folk whose progress was unthinkable, have disappeared along with witches and alchemy. The phenomenal rise of the Russian peasant, the advance of Negroes in America; indeed the position today of the great mass of the peoples of Europe,

is proof, to those who want it, that in the backward peoples of the world, civilization has a rich reservoir for its restoration from disaster, and not merely a burden of relief. The method of realizing this is not mere philanthropic uplift, but a breaking of the bonds of suppression so as to encourage self-expression, self-help and initiative.

The General Assembly of the United Nations should begin by insisting that there sit in the assembly, not simply representatives of the Free Nations, but with them representatives of all colonial peoples over whom they daim control. The matter of the number of such colonial delegates can well wait on time and experience. The method of their choice and the fair representation of all angles of opinion can be gradually adjusted as the Economic and Social Council gains power to investigate. But it is absolutely essential that at the beginning, the voices of all peoples that on earth do well be raised fearlessly and openly in the parliament of man to seek justice, complain of oppression and demand equality.

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Difficult as this program will doubtless prove, it will not be nearly as difficult, horrible and utterly devastating as two world wars in a single generation.

This places the matter of colonies in the post-war world squarely before us and perhaps I might here emphasis this proposed situation:

One, the government of the proposed United Nations will consist of five great powers comprising perhaps five hundred million white and yellow people who will rule the world through a Security Council and have military power to enforce their decision. However, the three hundred and fifty million yellow people represented by China may not for historic reasons be recognized as racial equals and because present economic disruption may be largely in the power of white nations.

Two, an indeterminate number of free nations, most white folk and comprising about one thousand million people, will function in an assembly in which each nation is represented; the Assembly will have the right of petition,

discussion, advice and action insofar as the Security Council allows. Some of these nations, however, are so under the economic domination of great powers that they will hadly be able to take an independent stand. The assembly will choose representatives of six nations who will be associated with the great powers in the Security Council; but their ability to influence those powers will depend largely upon the method of voting in the Security Council which has not yet been decided.

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Three, there will be six hundred million colored and black folk inhabiting colonies owned by white nations, who will have no rights that the white people are bound to respect. Any revolt on their part can be put down by military force at the disposal of the Security Council. This mass of people will have no right of appeal to the Security Council or to the Assembly. They will have no standing before the International Court of Justice. Any dispute concerning their status lies beyond the jurisdiction of the Security Council or the Assembly.

The Economic and Social Council of the Assembly may make recommendations and consider complaints but they will apparently have no direct power of investigation; and on this Economic and Social Council no colony will have representation. It may be said that the interests of these colonial peoples will be represented in the world government by the master nations. In the same way it was said in 1787 in the United States that slaves would be represented by their masters.

Four, there is no designated function for the enemy states which have been guilty of imperial aggression in this war. They will comprise perhaps one hundred fifty million people. Presumably they will eventually take their places among the friendly nations and possibly at some day among the great powers.

Evidently the one weak point in this outline for a government of men is the fact that at least one-fourth of the inhabitants of the world have no power part in it; no democratic power, not even a recognized right of petition. This puts all effort at reform and uplift on the shoulders of imperial countries and

does this at a time when the countries because of loss and disruption in this war are least able to undertake philanthropic enterprise.

Evidently there is indicated here the necessity of earnest effort to avoid the non-democratic and race inferiority philosophy here involved. There should be consultation among colonial peoples and their friends as to just what measures ought to be taken. This consultation should look toward asking for the following successive steps:

One, representation of the colonial peoples along side the master peoples in the assembly. Whether such representatives should at first have a right to vote or only the right to complain and petition, should be determined by the assembly.

Two, the organization of a Mandate Commission under the Economic and Social Council with distinct power to investigate complaints and conditions in colonies and make public their findings.

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Three, a clear statement of the intentions of each imperial power gradually but definitely to take all measures designed eventually to raise the peoples of colonies to a condition of complete political and economic equality with the peoples of the master nations and eventually either to incorporate them into the polity of the master nations or to allow them to become independent free peoples.

The reply of Secretary Stetinius to my statement was off the record so far as exact words were concerned but amounted to saying that the proposals were trying to leave the door open at least for a consideration of colonial problems but he did not go further than that.

This, of course, is rather serious; we are in this war even more than in the last war facing the problem of democracy: how far are we going to have a world where the people who are ruled are going to have effective voice in

their government. We have stated and reiterated that this democratic method of government is going to be applied just as widely as possible. But of course in this program we recognize that beyond the logic of democracy looms the inevitable logic of facts; and the fact is that most of the people of the world have not been ruled in the past by democratic methods; and that the progress toward democracy has been disappointingly slow.

A century ago the explanation of this was clear. You had in the world a minority of people who were capable of civilization; who by their inherent gifts and long and difficult trial and experience were the natural rulers of the world. They composed most of the white people of the world, although even among those people there was a certain proportion of the lower classes who were incapable because of deficiency in natural gifts to take effective part in democracy.

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On the other hand, the majority of the people of the world, composing mainly the colored and black races were naturally so inferior that it was not

to be hoped that in any reasonable time, if ever, they would be capable of self-government. This was supposed to be proven by their history, and current scientific investigation seemed to back up historical judgment.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century there has come great change in these judgments. In the first place we have practically given up the idea that there is any considerable portion of the civilized peoples who cannot by education and by the training of experience be made into effective voters and administrators in democratic governments. Further than this we are not nearly so sure today as we used to be of the inherent inferiority of the majority of the people of the earth who happen to be colored. We know, of course, that skin color itself has no particular significance and the other physical characteristics whatever their significance are not certain indications of inferiority. The

testimony of history we, of course, realize is not decisive. History has been written deliberately to emphasize the accomplishments of certain people and decry or omit the work of other people. It is always astonishing for Americans to contrast the history of the Revolutionary War as set down in English and American textbooks. In addition to that the testimony of biology and anthropology and of various social studies convince us more and more that absolute and essential differences between races as self-perpetuating groups are difficult to fix if not non-existent. That consequently we have no way of being certain that education and experience will not do for the backward races of man what it has already begun to do for the depressed classes in civilized states.

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But these facts do not affect our actions today, because government and economic organization has already built a tremendous structure upon the nineteenth century conception of race inferiority. This is what the imperialism of our day means. In order, therefore, to judge our present attitude and proposed action toward colonies we must note the growth of the colonial idea.

Roman imperialism did not involve national inferiority. It was simply a matter of political control and centralized taxation with a large degree of autonomy left to the individual states which submitted to Rome. The taxation, to be sure, was often oppressive and amounted to considerable subjection but the Roman Empre was not any any means the counterpart of modern empires. When during the Middle Ages Rome fell to pieces the world established itself on the basis of separate states who were brought into correspondence with each other through trade and conference. A Marco Polo interpreted an independent Asia to an unknown Europe; and Othello, real or ficticious, was a respected stranger from Africa who offered aid to an European king. There arose in Asia and in the Sudan independent kingdoms equal in many respects and certainly distinguished from each other by no evident superiority or inferiority. It was the discovery of America and the sudden demand of labor supplied by the African slave trade that changed this; that based the new European capitalism upon extreme subjection of labor to an organized

plantation system; and that rationalized slavery by a new doctrine of inevitable and unchangeable inferiority especially so far as the blacks were concerned.

Negro slavery in America was the passing phase of a great world labor problem but on it was built a new imperialism. Great Britain, from an empire supported by slavery, came to be an empire ruling a wide stretch of countries where cheap labor more or less compulsory exported valuable raw material in large quantity to manufacturing centers in the United Kingdom. Other countries followed suit especially Holland and France. Spain sought to reorganize her empire of conquest and extortion but became in the long run subject to the British organization of industry. Finally, Germany and Italy seeing the tremendous advantage which imperial capital gave to Great Britain, Holland and France tried to enter into effective competition.

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The temptation in this situation was that colonial proprietorship gave the leading countries of the world certain tremendous advantages. The colonial

contribution to imperial government was in itself small and often an actual loss; but to the individual investors in these countries, cheap labor and cheap raw material was the basis of tremendous and increasing wealth which made the luxury and power of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries remarkable. To enter into rivalry with these countries it was necessary for Germany, Italy and Japan to seek the control of colonies and in that way to gain a vast number of men, wide stretches of land and abundance of raw material.

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Let us now pause to see what the imperial setup between the first and second world war actually was. We note in that perior six imperial powers. Naming them in the order of the number of people which they dominated they were: first, Great Britain, who has in her colonies (not counting the autonomous regions like Canada, Australia and New Zealand) 495 million people ruled by the 50 million in the United Kingdom and including two million whites in the Union of South Africa. Second, comes Japan where, before the present war, 73 million in Japan proper ruled 68 million including the disputed Chinese territory of Manchucuo. Next France where 38 million ruled 71 million folk. Then comes the Netherlands where 9 million rule 67 million. Then the United States of North America where 130 million ruled 19 million of people including the inhabitants of Alaska and the Phillipines. Findally comes Belgium where 8½ million rule 10½ million in the Belgian Congo.

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Another way of listing these colonies would be to take into account the disproportion between the numbers in the ruling class and those ruled. This would put the British Empire again first with each British subject ruling ten colonials. Next would come the Netherlands where each Dutch citizen rules between 8 and 9 colonials. In France a citizen rules something less than two colonials. While in Japan and Belgium he rules a little more than one. The United States is the only imperial power where the number of colonials ruled is very much smaller than the number of citizens amounting to over six rulers to one ruled.

Of course mere numbers do not give the whole picture. A much more revealing study would give the extent and kind of land and the sort and value of the materials. Beyond this we need, and have never had, a very careful study of the industrial and financial arrangement of colonial organization:

just what has been actually invested and by whom; how has the invested wealth been used in the colony; what has been the rate of profit and wages and how far the investment has helped the colony by taxation. It has been pretty easy in the past by manipulation of investment figures to argue that the rate of return for colonial investment has been low and the profit to the colonial people high. But such factual studies are absolutely disproven: first, by the astonishing way in which capital investment has poured into the colonies; and second, by the fact that the colonial people almost without exception have the lowest standard of living on earth with the fewest social services for education, health and other means of social uplift and almost no chance to participate in government or even to voice their complaints in an orderly manner.

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These broad facts, although difficult to substantiate by actual figures, are an indictment against colonial government to which the world must listen. This fact was felt and felt strongly at the time of the Treaty of

Versailles; and in the organization of the League of Nations, advantage was taken of the situation of the German colonies to attempt a solution to the whole colonial problem. The German colonies were distributed among France, Great Britain and Japan under the control of a Mandates Commission. The Mandates Commission was supposed to see that the people of these colonies were fairly treated; and that something was done for their social uplift and their economic betterment. The statute that governed the Mandate Commission was, however, deliberately limited in such a way that the commission really had very little power. It could not of its own initiative inquire into or investigate facts in the various colonies; the colonial peoples themselves had no vested right of appeal to the Commission and as a matter of fact the mandated colony soon became indistinguishable from the other colonies of the countries holding the mandates. It had been hoped that the opposite would

happen and that the authority of the Mandate Commission would eventually extend, not only to the former German colonies, but to all colonies of all nations. This never took place and the only organ of the League of Nations that helped the colonial situation was the International Labor Office which succeeded in setting-up certain minimum standards of labor usage.

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continued; while in Asia the new Japanese imperial expansion gained headway and purpose. Among the Dutch colonies some effort was made to increase the participation of colonial peoples in government and to systematize education. In the Belgian Congo elementary education under the Catholic Church was broadened in extent and recognition of local government thrughout tribal organizations; but no secondary or higher education and no participation in the colonial government was encouraged.

The second World War, therefore, found the colonial question really unsettled and was precipitated by the determination of Italy to enter upon an imperial career in Africa. On the part of Germany there was distinct and increasing pressure for the return of her colonies and for even larger colonial expansion. Thus the problem of colonies has been certainly a main cause of two world war and unless it is frnkly faced and its settlement begun, it may easily cause a third.

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Who, for instance, during and after this war the working people of Great Britain, the Netherlands, France and Belgium in particular are going to demand certain costly social improvements from the government: the prevention of unemployment, a rising standard of living, health insurance, increased education of children; the large cost of these improvements must be met by increased public taxation falling with greater weight than ever heretofore upon the rich. This

means that the temptation to recoup and balance the financial burden of increased taxation by investment in colonies where social services are at their lowest and standards of living below the requirements of civilization, are going to definitely increase; and the disposition of parties on the left, liberal parties and philanthropy to press for colonial improvement will be silenced by the bribe of vastly increased help of government to better their condition. The working people of the civilized world will thus largely be induced to put their political power behind Imperialism and democracy in Europe will continue to impede and nullify democracy in Asia and Africa.

In this way the modern world after this war may easily be lulled to sleep and to forget that the exclusion of something between one-fourth and one-half of the whole population of the world from participation in democratic government and socialized wealth is a direct threat to the spread of democracy and a certain

promise of future war; and of war not simply as justifiable revolt on the part of colonial peoples who are increasing in intelligence and efficiency, but also of recurring wars of envy and greed because of the present inequitable distribution of colonial gain among civilised nations.

Moreover, the continuation of vested interest in the theory of racial inferiority and the dislike of minorities of any sort will be encouraged but failure to face the problem of the future of colonies.

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Carnegie Hall
30 March 1945

ROMAIN ROLLAND

It is not easy for a man living on the mountain-top | to assess the real value and meaning of the valley. | It is not easy for a man living in London, Paris or New York | to realize that the greater world and the world of significance | far beyond the present | is not centered in these cities. || Romain Rolland | was not one who considered the peoples | of Asia, Africa and the South Seas | simply in their relation | to the great centers of modern culture. | He realized that democracy is not mere rotation | or sharing of power. || It is rather recognition | of the fact | that the wisdom of the world is so widespread, | the experience of human beings | of all kinds and colors and creeds, | so valuable, | that no matter how far | any particular part of the world | may forge ahead, | it depends for its success | upon that great reservoir of knowledge, | experience, and ideal | which is the priceless heritage | of the great masses of men.

Democracy in its essence | is opportunity, | not sacrifice | and this is what Romain Rolland | meant when he advocated | the right of the millions of India | to have voice in their own government, | to have the guidance of their own culture, || and not only that | but to have their part in the guidance of the culture | of the world. | So too, in Africa, he realized | not simply the meaning | of depriving the black folk of South Africa | of a voice in their own government, | but the depriving of the world | of those things | that Africa might contribute. || There was a day | in the fifteenth century when modern civilization | stood at the crossroads. | It might have followed the lead of Africa: | the socialization of land, | the family and tribal organization of life, | and the vertical | rather than horizontal | division of industry. || One the contrary, | Europe, | building itself upon the Negro slave-trade | followed monopoly of wealth and capital, | developed an extraordinary technical power | over the forces of nature | and

finally emerged into the fantastic catastrophe which we are facing today. It was this sort of development that Romain Rolland feared. It was for reasons based upon foresight of the disruption of human ideals which he realized, that made him call for a democracy wide as the world which by contributing its wisdom and experience would set the world again upon the right path.

The cause of the colonies today is the real cause of democracy. The rights of black people, brown, and yellow are the rights of human beings; not simply because we are sorry for the unfortunate, but because we are sorry and apprehensive for ourselves unless the masses of mankind have voice in the future organization and culture of men.

No modern prophet saw this more clearly than Romain Rolland. It was for this reason that he was a pacifist. He realized that no amount of force, and no perfection of technique could render the real and deep-lying widsom of the world

silent before wrong and injustice. He raised his voice not to evoke revolution, but to call sanity back to the minds of men; to center the real power of mankind in the hands of those who stood not for privilege, but for the widest freedom of the human spirit. All that integrity of heart, that real freedom of the human soul which we have forgotten today and which we ruthlessly buy and sell was manifest in this great soul and used and emphasized for the well-being of all men and not simply for London, Paris, or New York

ROMAIN ROLLAND

It is not easy for a man living on the mountain-top to assess the real value and meaning of the valley. It is not easy for a man living in London, Paris or New York to realize that the greater world and the world of significance far beyond the present is not centered in these cities. Romain Rolland was not one who considered the peoples of Asia, Africa and the South Seas simply in their relation to the great centers of modern culture. He realized that democracy is not mere rotation or sharing of power. It is rather recognition of the fact that the wisdom of the world is so widespread, the experience of human beings of all kinds and colors and creeds, so valuable, that no matter how far any particular part of the world may forge ahead, it depends for its success upon that great reservoir of knowledge, experience, and ideal which is the priceless heritage of the great masses of men.

30-6-167

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36-10-84

THE AMERICAN NEGRO AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

IT IS TO BE REMEMBERED THAT THE FIRST GROUP OF PERSONS WHO CAME TO AMERICA SPECIFICALLY AS WORKERS WERE NEGROES. || THE EARLIEST NEGROES ~~LIKE THE WHITES~~ WERE ADVENTURERS, SOLDIERS AND SERVANTS. || BUT ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY THERE BEGAN TO BE ORGANIZED TRADE TO TRANSPORT LABOR FROM AFRICA TO AMERICA, SO AS TO UNDERTAKE THE HARD MANUAL TOIL OF PREPARING A NEW LAND FOR AGRICULTURE AND LIVING.

BRITISH MERCHANTS ORGANIZED THIS TRADE AND IMPORTED SOME 25,000 SLAVES A YEAR BETWEEN ~~1698~~ 1700 and 1770. || THEN THE IMPORTATION DWINDLED BUT AFTERWARDS AROSE TO 30,000 A YEAR. || MOST OF THESE SLAVES WENT TO THE WEST INDIES, BUT IN THE 18th CENTURY THE PROPORTION COMING TO THE CONTINENT AND THE COLONIES WHICH AFTERWARD BECAME THE UNITED STATES INCREASED, SO THAT 20,000 A YEAR WERE IMPORTED DURING THE EARLY PART OF THE 18th CENTURY AND AFTER THAT UP UNTIL THE

Some negroes are sorry to remember this; they would be freedmen if they had come as Lords, or Killers or Princes. But the truth is they came as Workers

36-10-85

REVOLUTION BETWEEN 40,000 to 100,000 A YEAR. || IN 1714 THERE WERE 60,000 NEGROES IN THE CONFINES OF THE PRESENT UNITED STATES, AND NEARLY 300,000 IN 1750. || THE FIRST CENSUS SHOWED 700,000 NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES. which led us to hold it self-evident that all men are equal

THE HARD LABOR NECESSARY FOR CLEARING THE AMERICAN WILDERNESS AND MAKING THIS CONTINENT AVAILABLE FOR SETTLERS AND DEVELOPMENT OF CIVILIZATION ~~WAS FURNISHED~~ FORCED EQUALITY for we imported NOT SIMPLY BLACK SLAVES, BUT ALSO WHITE. || THE WHITE SLAVES WERE SEIZED IN THE SLUMS OF EUROPEAN CITIES LIKE LONDON, OR TAKEN FROM JAILS AND WORKHOUSES: IN MANY CASES IRISH AND GERMAN PEASANTS WERE FORCIBALY TRANSPORTED. || MOST OF THESE WERE NOMINALLY UNDER CONTRACT TO WORK FOR A TERM OF YEARS, ~~AFTER WHICH THEY WERE TO BE FREED~~: || BUT THERE WERE MANY CASES IN WHICH FREEDOM DID NOT COME AND ~~THESE~~ MANY INDENTURED SERVANTS AS THEY WERE CALLED SERVED FOR LIFE. || THERE ~~WAS~~ WERE HOWEVER NATURAL LIMITATIONS ON THE NUMBER OF WHITE LABORERS WHO THUS COULD BE SEIZED DUE TO THE DEMAND FOR LABOR IN EUROPE. Feudal lords fought to keep serfs home; and trade guilds protected apprentices ||

36-10-86

GRADUALLY THE METHODS OF RECRUITING LABOR CHANGED. // A ~~THE~~ MASS OF UNSKILLED AGRICULTURAL LABOR WAS NEEDED TO RAISE SUGAR, TOBACCO AND COTTON WHICH BECAME MONEY CROPS IN WIDE DEMAND. // FOR THIS LONG-TERM LABOR AT THE LOWEST COST WAS IN DEMAND AND NEGRO LABOR WAS THE BEST INVESTMENT. // THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE WAS THEN SYSTEMATIZED. // THE NEGROES SEIZED AT FIRST WERE PRISONERS OF WAR, TAKEN BY CERTAIN POWERFUL TRIBES AND SOLD TO WHITE TRADERS. // THE TRADERS WERE GRANTED LANDS OR FACTORYS AS THEY WERE CALLED ON THE AFRICAN COAST AND TRADED THROUGH THESE WAR-LIKE TRIBES WITH THE INTERIOR. // FINALLY ~~HOWEVER~~ AS THE ~~SIZE OF THE~~ TRADE GREW ON ACCOUNT OF THE DEMAND IN AMERICA SLAVE-RAIDS TOOK THE PLACE OF TRIBAL WARS AND A SLAVE TRADE BEGAN WHICH IT IS ESTIMATED COST THE AFRICAN CONTINENT IN THE 18th and 19th CENTURIES, PERHAPS A HUNDRED MILLION PERSONS. THIS EXPLAINS AFRICAN HISTORY, SINCE 1800

THE LEGISLATION COVERING THIS LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES MADE AT FIRST NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN WHITES AND BLACKS. // BOTH WERE CALLED SERVANTS AND NOT SLAVES AND SOME BLACKS, ~~AS WELL AS MANY WHITES~~, BECAME FREE, VOTERS AND LANDHOLDERS. // BUT NATURALLY DISTINCTION DID EVENTURALLY ARISE, BECAUSE THE BLACKS ~~SERVED~~ WERE HELD FOR LIFE

36-10-87

~~AND THE WHITES INCREASINGLY FOR A LIMITED TERM OF YEARS~~, WHICH MADE THE BLACK SERVANTS A BETTER INVESTMENT.

THERE WAS ANOTHER REASON, BECAUSE OF THE BACKGROUND OF THESE TWO SETS OF LABORERS, THE BLACKS WERE BETTER ADAPTED TO THE PLANTATION SYSTEM WHILE THE WHITES IN EARLIER DAYS ~~WAS~~ WERE FOR THE MOST PART CASUAL WORKERS, VAGABONDS, NOT USED TO REGULAR ~~WEEK~~ TOIL. // LATER THE CHARACTER OF WHITE IMMIGRANTS ~~CONSISTED OF MOSTLY~~ CHANGED TO FARMERS AND ARTISANS SEEKING THE OPPORTUNITIES OF FREE LAND. // THE BLACKS ON THE OTHER HAND CAME OUT OF THE CLAN SYSTEM OF AFRICA, WHICH MEANT THAT THEY WERE PART OF AN ORGANIZATION, AN ORGANIZATION WHICH THROUGH THE FAMILY DISTRIBUTED THE WORK OF ITS DIFFERENT MEMBERS ~~SO THAT THEY BECAME~~ AS IF THEY WERE MEN, HUNTERS, WARRIORS OR SKILLED WORKERS // ~~AND~~ OR IF THEY WERE WOMEN, AGRICULTURAL WORKERS AND HOUSEKEEPERS. // IN THIS WAY THEY WERE USED TO BEING ASSIGNED TO WORK AND TO WORKING IN GROUPS. // ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY HAD OF COURSE IN AFRICA WIDE SOCIAL PROTECTION. THERE COULD BE NO POVERTY IN THE AFRICAN TRIBE, NO UNEMPLOYMENT: THERE COULD BE

36-10-88

NO LACK OF SUPPORT DURING OLD AGE, AND MARRIAGE COULD TAKE PLACE EARLY BECAUSE THE CARRYING ON OF A FAMILY WAS NO ~~EXTRA RESPONSIBILITY~~ additional burden. IN ADDITION TO THAT THERE COULD BE NO PROSTITUTION, BECAUSE ALWAYS THE WOMAN WAS A WIFE. IF HER HUSBAND DIED SHE BECAME ONE OF THE WIVES OF THE ELDER BROTHER, AND WAS STILL PROTECTED AND supported ~~RECEIVED ENOUGH TO LIVE ON~~.

WHEN NOW THESE AFRICANS WERE TRANSPORTED TO THE PLANTATIONS OF THE WEST INDIES, THERE ~~SOON~~ AROSE A PLANTATION SYSTEM WHICH RESEMBLED IN SOME RESPECTS THE WORKING ORGANIZATION OF THE AFRICAN TRIBES. THE MEN BECAME THE PLANTATION WORKERS WITH ASSIGNED TASKS AND WHILE THE TASKS WERE LONGER AND HARDER THAN AT HOME THEY WERE USUALLY UNDER THEIR NEGRO BOSSES. THEY HAD A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF LEISURE, WITH GROUND FOR GARDENS ASSIGNED TO THEM. OF COURSE, AS THE SLAVERY SYSTEM DEVELOPED THE TASKS BECAME HARDER AND HARDER AND THE RESEMBLANCE TO THE ANCESTRAL CUSTOM FURTHER AND FURTHER AFIELD. But those customs made the start easy

~~IN THE AFRICAN CLAN THERE WAS NOT ONLY HUNTING, FARMING AND FISHING, BUT~~

36-10-89

ALSO TRADE FROM THE EARLIEST DAYS. THE AFRICANS WERE BORN TRADERS. THE CAPITAL WAS FURNISHED BY THE CHIEF, THE TRADING DONE BY INDIVIDUALS AND THE RETURNS WENT ENTIRELY TO THE FAMILY AND CLAN. AS GRADUALLY IN THE WEST INDIES AND IN THE UNITED STATES THE SLAVE SYSTEM BECAME COMMERCIALIZED AND THE BASIS OF A NEW CAPITALISM AND WORLD TRADE. CONDITIONS OF WORK ON THE PLANTATIONS BECAME UNBEARABLE AND THE SLAVES REVOLTED. FROM 1500 to 1900 THE SLAVE REVOLTS INCREASED IN FREQUENCY AND SEVERITY UNTIL IN 1790 THE SLAVES OF HAITI, UNDER TOUSSAINT DROVE OUT ENGLISH, FRENCH AND SPANISH, TROOPS, FORCED NAPOLEON TO SELL LOUISIANA AND THE MIDDLE WEST TO THE UNITED STATES AND FOUNDED AN INDEPENDENT STATE.

IN THE UNITED STATES ON THE OTHER HAND, THE REVOLTS ~~THROUGH FREQUENT~~, WERE REPLACED BY A NEW TECHNIQUE, THE RUN-A-WAY.

IN THE NORTH THE NUMBER OF BLACK SLAVES WAS NEVER LARGE, CHIEFLY BECAUSE THERE WAS NO ~~PLANTATION SYSTEM TO MAKE THEIR LABOR PROFITABLE~~. WHEN THEREFORE MONEY CROP

36-10-90

THE SLAVES/ HELPED FIGHT FOR Colonial FREEDOM/ AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN,/ IN RETURN THEY WERE FREED/ AND BECAME SLOWLY RECOGNIZED AS CITIZENS.// BUT THEY, ~~WERE INTERESTED IN~~ SUFFERED FROM THE CONTINUED SLAVERY/ OF THEIR SOUTHERN FELLOWS/ ~~IN SLAVERY~~/ AND HELPED THEM IN EVERY WAY/ TO ESCAPE NORTH.// THIS LOSS OF CAPITAL INVESTMENT/ IN SLAVES/ BECAME SO GREAT/ THAT IT WAS ONE OF THE MAIN CAUSES/ OF THE CIVIL WAR IN 1861.

THE FREE NEGROES OF THE NORTH/ AND THEIR RUNAWAY FELLOWS/ FROM THE SOUTH BECAME LEADERS/ IN THE FIGHT AGAINST SLAVERY.// THE FUGITIVE SLAVES WENT TO THE SWAMPS/ AND ~~INTERMARRIED~~ WITH THE INDIANS.// THEY CAME NORTH ALONG THE APPALACHIAN MOUNTAINS/ AND THROUGH THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY// AND THE FREE NEGROES/ IN THE NORTH/ TOGETHER WITH WHITE FRIENDS/ ORGANIZED underground WAYS/ IN WHICH THEY WENT FURTHER NORTH/ EVEN TO CANADA.// DURING THE ABOLITION AGITATION/ IT WAS THESE NEGROES,/ EITHER THOSE BORN FREE/ OR THOSE WHO HAD RUN AWAY/ FROM SLAVERY/ WHO BECAME AMONG THE CHIEF ~~ADVOCATES/ AND~~ LEADERS/ EXAMPLES AND SPEAKERS/ AGAINST SLAVERY.// SUCH A ONE WAS FREDERICK DOUGLAS,/ WHO BECAME/ NOT ONLY A GREAT NEGRO LEADER/ BUT A GREAT AMERICAN/ who in his travels abroad ~~AND DID A GREAT DEAL~~ JOINED O'Connell FOR THE UPLIFT OF THE IRISH/ IN IRELAND/ AND made THE WORKING

36-10-91

CLASSES IN ENGLAND/ ~~DURING HIS TRIPS ABROAD~~ Throw decisive weight against American Slavery.// ~~THEN~~/ THERE WAS CONTROVERSY/ BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH/ ON ACCOUNT OF THE FACT/ THAT THE NORTHERNERS WERE THE MANUFACTURERS/ AND SOUTHERNERS RAISED THE RAW MATERIALS.// So THE NORTHERN MANUFACTURERS advocated a PROTECTIVE ~~ED BY~~ TARIFF,/ WHILE THE SOUTHERNERS WANTED FREE TRADE.

IN ADDITION TO THAT/ CAME CONTROVERSY OF THE WHITE WORKERS,/ WHO WERE UNABLE TO ENDURE/ THE COMPETITION OF SLAVES/ AND THE ENCROACHMENT OF SLAVEHOLDERS/ UPON THE FREE LAND OUTWEST.// WHEN IN THE EARLY 19th CENTURY,/ THERE CAME INCREASING IMMIGRATION/ OF WHITE WORKERS TO IN THE UNITED STATES/ THEY FOUND THEMSELVES/ IN COMPETITION WITH NEGROES.// WITH FREE NEGROES IN THE NORTH/ AND WITH SLAVES/ ~~SKILLED/ AND AGRICULTURAL WORKERS/~~ IN THE SOUTH,/ ~~IF THEY WENT SOUTH, WHICH FEW OF THE IMMIGRANTS/ DID.~~

BY THE MIDDLE OF THE 19th CENTURY,/ THE FREE NEGROES,/ IRISH, GERMANS AND OTHERS/ WERE FIGHTING EACH OTHER/ ALL OVER THE NORTH FOR JOBS.// PERHAPS THE

SITUATION IN PHILADELPHIA WOULD BEST ILLUSTRATE THIS, ALTHOUGH THERE WERE SIMILAR CLASHES IN NEW YORK, CINCINATTI AND OTHER PLACES. THERE WERE ABOUT 15,000 NEGROES IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1830, AND SOME 27,000 FOREIGN IMMIGRANTS. JUST AS TODAY THE MASS OF THE POPULATION IS FIGHTING COMMUNISM, JUST SO IN 1830 IN PHILADELPHIA THEY WERE FIGHTING ABOLITIONISTS. of their slaves IN AUGUST 1834, SEVERAL HUNDRED BOYS AND MEN ARMED WITH CLUBS, MARCHED DOWN SEVENTH STREET AND AT EIGHTH ~~STREET~~ MET A CROWD OF NEGROES ~~AND~~ RIOTING BEGAN BETWEEN FOUR AND FIVE HUNDRED PEOPLE. BUILDINGS WERE TORN DOWN AND PERSONS ASSULTED. THE NEXT NIGHT THE MOB ~~WRECKED~~ WRECKED A NEGRO CHURCH AND ~~ATTACKED~~ SOME TWENTY NEGRO DWELLINGS. BY PRE-ARRANGED PLANS ~~AND~~ LIGHTS DISTINGUISHED THE HOUSES OF THE WHITES FROM THE NEGROES THE THIRD NIGHT THE MOB TORE DOWN ANOTHER NEGRO CHURCH ~~IN ANOTHER PART OF THE CITY~~ AND THE MAYOR FINALLY INTERVENED and sharply blamed the Negroes THESE RIOTS KEPT UP ~~UNTIL~~ FROM 1840-1850 THE NUMBER OF NEGROES IN THE CITY DECREASED, AND THE FOREIGN WHITE ELEMENT GAINED ALL OF THE NEW EMPLOYMENT IN THE RAPIDLY GROWING INDUSTRIES IN THE STATE.

36-10-92

IN 1837, out of 10,000 NEGROES IN THE CITY, ONLY 350 WERE IN THE TRADES.

A FEW OF THE BETTER CLASS NEGROES ESCAPED INTO THE CATERING BUSINESS WHICH THEY DOMINATED FOR MANY YEARS. BUT THE MASS OF NEGROES FOR THE NEXT 20 YEARS HAD A DIFFICULT TIME IN EARNING A LIVING AND A GREAT DEAL OF THEIR ENERGY WAS PUT INTO HELPING NEGRO MIGRATION TO CANADA FIGHTING FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE SLAVES AND TRYING TO PROTECT THEMSELVES FROM KIDNAPPING AND SALE TO THE SOUTH AS SLAVES UNDER THE FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT OF 1850.

36-10-93

IN THE NORTH THE UNION MOVEMENT AMONG WHITES HAD BEGUN EVEN IN COLONIAL TIMES AND SLOWLY SPREAD DURING THE 30'S and 40's. AT FIRST THEY WERE INCLINED TO OPPOSE SLAVERY. BUT LATER egged on by employers + slave owners THEY LET THE QUESTION ALONE OR EVEN ASSENTED TO THE SLAVERY OF BLACKS BECAUSE THE ABOLITIONISTS WERE SO HATED BY CAPITALISTS WHO PERSUADED WHITE WORKERS THAT THE BLACKS WERE A DIFFERENT KIND OF HUMAN BEING AND ANYWAY AS THEY SAID, THE ~~SLAVERY~~ problems OF WHITE LABOR WAS A MUCH MORE PRESSING PROBLEM. and had nothing to do with Negro problems. Then war came and they learned better.

36-10-94

1861-1864

CIVIL WAR ~~ENSUED~~ WHICH BEGAN NOT TO ABOLISH SLAVERY BUT TO CONTAIN THE SLAVE SYSTEM WITHIN CERTAIN BOUNDS, SO THAT THE SOIL OF THE WEST WOULD BE LEFT FREE, AND THE WHITE WORKERS OF THE NORTH WOULD NOT ~~HAVE TO~~ COME IN COMPETITION WITH SLAVE LABOR. // It was called ~~ALSO IT WAS~~ A WAR TO PRESERVE THE UNION ~~OF THE~~ MARKET FOR NORTHERN MANUFACTURE AND TRADE. // THE PART THAT THE SLAVES PLAYED IN THIS WAR HAS BEEN WIDELY MISUNDERSTOOD. // THEY DID NOT CONTINUE AS DOCILE WORKERS WHILE THEIR MASTERS WERE IN THE FIELD FIGHTING FOR THEIR CONTINUED SLAVERY. // ON THE CONTRARY THEY STAGED ~~WHAT~~ A GENERAL STRIKE, BY DESERTING TO THE NORTHERN ARMIES. // THAT IS AS THE NORTHERN ARMIES PENETRATED THE SOUTH, THE WORKERS LEFT THE PLANTATIONS AND ~~WENT~~ TO THE NORTHERN CAMPS. // THE NUMBER REACHED EVEN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR INTO THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS, // ~~AND FINALLY THE INCREASE OF THESE FUGITIVES AND THEIR EMPLOYMENT AS LABORERS FOR THE ARMY~~, INFORMERS AND AT LAST AS SOLDIERS MADE THE OUTCOME OF THE WAR INEVITABLE. // IF IT WAS POSSIBLE TO HAVE 200,000 BLACK SOLDIERS ARMED AND EFFECTIVE THERE WAS NO REASON WHY THERE SHOULD NOT BE A

36-10-95

MILLION BLACK SOLDIERS ~~IN THE WAR~~. // AND IT WAS ~~FOR~~ THAT REASON MORE THAN ANY OTHER THAT LED TO THE SURRENDER OF THE SOUTH. // THEN HOWEVER CAME THE QUESTION AS TO WHAT WAS TO BE DONE WITH THE EMANCIPATED SLAVES?

THE SOUTHERN WHITES, AFTER EMANCIPATION, WANTED TO IMPROVE THEIR SITUATION BY TAKING THE PLACE OF SLAVES IN SKILLED WORK AND RETURNING THE SLAVES AS SERFS TO THE FORMER MASTERS. // THIS HOWEVER WAS FRUSTRATED BY THE ATTEMPT TO ENFRANCHISE THE NEGROES. // THEN FOR A TIME THE POOR WHITES AND THE EMANCIPATED NEGROES BEGAN TO WORK TOGETHER. // BUT TO PREVENT THIS THE NEGROES WERE DISFRANCHISED BY A COMBINATION OF NORTHERN INDUSTRY AND SOUTHERN LANDHOLDERS, SO THAT THEY BECAME WORKERS WITHOUT A VOTE AND CONSEQUENTLY COULD NOT COMETE WITH THE WHITE WORKERS WHO HAD THE VOTE.

THIS UNION OF BLACK AND WHITE LABOR NEVER GOT A REAL START. FIRST, BECAUSE BLACK LEADERSHIP STILL TENDED TOWARD THE IDEALS OF THE PETTY BOURGEOIS

36-10-96

THE South/wanted them/returned to slavery/under another name/ and with some few civic rights/ but no vote.// The North wanted/to get the Negro back to work/quickly/ so as to raise cotton/for the Mills/ While Southern labor/ wanted the best jobs/which Negroes had dominated/ as slaves; they hoped the Negroes would die out/or emigrate// White Northern labor resisted/ They did not want/to work beside Negroes, but they were building a labor movement.

Then the unexpected happened/ as it usually does/ The Southern planters/ over played their hand/ with increased political power/ due to enfranchisement/ they demanded/ 1. Lower tariffs/2 Scaling of public debt/3 no votes for Negroes.// The western farmers agreed!! The Northern manufacturers and merchants/killed this program by enfranchising the freedmen//

12B The Negro + his friends/ wanted to supplement this/ by Federal education/and free Land// This the North denied// The Negro voter/ ~~the~~ tried to socialize the South/by ~~federal~~ state/political effort/for free education/ and ~~division~~ of Land/. The planters retorted/with mobs + lynching// The poor white workers/ were induced to join them/by a campaign of race hate// The planters offered compromise// no lowering of the tariff;// no scaling of National debt;// disfranchisement of the Negro/ This was the Bargain of 1876.

36-10-97

~~AND WHITE LEADERSHIP TENDED DISTINCTLY TOWARD STRENGTHENING CAPITALISM. THE FINAL~~ MOVE WHICH REARRANGED ALL THESE COMBINATIONS AND LED TO THE CATASTROPHE OF 1876, WAS A COMBINATION OF PLANTERS AND POOR WHITES IN DEFIANCE OF THEIR ECONOMIC INTERESTS AND WITH THE USE OF LAWLESS MURDER AND OPEN INTIMIDATION. IT WAS A COMBINATION THAT COULD ONLY HAVE BEEN STOPPED BY GOVERNMENT FORCE. AND THE ARMY WHICH WAS THE AGENT OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WAS SUSTAINED IN THE SOUTH BY THE ORGANIZED CAPITAL OF THE NORTH. ALL THAT WAS NECESSARY THEN WAS TO SATISFY NORTHERN INDUSTRY THAT THE NEW COMBINATION IN THE SOUTH WAS ESSENTIALLY A COMBINATION WHICH AIMED AT CAPITALISTIC EXPLOITATION ON CONVENTIONAL TERMS. THE RESULT WAS THE WITHDRAWAL OF MILITARY SUPPORT AND THE REVOLUTIONARY SUPPRESSION NOT ONLY OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE BUT OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO AND WHITE LABOR.

IT WAS NOT UNTIL AFTER ~~THE PERIOD~~ WARD ~~WHICH THIS BOOK TREATS~~ THAT WHITE LABOR IN THE SOUTH BEGAN TO REALIZE THAT THEY HAD LOST A GREAT OPPORTUNITY. THAT WHEN THEY UNITED TO DISFRANCHISE THE BLACK LABORER THEY HAD CUT THE VOTING POWER OF

THE LABORING CLASS IN TWO. WHITE LABOR Later IN THE POPULIST MOVEMENT OF THE EIGHTIES TRIED TO REALIGN THE ECONOMIC WAR-FARE IN THE SOUTH AND BRING WORKERS OF ALL COLORS INTO UNITED OPPOSITION TO THE EMPLOYER. BUT THEY FOUND THAT THE POWER WHICH THEY HAD PUT IN THE HANDS OF THE EMPLOYERS IN 1876 SO DOMINATED POLITICAL LIFE THAT FREE AND HONEST EXPRESSION OF PUBLIC WILL AT THE BALLOT-BOX WAS IMPOSSIBLE IN THE SOUTH, EVEN FOR WHITE MEN. THEY REALIZED THAT IT WAS NOT SIMPLY THE NEGRO WHO HAD BEEN DISFRANCHISED IN 1876, IT WAS THE WHITE LABORER AS WELL. THE SOUTH HAS SINCE BECOME ONE OF THE GREATEST CENTERS FOR EXPLOITATION OF LABOR IN THE WORLD, WITH NO EFFECTIVE LABOR MOVEMENT AND LABOR SUFFERED NOT ONLY IN THE SOUTH BUT THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD OVER.

THE SOUTH, AFTER THE WAR PRESENTED THE GREATEST OPPORTUNITY FOR A REAL NATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT WHICH THE NATION EVER SAW OR IS LIKELY TO SEE FOR MANY DECADES. YET THE LABOR MOVEMENT, WITH BUT FEW EXCEPTIONS, NEVER REALIZED

36-10-100

THE SITUATION. // IT NEVER HAD THE INTELLIGENCE OR KNOWLEDGE, AS A WHOLE TO SEE IN BLACK SLAVERY AND RECONSTRUCTION, THE KERNEL AND MEANING OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION OF WORKERS WAS ORGANIZED IN BALTIMORE AUGUST 20, 1866. THERE WERE 60 DELEGATES AND ON THEIR BANNER WAS INSCRIBED "WELCOME TO THE SONS OF TOIL FROM THE NORTH, EAST, SOUTH AND WEST." // HOWEVER THIS UNION TOOK NO ACTION AS TO NEGROES. // IT ADMITTED THAT THE NEGRO WORKER HAD BEEN NEGLECTED AND THAT HIS COOPERAATION MUST BE SECURED ~~OTHERWISE, NEGROES WOULD ACT AS SCABS~~. THERE SHOULD BE NO DISTINCTION AS TO RACE OR NATIONALITY.

IN THE SECOND MEETING IN CHICAGO IN 1867, THE NEGRO PROBLEM HAD TO BE DEBATED BUT THEY FOUND, AS THEY COMPLAINED "SO MUCH MYSTERY AND DIVERSITY OF OPINION" AMONG THEIR MEMBERS THAT IT WAS INEXPEDITNT TO TAKE ACTION, BUT THEIR CONSTITUTION INVITED ALL LABOR TO JOIN. // IN 1868, A MEETING IN NEW YORK, THERE WAS NO MENTION OF NEGROES // BUT IN 1869 AT PHILADELPHIA, NINE NEGROES APPEARED REPRESENTING SEPARATE NEGRO UNIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS. // THIS POINTED A WAY OUT

36-10-101

THROUGH SEPARATE UNIONS, AND THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION DECLARING THAT IT RECOGNIZED NEITHER COLOR NOR SEX ASKED THE COLORED LABORERS TO FORM THEIR OWN ORGANIZATIONS AND SEND DELEGATES TO THE NEXT CONFERENCE.

THIS SEPARATION OF WHITES AND BLACKS IN UNION LABOR WAS HELPED BY THE FACT THAT FOR A LONG TIME FREE NEGROES AND IMMIGRANTS FROM EUROPE ~~ESPECIALLY FROM IRELAND~~ HAD BEEN CLASHING IN THEIR COMPETITION FOR JOBS IN NORTHERN CITIES ~~LIKE PHILADELPHIA CINCINNATI AND NEW YORK~~.

IN NEW YOUR THESE RIOTS CULMINATED IN THE CELEBRATED DRAFT RIOT OF 1863 HERE THE ANGER OF THE WORKING CLASS AT THE DRAFT IN WAR SPENT ITSELF UPON THE NEGRO POPULATION. // ~~SO THAT~~ THUS AFTER EMANCIPATION AND DURING RECONSTRUCTION THERE WERE TWO LABOR MOVEMENTS IN AMERICA. // THE MAIN MOVEMENT OF THE WHITE WORKERS AND THE abortive ATTEMPT OF THE COLORED WORKERS ~~TO ORGANIZE~~. // PRACTICALLY ALL OF THE SKILLED WORK IN THE SOUTH BEFORE THE WAR HAD BEEN DONE BY NEGROES AND EVEN TO THIS DAY

SOME OF THE EXTRAORDINARILY FINE CRAFTSMAN SHIP IN BUILDING, IRON WORK CAN BE SEEN IN CHARLESTON AND NEW ORLEANS.

BUT AS INDUSTRY BECAME ORGANIZED AND NEW METHODS CAME INTO USE, THE NEGRO FOUND HIMSELF PUSHED OUT BECAUSE HE DID NOT KNOW THE NEW TECHNIQUE AND BECAUSE HE WAS NOT A MEMBER OF THE UNION. // ON THE OTHER HAND, HE ~~BECAME~~ STUCK TO HIS POLITICAL ~~ORGANIZATION~~ PROGRAM SO THAT THE NEGRO LABOR MOVEMENT BECAME A POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN THE SOUTH BY WHICH THE NEGROES ~~TRIED TO ARRANGE FOR THE CUTTING UP OF THE LARGE PLANTATIONS INTO SMALL HOLDINGS AND~~ 1866-1876 PUT THROUGH A CONSIDERABLE SOCIAL LEGISLATION FOR UPLIFT. // THIS HOWEVER, ALIENATED THEM FROM THE NORTHERN LABOR MOVEMENT WHICH BECAME INCREASINGLY A MOVEMENT FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF SKILLED WORKERS SO AS TO RAISE WAGES AND TO MAKE ~~THEM~~ LABOR A PART OF THE BOURGEOIS OR IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE MANAGERS OF THE INDUSTRY. // AFTER THE NEGRO HAD BEEN DISFRANCHISED IN 1876, THERE WAS NO REASON WHY THE NORTHERN LABOR MOVEMENT SHOULD MAKE GREAT EFFORT FOR ~~HIS~~ NEGRO ORGANIZATION OR HELP. // THEY DID NOT SEE IN HIM A COMPETITIOR IN SKILL,

including schools + universal male suffrage

36-10-102

AND DID NOT REALIZE THE PART HE ~~MIGHT~~ MUST PLAY AS SCAB. IN MASS INDUSTRY

THE WHITE LABOR MOVEMENT FROM 1868 to 1873 BECAME INCREASINGLY PETTY BOURGEOIS AND TURNED ~~THEIR~~ ITS BACKS ON BLACK LABOR. // FARMERS ORGANIZED THE GRANGE, BUT NOT FOR BLACK FOLK, NOR FOR THE STRUGGLING ~~PET SOCIETIES~~ AMONG THE FREEDMEN, // ~~AND THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR DID NOT TURN THEIR ATTENTIONS TO NEGROES UNTIL AFTER 1878.~~ TO REGAIN THE VOTE

THE LABOR LEADERS THEREFORE WENT INTO THE LABOR WAR ABOUT 1877, HAVING ALMOST DISARMED THEMSELVES OF THE POWER WHICH UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE OUGHT TO HAVE GIVEN THEM. // WHEN THEREFORE NORTHERN INDUSTRIES WITHDREW MILITARY SUPPORT IN THE SOUTH AND REFUSED TO STAND BEHIND THE DICTATORSHIP OF LABOR, BLACK AND WHITE, THERE WAS NO OPPOSITION FROM THE NORTHERN WHITE WORKER. // BLACK LABOR THEREFORE BEGAN TO ALINE ITSELF WITH THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WHICH HAD GIVEN THE BLACK FOLK THE RIGHT TO VOTE. // WHILE THE WHITE LABOR PARTY ALIGNED WITH THE DEMOCRATS BECAUSE OF THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE ANTI-FOREIGN "KNOW NOGHING MOVEMENT" AND BECAUSE OF ITS OPPOSITOION TO THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF BLACK LABOR. // THUS WHITE AND BLACK

36-10-103

LABOR/ LANDED IN OPPOSITE CAMPS.

CONSEQUENTLY/ WHILE THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR/ ADMITTED A FEW NEGROES,/ THEY NEVER FACED REALLY/ THE GREAT PROBLEM OF RACE.// THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, ~~AT FIRST~~/ WHILE MAKING PROFESSIONS/ OF ADMITTING ALL WORKERS/ AS A MATTER OF FACT ALLOWED THEIR DIFFERENT TRADES/ TO DISCRIMINATE AGAINST THE NEGRO/ AT WILL.// IT WAS ONLY/ WHEN THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS/ WAS FORMED THAT THE NEGRO BE - GAN TO BE SOLICITED/ AND TO GO INTO THE LABOR MOVEMENT.// PARTICULARLY DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR/ A CONCERTED MIGRATION/ OF NEGRO LABOR FROM THE SOUTH,/ BROUGHT THE NEGRO/ FOR THE FIRST TIME/ INTO MASS PRODUCTION/ AND NORTHERN LABOR/ HAD TO LOSE A GOOD MANY FIGHTS LIKE THE ~~STRIKES~~ STEEL STRIKES of 1922 BEFORE THEY REALIZED/ THAT HERE was IS A COMPETITOR/ WHO HAD TO BE IN THE UNION/ OR ~~BECOME SCABS~~. the union could not win

DURING THE DEPRESSION/ NEGROES SUFFERED A GREAT DEAL/ FROM UNEMPLOYMENT/ THERE BEING 22% UNEMPLOYED/ IN 1940/ AS CONTRASTED WITH 18%/ AMONG THE WHITES.// DURING THE NEW DEAL/ NEGROES BECAME GRADUALLY/ INTEGRATED INTO INDUSTRY,/ AND

30-10-104

BETWEEN 1940-1944,/ A MILLION NEGROES ENTERED CIVILIAN JOBS/ MOVING FROM THE FARMS TO THE FACTORY.// COLORED WOMEN ESPECIALLY/ BEGAN TO LEAVE DOMESTIC SERVICE/ AND TO TAKE PART IN INDUSTRY.// SO THAT/ AT THE CLOSE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR/ THE NEGROES EMERGED/ WITH A FOOT-HOLD IN UNSKILLED JOBS/ ~~AND INDUSTRY~~ AND DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR/ HE NEGROES ACQUIRED A FOOT-hold IN ~~SINGLE~~ SKILLED ~~AND~~ SEMI SKILLED and some JOBS/ IN MANY INDUSTRIES/ AND A PLACE AS A common WORKER IN WIDE VARIETY OF INDUSTRIES. ~~A~~ MORE ESPECIALLY/ HE ENTERED THE LABOR UNIONS/ UNTIL HIS UNION MEMBERSHIP TODAY ~~MAY BE ESTIMATED AS~~ is in the hundred thousands

30-10-105

TURNING NOW/ FROM THE GENERAL LABOR MOVEMENT,/ LET US THINK MORE ESPECIALLY OF THE WHITE COLLAR WORKERS.// THAT IS/ OF THOSE PERSONS/ WORKING IN NATIONAL INDUSTRY/ NOT AS MANUAL LABORERS/ BUT AS HELPERS/ ALL THE WAY FROM clerks and STENOGRAPHERS TO SECRETARYS/ AND ASSISTANTS/ IN VARIOUS TYPES OF MANAGEMENT.// FROM THE BEGINNING OF COURSE,/ THE DIFFICULTY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT/ AMONG THIS CLASS OF PEOPLE/ WAS THE QUESTION/ AS TO HOW FAR/ THEY WERE/ OR WANTED TO BE CONSIDERED/ AS PART OF

36-10-106

The Land of Labor has never honored Toil. It breeds Kings, Gamblers & Thieves

THE LABORING CLASS. // I REMEMBER AN INCIDENT IN MY OWN LIFE WHICH ILLUSTRATES THIS SUTIATION. // AS A BOY OF SIXTEEN, AFTER I HAD GRADUATED FROM HIGH SCHOOL, AND ~~WAS WAITING FOR A CHANCE TO GO~~ wanted a job before I could TO COLLEGE, I ~~BECAME TIME-KEEPER~~ was employed ON AN INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE IN MY NATIVE TOWN OF WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS. // A LOCAL GIRL, WIDOW OF ONE OF THE MEN WHO BY VARIOUS WAYS HAD HELPED TO BUILD THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD AND MAKE A FEW MILLIONS IN THE PROJECT, CAME HOME AND DETERMINED TO ERECT A MANSION ON ONE OF OUR green MEDOWS OUT OF THE BEAUTIFUL BLUE STONE OF OUR VALLEY.

I had A GREAT UNCLE WHO HAD BEEN A SERVANT IN THAT FAMILY TWO OR THREE GENERATIONS BEFORE my time ~~ME~~ AND SO I was given a temporary job because of forgotten wages AS TIMEKEEPER TO ACCUMULATE A LITTLE MONEY BEFORE I WENT TO COLLEGE. // I SAW THE STONE CUTTING, MASONERY, CARPENTRY AND BUILDING FROM A LITTLE DESK IN THE MANAGERS OFFICE AND FELT MYSELF DISTINCTLY A PART OF THE CAPITALIST MANAGEMENT. // I RECEIVED WHAT WAS TO ME AT THE TIME THE FABULOUS WAGE OF A DOLLAR A DAY, AND THE TASK OF KEEPING THE WORKERS TIME AND GIVING THEM NOTICE OF DISMISSAL.

36-10-107

IT WAS A JOB IN WHICH I TOOK A GREAT DEAL OF PRIDE. // ~~THERE WAS~~ I saw NOTHING UNUSUAL ABOUT IT OR UNNATURAL. // THE WORKERS, ALTHOUGH SOME OF THEM HAD GREAT SKILL EVEN ARTISTIC ABILITY, HAD ~~APPARENTLY~~ NO TRADE UNION // ~~AT ANY RATE I NEVER SAW ANY ORGANIZATION AMONG THEM~~. THEY WERE DISCHARGED SUMMARILY WITHOUT NOTICE AND ~~WHILE THEIR CONDITIONS WERE NOT TOO BAD, NEVERTHELESS~~ THEY WORKED TEN HOURS A DAY ~~AND~~ THERE WAS NO METHOD BY WHICH THEY COULD COMPLAIN OR SUGGEST.

AS I LOOK BACK UPON THE SITUATION, I NOT ONLY SEE UNORGANIZED LABORERS BUT I REMEMBER THAT IN OUR TOWN OR SCHOOLS ANY ORGANIZATION IN THE OFFICE WAS regarded in school AS NOTHING LESS THAN HERESEY // ORGANIZATION even OF COMMON LABOR WAS TAUGHT AS FUTILE SINCE WAGES DEPENDED ON SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS DEPENDED ON THE RICH. // STRIKES WERE PERMISSABLE SO LONG AS PICKETS AND AGITATION WERE ABSENT. // BUT OFFICE WORKERS WERE A HIGHER ORDER OF HUMANITY, CLOSELY ALLIED WITH OWNERS AND INVESTORS AND DESTINED IN THE COURSE OF NATURE TO BECOME ONE OR BOTH.

& and by the Grace of God

36-10-108

~~SO~~ IN THE OUTER WORLD AS I SAW IT LATER THERE WAS THE SAME SITUATION: THAT IS THE WHITE COLLAR WORKERS CONSIDERED THEMSELVES A PART OF OWNERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT and were not for a moment willing to enter anything like a trade UNION.

THE FACT THAT THEY DID NOT GET ADQUATE WAGE, THAT THEY WERE NOT ORGANIZED TO MAKE ANY DEMANDS WAS OFFSET BY THEIR FEELING OF HIGHER STATUS TO THE HAND-WORKER. // THIS WAS CLEAR AMONG WHITE WORKERS, BUT IT became EVEN CLEARER AMONG COLORED WORKERS.

THE BOOKER WASHINGTON DOCTRINE OF NEGRO CAPITALISM as a panacea WAS INTRODUCED in 1896 AND BECAME very POPULAR ~~IN THE UNITED STATES AND THERE WAS A CHANGE~~ and indeed a shrewd opportunities UNDER white aid ~~AMONG THE~~ NEW NEGRO MERCHANTS AND EMPLOYERS FOR JOBS HITHERTO NOT OPEN TO COLORED GIRLS OF GOOD TRANING AND TO YOUNG Colored MEN WHO WERE NOT ARTISANS !! IN FACT HAMPTON AND TUSKEGEE WHICH WERE RICHLY ENDOWED TO TRAIN NEGRO ARTISANS servants TURNED OUT IN FACT, MORE TEACHERS, CLERKS Secretaries and agents ~~AND SMALL MERCHANTS~~ THEN ANYTHING ELSE. // ~~A LARGE NUMBER OF CLERKS~~ were employed then ~~STENOGRAPHERS AND MANAGER ASSISTANTS WERE EMPLOYED AMONG NEGROES, BUT THEY WERE~~ THEY DID NOT TURN OUT MANY ARTISANS BECAUSE WHITE UNONS WOULD NOT LET THEM WORK

36-10-109

YOUNG EDUCATED NEGROES THERE (24) - FORCE POURED INTO WHITE COLLAR WORK ~~but EMPLOYED~~ AT LOW WAGES, WITH LONG HOURS, AND BAD CONDITIONS OF WORK: AND IF THEY COMPLAINED IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT THEY COULD GET NO other work except as artisans & servants ~~JOB~~ EXCEPT WITH ~~COLORED EMPLOYERS~~ ~~MEN AND NOT~~ AS ~~THIS~~ Clerical EMPL Y ENT WAS OF HIGHER STATUS THAN THAT OF THE HAND WORKERS / IT might ~~WOULD~~ BE REWARDED ACCORDING TO THE AMERICAN IDEA, WHICH WAS THAT THE OBJECT OF A WORKER ALWAYS WAS EVENTUALLY TO BECOME AN EMPLOYER. a RICHMAN

As artisans they became objects of contempt & hatred of all unions

THIS DISTINCTION AMONG COLORED WORKERS WAS BUT ECHO OF THE SAME SITUATION AMONG WHITES. EVEN IF A NEGRO COULD GET A JOB AS CARPENTER OR STEEL WORKER ~~ALONGSIDE WHITE,~~ // IT WAS MORE DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO GET EMPLOYED AS CLERK OR STENOGRAPHER BECAUSE OF THE SOCIAL STATUS INVOLVED. // THE WHITE WORKERS WERE PROFESSIONALLY JEALOUS OF ANY INTRUSION OF COLORED WORKERS, AND IF THEY DID NOT PROTEST ON THEIR OWN ACCORD, PROTEST WAS SUGGESTED BY THE MANAGEMENT (who used the new comer as an excuse to reduce wages)

Among whites

IT THUS HAPPENED ~~THAT AS~~ NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS ~~BECAME LARGER AND MORE~~ of protest, against race discrimination ~~INFLUENTIAL, MOST OF THE BEST OF THEM~~ (THAT EVEN) REFUSED TO JOIN OR RECOGNIZE ANY UNION MOVEMENT AMONG THEIR WHITE COLLAR EMPLOYEES, and that LONG AFTER ORGANIZATION OF LABORERS of all

sorts was RECOGNIZED.// THE NAACP DID NOT RECOGNIZE A UNION/ AMONG ITS STAFF WORKERS DURING THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS/ OF ITS ORGANIZATION/ AND IT WAS NOT UNTIL ABOUT 1940 THAT EFFORTS WERE MADE/ TO ORGANIZE THE STENOGRAPHERS,/ CLERKS AND LEGAL EMPLOYEES and CARRIED THROUGH FINALLY/ AFTER ~~SEVERAL~~ bitter STRUGGLES.// THERE WAS THE SAME DIFFICULTY IN THE URBAN LEAGUE. [CRISIS]

36-10-110 Was

NOW OF COURSE/ THE QUESTION FACES US TODAY/ WHAT IS THE STATUS/ SO FAR AS THE WHITE-COLLAR WORKER/ IS CONCERNED/ AND WHAT IS HIS FUTURE/ IN INDUSTRY/ AND IN LIFE/ GOING TO BE?// THIS ORGANIZATION HAS FACED/ FRONT-FORWARD/ THE PRIMARY PROBLEM OF DISCRIMINATION./ REALIZING THAT RACE DISCRIMINATION/ IS A WEAPON THAT HAS BEEN USED/ AND WILL BE USED/ TO PUT WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS/ IN RIVAL RACE GROUPS/ AND KEEP DOWN THEIR WAGES/ and/or organization FOR WHAT ARE REALLY TRIVIAL REASONS.

BUT BEYOND THIS/ AND LOOKING/ AT AN ORGANIZATION LIKE THIS/ AS A PART OF THE WORKING FORCE OF A NATION,/ WHAT IS ITS FUNCTION AND FUTURE?// FIRST OF ALL, THE ORGANIZATION MUST REALIZE/ THAT IT IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF INDUSTRY/ NOT MERELY

AN OFF-SHOOT,/ A SUBISIDIARY// BUT/ PART OF THE GENERAL ORGANIZATION a necessary of the Worlds Work/ THERE IS TODAY LITTLE TOIL/ WHICH IS MERELY MANUAL,/ and SUCH AS THERE IS/ MUST DISAPPEAR GRADUALLY INTO THE MACHINE/ AND TEST TUBE.// ALL WORK,/ AND WHITE-COLLAR WORK ESPECIALLY/ IS A COMBINATION OF MUSCLE AND BRAINS/ AND NO REAL LINE/ CAN BE DRAWN BETWEEN THE TWO.// I KNOW FOR I HAVE JUST FINISHED TYPING/ A MANUSCRIPT OF 75,000 WORDS.

36-10-111

WITH INDUSTRY/ ORGANIZED AS IT IS TODAY,/ THE WORK OF CLERKS/ AND ASSISTANTS/; OF STENOGRAPHERS AND SECRETARYS/ of the white collar force IS OF INTEGRAL IMPORTANCE.// WITHOUT IT/ THE ORGANIZATION/ AND USE OF the MACHINE ~~WORK~~/ WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE.// CONSEQUENTLY WHITE COLLAR WORKERS/ MUST BE RECOGNIZED MORE AND MORE/ AS OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE TO INDUSTRY. and to Human Life

ON THE OTHER HAND,/ IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING/ THAT THE OLD IDEA OF WHITE COLLAR WORKERS/ AS SIMPLY OCCUPYING A TEMPORARY PAUSING PLACE/ BETWEEN HAND LABOR

There are today many great men who could never survive the loss of their secretaries. What would Truman do for shrewd—

AND MANAGEMENT, BETWEEN WAGE EARNER AND ~~PROFITMAKER~~ Employer IS BOUND TO GO BY THE BOARD. THE JOB OF THE WHITE COLLAR WORKER HAS GOT TO BE RECOGNIZED AS A PERMANENT INSTITUTION IN WHICH NORMAL PERSONS CAN MAKE A LIFEWORK. IF THIS IS TRUE, The work MUST THEREFORE BE PAID ACCORDINGLY AND CONDITIONS OF WORK MUST MAKE THE GOOD LIFE POSSIBLE. A MAN SHOULD BE ABLE TO ENTER THIS CALLING as a permanent one WITH THE ASSURANCE OF ENOUGH INCOME TO LIVE WELL ~~WITH~~ on a DECENT STANDARD of life: TO BE able to marry and TO REAR A FAMILY AND TO BE SAFE IN HIS OLD AGE. and THIS OF COURSE MEANS A ~~GREAT DEAL~~ far BETTER INCOME THAN WHITE COLLAR WORKERS ARE GETTING TODAY.

IN ADDITION TO THAT IT MUST BE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE OBJECT OF WORK IS NOT NECESSARILY TO BECOME AN EMPLOYER, AS ABRAHAM LINCOLN ONCE INTIMATED, THAT THE OBJECT OF WORK OF ANYKIND IS DO WHAT MEN NEED DONE, TO HELP THE TOTAL OUTCOME OF INDUSTRY WHICH CALLS FOR ALL SORTS AND KINDS OF LABOR integrated IN ~~TO~~ COOPERATION, LABOR OF ~~THE HAND~~ muscle LABOR OF ~~THE~~ SKILL, LABOR OF THOUGHT, AND THAT THIS MUST BE RECOGNIZED.

36-10-112

IT IS PROBABLE IN THE FUTURE, NO MATTER WHAT YOUR GENERAL IDEAS OF INDUSTRY MAY BE, THAT THE INCOME OF THE PROFITMAKER IS GOING TO BE INCREASINGLY SMALLER AND THAT OF THE WAGE WORKER INCREASINGLY LARGER. AND WITH THAT THERE IS COMING A GREATER RECOGNITION OF THE PLACE OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF WORK AND THE INDISPENSABLE PART OF EACH IN THE WHOLE RESULT OF INDUSTRY. THIS NEW ATTITUDE HAS GOT TO BE RECOGNIZED BY ALL CLASSES IN THE COMMUNITY, NOT ONLY BY THE WHITES, BUT ALSO BY THE BLACK: NOT ONLY BY THE EMPLOYERS BUT BY THE EMPLOYEES: AND ESPECIALLY BY THOSE WHO STAND IN BETWEEN, management and toil AS THE INTERPRETERS OF THE MUSCULAR EFFORT OF THE MASS OF LABORERS TO THE THOUGHT-DIRECTION OF THE MANAGERIAL ORGANIZATION. HERE LIES THE HOPE OF WORK IN THIS WORLD, AND THE PLANNING OF INDUSTRY for the WELFARE STATE.

36-10-113

DuB - Mss.

A F R I C A

THE FUTURE OF AFRICA IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED AFTER THIS WAR. THE VERY SILENCE TODAY CONCERNING THAT FUTURE ON BOTH SIDES OF THE FORCES AT WAR EMPHASIZES ITS IMPORTANCE. WE MUST REMEMBER THAT IN AFRICA WE HAVE TODAY NOT ONLY THE GREATEST WORLD MINE OF UNDEVELOPED HUMAN LABOR BUT ALSO THAT MUCH OF THE RAW MATERIAL WHICH THE MODERN WORLD PARTICULARLY WANTS IS TO BE FOUND IN AFRICA MORE ABUNDANTLY THAN ANYWHERE ELSE. LET US NOTE THE LIST: PALM-OIL, COCOA, MOHOGANY, EBONY, CORK, COTTON? RUBBER, IVORY, OSTRICH FEATHERS, GOLD, COPPER, IRON, ZINK, TIN, LEAD, AND DIAMONDS, - THESE ARE THE PRESENT GIFTS OF AFRICA TO THE WORLD. OTHERS IN ABUNDANCE HIDE IN HER BOSOM. THE FIGHT FOR THE OWNERSHIP OF THESE MATERIALS AND THE DOMINATION OF THIS LABOR WAS A PRIME CAUSE OF THE PRESENT WAR.

32-15-125

IF THIS QUESTION IS TO BE LEFT UNSETTLED AFTER THIS WAR IT IS GOING TO BE A PRIME CAUSE OF FUTURE WARS.

WHY, THEN, ARE WE SO SILENT CONCERNING THE FATE OF SOMETHING BETWEEN 150,000,000 AND 200,000,000 HUMAN BEINGS? I PRESUME THAT THE CAUSE OF OUR INDIFFERENCE IS LARGELY PSYCOLOGICAL. IT IS THE PENALTY OF HUMAN DEGRADATION WHICH ALWAYS EXACTS PAYMENT FROM OPPRESSOR AND OPPRESSED. TODAY IT IS POSSIBLE TO IGNORE THE NEGRO BECAUSE OF A HISTORY OF DEGRADATION THE PARALLEL OF WHICH THE MODERN WORLD DOES NOT FURNISH. IN ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATION NEGRO BLOOD WAS PREDOMINANT IN MANY GREAT NATIONS AND PRESENT IN NEARLY ALL. NEGRO GENIUS AND NEGRO CIVILIZATION GAVE HERE THEIR GREAT GIFTS TO THE WORLD. IN THE EUROPEAN MIDDLE AGE WHEN AFRICA BECAME MORE OR LESS SEPARATED FROM DIRECT CONTACT WITH EUROPE NEVERTHELESS AFRICAN CULTURE FILTERED INTO EUROPE AND LEGEND AND STORY AND SONG CAME OUT OF THE DARK CONTINENT.

THERE WAS THEN NO QUESTION OF RACIAL INFERIORITY BESED UPON COLOR. BUT WHEN, BEGINNING LATE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, THE WORLD FOR FOUR HUNDRED YEARS RAPED THIS CONTINENT ON A SCALE NEVER BEFORE EQUALLED THE RESULT WAS NOT ONLY THE DEGRADATION OF AFRICA, IT WAS A MORAL DEGRADATION OF THOSE WHO WERE GUILTY AND WE ARE STILL LIVING IN THE SHADOW OF THE DEBAUCH OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE. IT COMES NATURAL FOR US TO HAVE GREAT MASSES OF UNTHOUGHT-OF MEN; TO CONCEIVE OF SOCIETY AS BUILT UPON AN UNSOCIAL MUDSILL. IT IS POSSIBLE FOR GREAT LABOR ORGANIZATIONS LIKE THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR TO ORGANIZE THEMSELVES UPON DISTINCTLY ARISTOCRATIC LINES LEAVING OUT OF ACCOUNT AND OUT OF THOUGHT CERTAIN SO-CALLED LOWER ELEMENTS OF LABOR; IT IS EVEN POSSIBLE FOR AN ORGANIZATION LIKE THIS TO BRING IN AFRICA ONLY AS AN ACCIDENT AND AFTER-THOUGHT. THIS MENTAL ATTITUDE TOWARD AFRICA AND ITS

39-15-126

PROBLEMS BUILDS ITSELF UPON UNCLEAR THINKING BASED ON THE TYRANNY OF CONVENTIONAL WORDS. WHEN WE SPEAK OF MODERN AFRICAN SLAVERY WE THINK OF MODERN SLAVERY AS A SURVIVAL OF ANCIENT SLAVERY. BUT IT WAS NOT. THE CLEFT BETWEEN THE TWO WAS ABSOLUTE. MODERN AFRICAN SLAVERY WAS THE BEGINNING OF THE MODERN LABOR PROBLEM AND MUST BE LOOKED AT AND INTERPRETED FROM THAT POINT OF VIEW UNLESS WE WOULD LOSE OURSELVES IN AN ALTOGETHER FALSE ANALYSIS. MODERN WORLD COMMERCE, MODERN IMPERIALISM, THE MODERN FACTORY SYSTEM AND THE MODERN LABOR PROBLEM BEGAN WITH THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE. THE FIRST MODERN METHOD OF SECURING LABOR ON A WIDE COMMERCIAL SCALE AND PRIMARILY FOR PROFIT WAS INAUGURATED IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY AND IN THE COMMERCE BETWEEN AFRICA AND AMERICA. THROUGH THE SLAVE TRADE AFRICA LOST AT LEAST 100,000,000 HUMAN BEINGS WITH ALL THE ATTENDANT MISERY AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION. THE SURVIVORS OF THIS WHOLESALE RAPE BECAME A GREAT

INTERNATIONAL LABORING FORCE IN AMERICA ON WHICH THE MODERN CAPITALISTIC MOVEMENT HAS BEEN BUILT AND OUT OF WHICH MODERN LABOR PROBLEMS HAVE ARISEN AND WE HAVE TRIED EVER SINCE TO KEEP THESE BLACK MEN AND THEIR DESCENDANTS AT THE BOTTOM OF THE SCALE ON THE THEORY THAT THEY WERE NOT THOROUGHLY MEN, THAT THEY CANNOT BE SELF-RESPECTING MEMBERS OF AND CONTRIBUTORS TO MODERN CULTURE - AN ASSUMPTION PURELY MODERN AND UNDREAMED OF IN ANCIENT OR MEDIEVAL DAYS.

IF, NOW, THIS SAME PSYCHOLOGY AND THIS SAME DETERMINATION TO EXPLOIT AND ENSLAVE THESE PEOPLE PASSES OVER INTO THE NEW WORLD AFTER THE WAR, WHAT CAN WE EXPECT BUT LIKEWISE PERSISTENCE OF THE IDEA THAT THERE MUST BE AN EXPLOITED CLASS AT THE BOTTOM OF CIVILIZATION AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, AN ENDEAVOR, BY ENDLESS WAR AND RAPINE, FUTILE AT FIRST, BUT IN THE END BOUND TO BE TRIUMPHANT BY WHICH THESE MILLIONS

32-15-123

OF PEOPLE WILL GAIN THEIR RIGHTS TO THINK AND ACT. NO MODERN WORLD CAN DREAM OF HOLDING 200,000,000 OF PEOPLE IN PERMANENT SLAVERY EVEN THOUGH THEY BE BLACK. IF IT TRIES THE COST WILL BE TERRIBLE. IF WE WOULD AVOID THIS COST THEN WE MUST BEGIN THE FREEING OF AFRICA THROUGH THIS WAR.

THERE IS AN UNSUAL OPPORTUNITY TO DO THIS. AFRICA IS TODAY HELD BY NEGRO TROOPS TRAINED UNDER EUROPEAN WHITE OFFICERS. THESE NEGRO TROOPS HAVE SAVED FRANCE. THEY HAVE CONQUERED GERMAN AFRICA. THEY AND THEIR AMERICAN NEGRO BROTHERS ARE HELPING TO SAVE BELGIUM. IT WOULD BE THE LEAST THAT EUROPE COULD DO IN RETURN AND SOME FAINT REPARATION FOR THE TERRIBLE WORLD HISTORY BETWEEN 1441 and 1861 TO SEE THAT A GREAT FREE CENTRAL AFRICAN STATE IS ERECTED OUT OF GERMAN EAST AFRICA AND THE BELGIAN CONGO. SURELY AFTER BELGIUM HAS SUFFERED

ALMOST AS MUCH FROM GERMANY AS AFRICA HAS SUFFERED FROM HER SHE OUGHT TO BE WILLING TO GIVE UP THE CONGO TO THIS END; AND IT WOULD BE RIGHT THAT ENGLAND SHOULD REFRAIN FROM TAKING GERMAN EAST AFRICA AS WELL AS REFRAIN FROM HANDING IT BACK. OUT OF THIS STATE WE COULD MAKE A GREAT MODERN EFFORT TO RESTORE THE ANCIENT EFFICIENCY AND OF THE LAND THAT GAVE THE IRON AGE TO ALL THE WORLD, AND WHO FOR AGES LED IN AGRICULTURE, WEAVING, METAL WORKING, AND THE TRAFFIC OF THE MARKET PLACE. HERE IS A CHANCE SUCH AS THE WORLD HAS NOT SEEN SINCE THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. LIBERIA AND HAITI WERE NEVER GIVEN A SINCERE CHANCE AND WERE FROM FIRST TO LAST HARASSED AS ONLY MODERN CAPITALISM CAN HARASS LITTLE AND HATED NATIONS. THE EFFORT OF SUCH A NEW AND SINCERE START IN AFRICA WOULD BE TREMENDOUS. ITS FIRST EFFECT WOULD BE UPON THE MILLIONS OF AFRICA AND THEN UPON THEIR DESCENDANTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. IN THE WEST

38-15-128

INDIES AND IN SOUTH AMERICA ARE SOME 30,000,000 OF MEN OF NEGRO DESCENT. THEY HAVE GIVEN LITERATURE AND FREEDOM TO BRAZIL, THEY HAVE GIVEN INDUSTRY AND ROMANCE TO THE WEST INDIES AND THEY HAVE GIVEN TO NORTH AMERICA ART AND MUSIC AND HUMAN SENSIBILITY. IN SOUTH AMERICA THEY MAY LOSE THEMSELVES IN THE BLOOD OF OTHER PEOPLE BUT IN THE WEST INDIES AND NORTH AMERICA THEY ARE STRIVING FOR SELF-EXPRESSION AND THEY NEED ONLY SUCH ENCOURAGEMENT AS JUST TREATMENT OF THEIR FATHERLAND AND ITS SPIRITUAL EFFECT ON THE WHOLE WORLD WOULD GIVE. I TRUST, THEREFORE, THAT AMONG THE NEW NATIONS THAT ARE TO START FORTH AFTER THIS WAR WILL BE A NEW AFRICA AND A NEW BEGINNING OF CULTURE FOR THE NEGRO RACE.

Many friends of American Negroes would say that we tend to emphasize our problem of race above that of the more basic problems of labor, poverty and ignorance. But to this we would reply that our problems are so fundamentally human that they often underlay the broader but more abstract social problems. Nothing illustrates this better than the history of America where development of work, income and education have had the greatest field for expansion the world has ever known; and yet continually have been hindered from the progress they might have made by problems of race and color which have been and still form the central thread of our history.

36-7-150

Despite desperate efforts to rewrite and distort this history, a few of us must recall that in 1776, when three million white Americans proclaimed the

equality of all men, they were at that very moment holding five hundred thousand black folk in slavery and classifying them not even as animals but as real estate. Their prosperity had been built on two centuries of this slavery and the independence which they demanded was mainly freedom to pursue this exploitation of men in raw material and in trade.

When in the War for Independence these slaves threatened to revolt to the English, the American army not only used five thousand of them to win the war but welcomed volunteers from that Haiti which for a half century afterwards they refused to recognize as a nation. The emancipation which was implicit in this use of the slave was thereupon begun in the United States but halted in 1820, when the Cotton Kingdom based on slave labor, together with plans for vaster empires centered in the Caribbean and South America, became backbone and vision of American Economy.

For the next half century the meaning of America was not the winning of the West, nor the development of democracy, as history insists, but a bitter fight as to whether American labor was to be slave or free. It flamed into bloody Civil War: a war caused by Negro slavery and in singular paradox stopped, as Abraham Lincoln himself testified, when two hundred thousand black soldiers reenforced the North and brought emancipation of both white labor and black to a nation that had never wanted it.

Thereupon the nation was faced by the logical contradiction that unless they used slaves as voters they could not control the former slaveholders or hold the United States in permanent Union. Black votes and black labor, as well as white, reconstructed the Union and attempted to reconstruct democracy, but Northern capital and Southern land monopoly bound Southern labor to the chariot wheels of

36-7-151

new free enterprise, which became powerful enough to disfranchise labor. This disfranchized labor was immediately thrown into two antagonistic competing groups by a legal caste of black folk reminiscent of the Middle Age established by consent of the nation in the center of the Twentieth Century.

How in such case could real democracy develop in this land. Remember that tonight in nine states of the Union, a meeting like this would be illegal; and in at least eight other states, would be inadvisable because of the danger of mob law. Remember that today you cannot in the United States either attack this basic caste or carry out social reform by legal methods, because in your way there stands a bloc of one hundred and thirty-four electoral votes based on color caste which makes a third party movement impossible and prevents any clear-cut voting on Education, economic security or health. It takes 126,000 of your votes to send a representative to Congress but it needs only 44,000 to send such a

representative from the South. In Bilbo's Mississippi, 150,000 votes have the same power in the Senate as six million votes in New York. These figures are so fantastic that most people do not know them and cannot believe them when they are stated. Yet it remains true that New York's 6,024,597 votes in 1944 elected the same number of senators that Mississippi elected with 152,712. President Truman backed by a majority of the voters of the nation can implement no program of reform as long as the South with political power based on disfranchisement and caste can out-count the majority in the presidential election and in Congress.

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Thus we Negroes insist that there can be no attack upon social problems by free democratic methods because we have neither freedom nor democracy. We have bound our own hands by the color line entrenched in the rotten boroughs of the South. By the same token the significance of America in the world is not freedom, democracy,

education and economic security but rather alliance with colonial imperialism and class dictatorship in order to enforce the denial of freedom to the colored peoples of the world. Whatever may be the sentiment in this room and in this state or even in this section, we cannot tonight for a moment forget that there are millions of Americans of wealth, education and power who believe that the necessity of keeping black men from ever becoming free citizens is more important than the triumph of democracy in the world. Under such circumstances you cannot blame us if we stress, sometimes perhaps unduly, the importance of the Negro problem, not simply for ourselves but for you.

FAMILY - CLAN
GOVERNMENT

1946
Lecture notes for African Academy

1 - PEACE
2 - WORK
3 - DEATH + HEALTH
4 - WORK
5 - SEX - WOMAN - EDUCATION
6 - FAITH
7 - HOME - ART

21-27-80

LAW - CUSTOM. - CULTURE

AFRICA — NILE
LAKES - CONGO
WEST COAST
ISLAM
SLAVE TRADE

THE COLONY
CHIEF + ELDERS
CUSTOM
INVESTMENT
LAW
FAITH + ART

U.N.O. — TRUSTEESHIP

2 February 1945
East and West Association

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COLONIAL PEOPLES

by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

I think the usual attitude of intelligent Americans toward the peoples of colonies is that these folk are inferior and rather stupid people, who naturally are envious of civilized folk and therefore, unhappy, impatient and demanding change; that this change may come in the course of a long time but at present is either impossible or inadvisable.

I want to try and impress it upon you that this is not a fair assumption and perhaps I can illustrate best by referring to the analogy of the attitude toward our own slums, remembering that today the colonies are the slums of the world.

In the nineteenth century we regarded slums as being the places where the poor, and therefore the lazy, lived (if not by actual choice, at least by logic of the facts); that these people were ignorant chiefly because they were careless and unenterprizing;

and that they were diseased because they were dirty with bad heredity; that almost any boy with ambition and work could rise from the East Side to Fifth Avenue. Then came a change due to investigation and thought when we began to realize that the main difficulty of the slum people were that their income was too small to provide for education or medical care; that they did not have adequate school facilities, and that their unsanitary living was not so much the result of their disease as the result of the fact that slum areas paid large profits to the owners of slum property. We, therefore, began to attack the problem of the slums through social services, better schools, city supported sanitation and especially through labor unions and increased and more intelligent use of political rights.

Now let us turn from this attitude toward domestic slums to the slums of the world which are colonies. We must remember that something like seven hundred and fifty

million people, (the exact number we do not know because we do not count colonials carefully and colonial status is a matter of definition, so that we may consider colonials as either five hundred million or a thousand million).

With regard to these colonials, they are the poorest people on earch; they are ninety to ninety-five per cent illiterate; they are decimated by preventable diseases; and they have little or no voice in their own government; or even the right to complain. We know that in the United States people are very poor who receive less than a thousand dollars a year; at the same time we ought to know that the average income of a family in India is something like twenty-five dollars a year and less than that in Central Africa. Making all possible allowance for climate and custom this is a degree of poverty which makes any decent standard of living unthinkable.

We have got into the habit of boasting in the United States that any person who is illiterate is illiterate by choice. This, of course, is not so. The average Negro child in Mississippi does not have a chance today to learn to read and write and

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the average white child in the country district of the north has small chance to get through the elementary school.

In the colonies the great majority of children have no facilities for education at all. Nine-tenths of the people cannot read and write in any language and the remaining tenth has in most cases but the beginnings of what can be called education. This means that the waste of human ability is almost fatal for cultural advance and that leadership in the modern sense and toward modern culture is almost impossible. It is the exceptional man who gets any education; and that this chance person should also happen to be a man of ability, self-sacrifice and high ideals is hardly thinkable.

In addition to this we have deliberately and for centuries intefered with the ancient and cultural self-education of these people; we have destroyed their family ideals, mocked at their gods; broken down all internal authority and substituted the authority of

the owning governments. We keep knowledge of modern languages and modern technique out of their reach and then accuse them of being ignorant and inferior. We s end half-trained and narrow-minded people to govern these colonials and teach them civilization and religion and we give such emissaries opportunity and right to pose as experts on colonial subjects. We regard many colonial areas as places where the rich and powerful may enjoy themselves and laugh at the appearance and condition of these people.

Most of the colonies are in tropical or semi-tropical regions which means that the natural fight which they must put up against disease is a difficult one. The history of West Africa and southern India is the history of malaria. The history of East Africa is the history of the tsetse fly. Tuberculosis, yellow fever, sleeping sickness, typhus, leprosy, verneral disease, bubonic plague and other enemies of humanity rage almost unchecked in such areas. The result is an enormous death rate and especially infant mortality which decimates the people in addition to recurrent famines.

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Why is it? It is not necessary to assume that the reason is the inherent ill will and perversity of civilized powers. On the contrary the average inhabitant of these countries professes, and really has, a large degree of good-will toward all people. But it must be remembered that the reason for colonies, the basic logic on which the colonial system persists, is the profit which is made from the labor and materials of colonial peoples. First, therefore, this demand for profit must be satisfied. There are all sorts of disputes about the rate of profit but it has been said lately in the Hailey Survey of Africa, to take one example, that probably never before in the world has so great profit been made upon so small investment as in the gold and diamond mines of South Africa while natives starve and have no decent school system. In the copper industry of Northern Rhodesia, forty-eight million dollars worth of copper was exported in 1937. Out of this total nearly half was paid directly in dividends to non-resident stockholders; three million dollars went as salaries to less than two thousand Europeans while seventeen thousand African laborers received less than a million dollars in wages. Endless other examples

could be named with smaller but still large profit. This means that work as hard as colonial people may, and they do work hard, the great mass of their income goes to support the people of the colonial powers and that consequently in no colony are there sufficient funds left for higher wages, education and the fight against.

Moreover, in order to keep these profits uninterfered with there is a pattern of treatment toward these people: they are subjected to tyrannical government and personal insult leading even to flogging in our day; they are not allow free speech or a free press; their migration is not only stopped by poverty but by law and it goes without saying that they have hardly the beginnings of democratic government or right of petition. Moreover, the press and published literature make these conditions so little known or understood to the average investor and voter in leading countries, that these people who are responsible for colonial conditions, usually have not the faintest idea as to what colonies are or what they mean today.

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No wonder that the colonial peoples regard the great powers with deep and

abiding bitterness. This fact is usually concealed from us. How many people, for instance, before this world war imagined what the Indonesians felt toward the Dutch? How many Americans understand the real reason for the bitterness of Indians toward the English, just as in the past they could not appraise Irish hatred of English.

This is not all: in the minds of colonial peoples and also in the minds of the people of England, France and America there is a realization of the logical contradiction of the whole situation. Here are great nations boasting of their accomplishments in civilization, of their powers over the forces of nature, of their high ethical standards and the purity of their religion; their belief in democracy; of their vast production of wealth and accomplishment in art; and at the same time holding at least one-third of the world's population by means of lying, stealing, insult and what amounts to slavery.

They do this with open eyes and with only vague gestures toward anything like a real face-forward meeting of the problem. To the colonial people this attitude looks like hypocrisy and it is hypocrisy.

It seems to me that this preliminary explanation is fundamental to any study of colonies. I have myself tried to develop it at length in a book published in 1945 by Harcourt, Brace and Company called Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace, which I should be glad to have you read. In addition, one of the great books of our day has been the autobiography of Jaharwahal Nehru. It is the life of a man born in a colony and it details the striving which he has had against this fatal handicap. To this the casual reader might add Briffault, The Deline and Fall of the British Empire, and a recent book by a native African, Orizu, Without Bitterness.

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AS DELIVERED

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COLONIAL PEOPLES

By
W.E.B. Du Bois

I THINK THE USUAL ATTITUDE OF INTELLIGENT AMERICANS TOWARD THE PEOPLES OF COLONIES IS THAT THESE FOLK ARE INFERIOR AND RATHER STUPID PEOPLE, WHO NATURALLY ARE ENVIOUS OF CIVILIZED FOLK AND, THEREFORE, UNHAPPY, IMPATIENT AND DEMANDING CHANGE: THAT THIS CHANGE MAY COME IN THE COURSE OF A LONG TIME BUT AT PRESENT IS EITHER IMPOSSIBLE, OR INADVISABLE.

I WANT TO TRY AND IMPRESS IT UPON YOU THAT THIS IS NOT A FAIR ASSUMPTION AND PERHAPS I CAN ILLUSTRATE BEST BY REFERRING TO THE ANALOGY OF THE ATTITUDE TOWARD OUR OWN SLUMS, REMEMBERING THAT TODAY THE COLONIES ARE THE SLUMS OF THE WORLD.

IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY WE REGARDED SLUMS AS BEING THE PLACES WHERE THE POOR, AND THEREFORE THE LAZY, LIVED (IF NOT BY ACTUAL CHOICE, AT LEAST BY LOGIC OF THE FACTS). THAT THESE PEOPLE WERE IGNORANT CHIEFLY BECAUSE THEY WERE CARELESS AND UNENTERPRISING, AND THAT THEY WERE DISEASED BECAUSE THEY WERE DIRTY, WITH BAD HEREDITY, THAT ALMOST ANY BOY WITH AMBITION AND WORK COULD RISE FROM THE EAST SIDE TO FIFTH AVENUE. THEN CAME A CHANGE DUE TO INVESTIGATION AND THOUGHT WHEN WE BEGAN TO REALIZE THAT THE MAIN DIFFICULTIES OF THE SLUM PEOPLE WERE THAT THEIR INCOME WAS TOO SMALL TO PROVIDE FOR EDUCATION OR MEDICAL CARE, THAT THEY DID NOT HAVE ADEQUATE SCHOOL FACILITIES, AND THAT THEIR UNSANITARY LIVING WAS NOT SO MUCH THE RESULT OF THEIR DISEASE AS THE RESULT OF THE FACT THAT SLUM AREAS PAID LARGE PROFITS TO THE OWNERS OF SLUM PROPERTY. WE, THEREFORE, BEGAN TO ATTACK THE PROBLEM OF THE SLUMS THROUGH SOCIAL SERVICES, BETTER SCHOOLS, CITY SUPPORTED SANITATION AND ESPECIALLY THROUGH LABOR UNIONS AND INCREASED AND MORE INTELLIGENT USE OF POLITICAL RIGHTS.

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NOW LET US TURN FROM THIS ATTITUDE TOWARD DOMESTIC SLUMS TO THE SLUMS OF THE WORLD WHICH ARE COLONIES. WE MUST REMEMBER THAT SOMETHING LIKE SEVEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLION PEOPLE ARE IN COLONIES (THE EXACT NUMBER WE DO NOT KNOW BECAUSE WE DO NOT COUNT COLONIALS CAREFULLY AND COLONIAL STATUS IS A MATTER OF DEFINITION, SO THAT WE MAY CONSIDER COLONIALS AS EITHER FIVE HUNDRED MILLION OR A THOUSAND MILLION.

WITH REGARD TO THESE COLONIALS, THEY ARE THE POOREST PEOPLE ON EARTH, THEY ARE NINETY TO NINETY-FIVE PER CENT ILLITERATE, THEY ARE DECIMATED BY PREVENTABLE DISEASE, AND THEY HAVE LITTLE OR NO VOICE IN THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT, NOR EVEN THE RIGHT TO COMPLAIN. WE KNOW THAT IN THE UNITED STATES PEOPLE ARE VERY POOR WHO RECEIVE LESS THAN A THOUSAND DOLLARS A YEAR, AT THE SAME TIME WE OUGHT TO KNOW THAT THE AVERAGE INCOME OF A FAMILY IN INDIA IS SOMETHING LIKE TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS A YEAR, AND LESS THAN THAT IN CENTRAL AFRICA. MAKING ALL POSSIBLE ALLOWANCE FOR CLIMATE AND CUSTOM THIS IS A DEGREE OF POVERTY WHICH MAKES ANY DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING UNTHINKABLE.

WE HAVE GOT INTO THE HABIT OF BOASTING IN THE UNITED STATES THAT ANY PERSON WHO IS ILLITERATE IS ILLITERATE BY CHOICE. THIS, OF COURSE, IS NOT SO. THE AVERAGE NEGRO CHILD IN MISSISSIPPI DOES NOT HAVE A CHANCE TODAY TO LEARN TO READ AND WRITE AND THE AVERAGE WHITE CHILD IN THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS OF THE NORTH HAS SMALL CHANCE TO GET FURTHER THAN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.

IN THE COLONIES THE GREAT MAJORITY OF CHILDREN HAVE NO FACILITIES FOR EDUCATION AT ALL. NINE-TENTHS OF THE PEOPLE CANNOT READ AND WRITE IN ANY LANGUAGE AND THE REMAINING TENTH HAS IN MOST CASES BUT THE BEGINNINGS OF WHAT CAN BE CALLED EDUCATION. THIS MEANS THAT THE WASTE OF HUMAN ABILITY IS ALMOST FATAL FOR CULTURAL ADVANCE AND THAT THE LEADERSHIP IN THE MODERN SENSE AND TOWARD MODERN CULTURE IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE. IT IS THE EXCEPTIONAL MAN WHO GETS ANY EDUCATION, AND THAT THIS CHANCE PERSON SHOULD ALSO HAPPEN TO BE A MAN OF ABILITY, SELF-SACRIFICE AND HIGH IDEALS IS HARDLY THINKABLE.

IN ADDITION TO THIS, WE HAVE DELIBERATELY AND FOR CENTURIES INTERFERED WITH THE ANCIENT AND CULTURAL SELF-EDUCATION OF THESE PEOPLE, WE HAVE DESTROYED THEIR FAMILY IDEALS, MOCKED AT THEIR GODS, BROKEN DOWN ALL INTERNAL AUTHORITY AND SUBSITUTED THE AUTHORITY OF THE OWNING GOVERNMENTS. WE KEEP KNOWLEDGE OF MODERN LANGUAGES AND MODERN TECHNIQUE OUT

OF THEIR REACH AND THEN ACCUSE THEM OF BEING IGNORANT AND INFERIOR. WE SEND HALF-TRAINED AND NARROW-MINDED PEOPLE TO GOVERN THESE COLONIALS AND TEACH THEM CIVILIZATION AND RELIGION AND WE GIVE SUCH EMISSARIES OPPORTUNITY AND RIGHT TO POSE AS EXPERTS ON COLONIAL SUBJECTS. WE REGARD MANY COLONIAL AREAS AS PLACES WHERE THE RICH AND POWERFUL MAY ENJOY THEMSELVES AND LAUGH AT THE APPEARANCE AND CONDITION OF THESE PEOPLE.

MOST OF THE COLONIES ARE IN TROPICAL OR SEMI-TROPICAL REGIONS WHICH MEANS THAT THE NATURAL FIGHT WHICH THEY MUST PUT UP AGAINST DISEASE IS A DIFFICULT ONE. THE HISTORY OF WEST AFRICA AND SOUTHERN INDIA IS THE HISTORY OF MALARIA. THE HISTORY OF EAST AFRICA IS THE HISTORY OF THE TSETSE FLY. TUBERCULOSIS, YELLOW FEVER, SLEEPING SICKNESS, TYPHUS, LEPROSY, VENEREAL DISEASE, BUBONIC PLAGUE AND OTHER ENEMIES OF HUMANITY RAGE ALMOST UNCHECKED IN SUCH AREAS. THE RESULT IS AN ENORMOUS DEATH RATE AND ESPECIALLY INFANT MORTALITY WHICH DECIMATES THE PEOPLE IN ADDITION TO RECURRENT FAMINES.

WHY IS THIS? IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO ASSUME THAT THE REASON IS THE INHERENT ILL-WILL AND PERVERSITY OF CIVILIZED POWERS. ON THE CONTRARY THE AVERAGE INHABITANT OF THESE COUNTRIES PROFESSES, AND REALLY HAS, A LARGE DEGREE OF GOOD-WILL TOWARD ALL PEOPLE. BUT IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT THE REASON FOR COLONIES, THE BASIC LOGIC ON WHICH THE COLONIAL SYSTEM PERSISTS, IS THE PROFIT WHICH IS MADE FROM THE LABOR AND MATERIALS OF COLONIAL PEOPLES, AND THE WELL-PAID JOBS THEY PROVIDE. FIRST, THEREFORE, THIS DEMAND FOR PROFIT MUST BE SATISFIED. IT COMES BEFORE EDUCATION OR LIFE. THERE ARE ALL SORTS OF DISPUTES ABOUT THE RATE OF PROFIT IN COLONIES BUT IT HAS BEEN SAID LATELY IN THE HAILEY SURVEY OF AFRICA, THAT PROBABLY NEVER BEFORE IN THE WORLD HAS SO GREAT PROFIT BEEN MADE UPON SO SMALL INVESTMENT AS IN THE GOLD AND DIAMOND MINES OF SOUTH AFRICA, WHILE NATIVES STARVE AND HAVE NO DECENT SCHOOL SYSTEM. IN THE COPPER INDUSTRY OF NORTHERN RHODESIA, FORTY-EIGHT MILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF COPPER WAS EXPORTED IN 1937. OUT OF THIS TOTAL NEARLY HALF WAS PAID DIRECTLY IN DIVIDENDS TO NON-RESIDENT STOCKHOLDERS, THREE MILLION DOLLARS WENT AS SALARIES TO LESS THAN TWO THOUSAND EUROPEANS, WHILE SEVENTEEN THOUSANT AFRICAN LABORERS RECEIVED LESS THAN A MILLION DOLLARS IN WAGES, OR $58 EACH A YEAR. ENDLESS OTHER EXAMPLES COULD BE NAMED WITH SMALLER BUT STILL LARGE PROFIT. THIS MEANS THAT WORK AS HARD AS COLONIAL PEOPLE MAY, AND THEY DO WORK HARD, THE GREAT MASS OF THEIR INCOME GOES TO SUPPORT THE PEOPLE OF THE COLONIAL POWERS AND THAT CONSEQUENTLY IN NO COLONY ARE THERE SUFFICIENT FUNDS LEFT FOR HIGHER WAGES, EDUCATION, AND THE FIGHT AGAINST DISEASE.

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MOREOVER, IN ORDER TO KEEP THESE PROFITS UNINTERFERED WITH, THERE IS A PATTERN OF TREATMENT TOWARD THESE PEOPLE: THEY ARE SUBJECTED TO TYRANNICAL GOVERNMENT AND PERSONAL INSULT LEADING EVEN TO FLOGGING IN OUR DAY, THEY ARE NOT ALLOWED FREE SPEECH OR A FREE PRESS, THEIR MIGRATION IS NOT ONLY STOPPED BY POVERTY BUT BY LAW, AND IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT THEY HAVE HARLDY THE BEGINNINGS OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OR RIGHT OF PETITION. MOREOVER, OUR PRESS AND PUBLISHED LITERATURE MAKE THESE CONDITIONS SO LITTLE KNOWN OR UNDERSTOOD TO THE AVERAGE INVESTOR AND VOTER IN LEADING COUNTRIES, THAT THE PEOPLE WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR COLONIAL CONDITIONS, USUALLY HAVE NO CLEAR IDEA AS TO WHAT COLONIES ARE OR WHAT THEY MEAN TODAY.

NO WONDER THAT THE COLONIAL PEOPLES REGARD THE GREAT POWERS WITH DEEP AND ABIDING BITTERNESS. THIS FACT IS USUALLY CONCEALED FROM US. HOW MANY PEOPLE, FOR INSTANCE, BEFORE THIS WORLD WAR IMAGINED WHAT THE INDONESIANS FELT TOWARD THE DUTCH? HOW MANY AMERICANS UNDERSTAND THE REAL REASON FOR THE BITTERNESS OF INDIANS TOWARD THE ENGLISH, JUST AS IN THE PAST THEY COULD NOT APPRAISE IRISH HATRED OF ENGLAND.

THIS IS NOT ALL. IN THE MINDS OF COLONIAL PEOPLES, AND ALSO IN THE MINDS OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND AMERICA, THERE IS A REALIZATION OF THE LOGICAL CONTRADICTION OF THE TOTAL SITUATION, EVEN IF DETAILS ARE VAGUE. HERE ARE GREAT NATIONS BOASTING OF THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN CIVILIZATION, OF THEIR POWERS OVER THE FORCES OF NATURE, OF THEIR HIGH ETHICAL STANDARDS, AND THE PURITY OF THEIR RELIGION, OF THEIR BELIEF IN DEMOCRACY, OF THEIR VAST PRODUCTION OF WEALTH AND ACCOMPLISHMENT IN ART, AND AT THE SAME TIME HOLDING AT LEAST ONE-THIRD OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION BY MEANS OF LYING, STEALING, AND INSULT IN WHAT AMOUNTS TO SLAVERY.

(O V E R)

THEY DO THIS WITH OPEN EYES AND WITH ONLY VAGUE GESTURES TOWARD ANYTHING LIKE A REAL FACE-FORWARD MEETING OF THE PROBLEM. TO THE COLONIAL PEOPLE THIS ATTITUDE LOOKS LIKE HYPOCRISY AND IS HYPOCRISY.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THIS PRELIMINARY EXPLANATION IS FUNDAMENTAL TO ANY STUDY OF COLONIES. I HAVE MYSELF TRIED TO DEVELOP IT AT LENGTH IN A BOOK PUBLISHED IN 1945 BY HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY, CALLED COLOR AND DEMOCRACY: COLONIES AND PEACE, WHICH I SHOULD BE GLAD TO HAVE YOU READ. IN ADDITION, ONE OF THE GREAT BOOKS OF OUR DAY HAS BEEN THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JAHARWARLAL NEHRU. THIS IS THE LIFE OF A MAN BORN IN A COLONY AND IT DETAILS THE STRIVING WHICH HE HAS HAD AGAINST THIS FATAL HANDICAP. TO THIS THE CASUAL READER MIGHT ADD BRIFFAULT, THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, AND A RECENT BOOK BY A NATIVE AFRICAN, ORIZU, WITHOUT BITTERNESS. ALSO, MR. OJIKE, WHO SPEAKS THIS AFTERNOON, IS PUBLISHING A BOOK THROUGH JOHN DAY. FRIENDS WHO HAVE SEEN THE PROOF SHEETS TELL ME IT IS WORTH READING. SEVERAL BOOKS BY GEARGE PADMORE SHOULD BE IN LIBRARIES.

1946---------- TAHARKA, EMPEROR OF THE WORLD ---

For your entertainment at this commencement season, I am temporarily turning my back upon the modern world upon the memory of that United Nations Conference at San Francisco from which I have just returned, and from this world of widespre d war, suffering and upheaval, which makes it so easy to forget how many thousands of years of history have gone before. And I am seeking to lead you back over 3,000 years of human history to the story of one of the world's great black men, whom the world has forgotten.

I do this especially because in my recent experience it has repeatedly been emphasized in my m nd how seriously a lack of accurate historical knowledge handicaps our understanding of the present.

While I was at San Francisco 60,000 persons were clamoring for the 3,000 seats in the Opera House where representatives of the world met. The vast majority of these 60,000 had no conception of the implications of this conference. They thought of it as a gre t spectacle, or as a meeting for social reform; but as a historical development they could not ~~xxxpx~~ grasp it because they did not know history; because history is so haltingly taught and interpreted in our day.

Some who were there, to be sure, thought of San Francisco in terms of Yalta and Teheran, of Moscoe and Casablanca. Still fewer compared intelligently the United Nations with the League of Nations born at Versailles in 1919. And only a handful thought of the great wars of the 20th century; world wide and world shaking in their significance as they loomed against the background of the 19th , 18th and the 17th centuries. The centuries of capitalistic exploitation, of freedom and discovery, of science and nationhood. Even here I am not pausing. I am going back over the Great Divide that yawns between modern and ancient history.

In the 1700 years that intervene between the birth of Christ and the full integration of the great European nations, the world saw the fall of the Roman ~~xxxxxx~~ Empire, the Dark Age, the Rebirth of Culture, the Blossoming of the Catholic hierarchy and its Protestant rev lt. I am travelling on backwards in that dimly apprehended and partly myt ical history of the world before Christ to a time , a thousand years before His birth. It was a day difficult for us to conceive because its ef ective center was not the Atlantic nor the Mediterranean, not Europe nor even Asia. It was Africa that strange valley of the Nile River where a nation had existed so long that no ne could conceive of a world without Egypt or of a world worth knowing outside of Africa.

The great Ramessu had ranged the known world outside of half-known Asia, and forgetting a Europe that then meant absolutely nothing in culture or development, Ramessu with his yellow, brown and black soldiers had conqureed the known world. He had driven a little group of Hebrew slaves far out of his territory and the very exuberance and weight of his power had, as is so often the case, left his own land exhausted. It was then that from the yellow East and black South and eventually from the white North, foes began to press in upon Egypt just as they had pressed a thousand years earlier, and under the shepherd kings, conquered Egypt. Even then, 1800 years B.C. under a black Queen, Nefertari help for Egypt had come out of the darker hordes of the South. And now again Egypt in her distress turned toward the land of burned faces, Ethiopia.

The era to which I am calling your attention lasted practically from 750 years before Christ on until 300 years before the first Christmas.

It paralleled the rise and the beginning of the fall of the great culture of Greece; and the beginning of the vaster Roman Empire, destinedto encompass the world. When this era of Ethiopian history began, 750, B.C. Greece was but sta ting her development and Rome was nothing.

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As I have said, Egypt was then the one gre t world state, threatened by the new imperial powers developing in the valley of the ~~xixrx~~ Tigress-Euphrates. Because of the pressure from the East, princes of Libya, of that same desert which Italy conqurered in the 19th century, but which in the 8th century before Christ was a well-watered and important land , arose out of their letharthy and as Egypt retreated before the rising might of Assyria it was a Prince of Libya th t took advantage of the turmoil and made h mself Pharoah of Egypt. He marched South toward Ethiopia.

It was then that the first king of a newly organized Ethiopia whose name was Piankhy organized an army and navy and marched and sailed North to meet the intruders. Four hundred miles South of the Mediterranean at Hermopolis the armies met. Piankhy was victorious. He swept up through Egypt and received the submission of 16 princes. The Libyan leader wrote: "So now, through fear of thee, I have fled to the uttermost swamps, down by the gre t grean sea!"

Egypt was thus transformed and Ethiopia instead of being a tribute-paying dependency became the leading country of the world of which Egypt made a province. This turns our attention to Ethiopia which meant in Greek "the land of the burned faces." Here for 3000 years and more an ~~x~~ African culture had been developing separate from that of Egypt but always interconnected by trade and migration, by changes in climate and fertility, by conquest and turmoil by cultural interchange. The cultural likeness between Ethiopia and Egypt was great. We mean by culture today the habits and methods by which great groups of people meet and solve the problems of everyday living; their religion and concept of God; their political organizations; their family life and ceremonies; the way in which they work and distribute rewards of labor; the ways in which they play and enjoy physical recreation and spiritual contentment through art, in song, story and building. In all these matters the likness between Egypt and Et iopia was so great as to point to common origin or borrowing one from another.

Modern scholarship has usually assumed that the borrowing was by Ethiopia from Egypt. The reverse is probably the fact because Ethiopian customs go back towards the Great Lakes in central Africa or perhaps west even to the African West Coast. There is the pattern of family organization with its political andsocial life and descent of power and property through the mother rather than than the father. There is the wors ip of the ~~xxx~~ serpent, the met ods of manufacture of textiles and pottery. All these things throughout Africa, in the valley, of the Nile, Congo and Niger show general likeness and similarity which points to a culture that is African, rather than to something borrowed from Asia, or least of all from Europe. For a century and a half after 750 B.C. Ethiopia ruled Egypt. Its power was centered at two capitals: at Napata where the king-priests for centuries were crowned on its golden throne, and the island of Meroe, between Atbara and the Blue Nile; a younger city than Napata lying between the Fifth and Sixth cataracts, and the natural outlet to the Nile from the desert to the West. Meroe was founded only a lettle earlier than Ethiopia's triumph over Egypt and had a standing army of 200,000 soldiers and 4,000 organized artisans. It was a center of trade with palaces and baths, temples and pyramids. Here it was in later years that the Candaces ruled. And this was the Ethiopia which the Romans later knew. When Piankhy died, the Coulcil at Napata chose Shabaka as his successor, Shabaka, as the Roman historian tells us: "went beyond all his

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predecessors in his worship of the gods and his kindness to his subjects. He is said by Herodotus to have abolished capital punishment in Egypt. Shabaka sought to encourage art; he began the building at the Temple at Karnak. He preserved historical documents.

But Assyria gaining power in Asia to the East in the same land where today, France is fighting; t is Assyrian began to attack his forces and finally triumphed at the battle of Altekeh. Shabaka abdicated and another king succeeded him. Finally there came to the throne and ruled for a period of 25 years the greatest king of this dynasty, who with justification called himself, "Emperor of the world."

Indeed, as I have said, from 750 years before Christ. The Negro race as represented by Ethiopia and its kings, was the gre test power in the civilized world. They ruled the valley of the Nile; they came to dominate Western Asia: they even looked at the Mediterranean islands and the stirrings of culture in Southern Europe. It was as Weigall said: "That astonishing eopch of Negro domination."

Taharka whose pictures show him with a face of pure Negro type, was 42 years old when he came to the throne. He halted the Assyrian attack upon Egypt and all of you have read of this in the 36th and 37th chapters of Isaiah:

36: 1 "Now it came to pass in the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah, that Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came up against all the defenced cities of Judah, and took them.

2- And the King of Assyria sent Rab-Sha-keh from La-chish to Jerusalem unto king Hezekiah with a great army. And he stood by the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field.

1- And it came to pass, when King Hezekiah heard it, that he rent his clothes, and covered himself with sackcloth, and went into the house of the Lord.

6- But Isaiah said unto them, Thus shall ye say unto your master, Thus saith the Lord, Be not afraid of the words that thou hast heard, wherewith the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me.

7- Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a rumor, and return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword of his own land.

8- So Rab-sha-keh returned, and found the king of Assyria warring against Libnah;

9- And he heard say concerning Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, He is come forth to make war with thee. And when he heard it he sent messages to Hezekiah, saying,

10- Thus shall ye speak to Hezekiah king of Judah, saying, Let not thy God, in whom thou trustest, deceive thee, saying, Jerusalem shall not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria.

14- And Hezekiah received the letter from the hand of the messengers, and read it; and Hezekiah went up unto the house of the Lord, and spread it before the Lord."

37:15- "And Hezekiah prayed unto the Lord, saying,

16- O Lord of Hosts, God of Isreal, that dwellest between the cherubims,

thou art the God, even thou alone, of all the kingdoms of the earth; thou hast made heaven and earth.

17- Incline thine ear, O Lord, and hear; open thine eyes, O Lord, and see; and hear all the words of Sennacherib, which he hath sent to reproach the living God.

33- Therefore thus saith the Lord concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come into t is city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shields, not cast a bank against it.

38- And it came to pass, as he was worship ing in the house of Nisroch his god, that his sons smote him with the sword; and they escaped into the land of Armenia: And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead." Thus Jewish legend interpreted the victory of Ethiopia over the Assyrians as the hand of God---which perhaps it was.

35-1-125

Taharka eventually established friendly alliances with western Asia. He continued to build the temple at Karnak, one of the most striking monuments in the Ancient World. He bult a temple at Thebes with a relief representing the four courts of the four quarters of the Nilotic world: Dedun the great God of Ethiopia, represents the South; Sopd, the Eastern Desert; Sedek, the West Desert; while Horus represents Egypt to the North. Taharka travelled byond the confines of Ethiopia and Strabo says that he led expeditions as far s the Strait of Gibraltar.

But he was facing a rapidly changing world, a world where there was upheaval in Asia among Assyrians and Persians,.... eventually the rise of the Greeks in Europe and finally the Romans were going to change the face of history. First and agains came the new onslaughts of the Assyrians:

"The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold
and his cohorts were leamin d with silver and gold
and the sheen of his spears were like stars on the sea,
As the blue wave rolled mi ghtly o'er deep Galilee."

Taharka, resisting in vain was driven out of Egypt and into the "night of Death," as the simple chronicle tells us. Thus passed a mighty ruler, perhaps the greatest of black men ever to wear a crown. But his legacy was powerful. Under his successor, Tanutamen, the Assyrians were agained turned back, and the struggle wavered back and forth as the prohpet Nahum in Hebrew bible sings:

"The noise of a whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and of the jumping chariots. The horseman lifteth up both the bri ht sword and the glittering spear; and there is a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcases; and there is no end of their corpses; they stu ble upon their corpses.

Behold , I am against thee, saith the Lord of hosts; and I will discover thy skirts upon thy face, and I will shew the nations thy nakedness, and the kindoms thy shame. And it shall come to pass, that all they that look upon thee shall flee from thee and say, Ineveh is laid w ste; who will bemoan her? Whence shall I seek comfo ters for thee?

Art t ou better than populous ? No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea and her wall from the sea?

Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; Put and Lubim

were thy helpers.

Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity; her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets; and they cast lots for her honorable men, and all her great men were bound in chains."

35-1-126

Thus eventually again Ethiopian and Egyptian strength were dashed to pieces and ashurbanipal, the Assyrian conqueror boasted: "I captured Thebes like a flood." But his triumph was ephemeral for the new power of Persia rose in the East.

Ethiopian kings still held their power even though invaded twice by Persia and finally by Greece. Aspeluta and Nastasen occupied its powerful throne and defeated Cambyses, the persian, in the fifth century before Christ. The black dynasty continued to rule down until the birth of Christ, and for nearly 400 years after. But it was not the world-wonquerering Ethiopia of other days; it did not hold Egypt in thrall. It was but one of many nations but still powerful and renowned.

The Ptolemies representing the rule of the Greeks pressed down upon Ethiopia but the black queens called Candace still ruling 80 tribes, stood ready to repel the invader. On the death of Cleopatra, Egypt became a province of the Roman Empire and Ethiopia was attacked, not simply by Augustus Caesar but by black invaders from the West called Nubians with whom the Romans made alliance.

It was then that the Candace mentioned in Acts 8:26,27 was ruling; "And the angel of the Lord spake unto Philip, saying Arise, and go toward the south unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza, which is desert.

And he arose and went: and behold, a man of Ethiopia, an eunuch of great authority under Candace queen of the Ethiopians who had the charge of all her treasure had come to Jerusalem for to worship."

Although the Roman General captured Napata and sent a thousand prisoners as slaves to Caesar, nevertheless Ethiopia successfully revolted and we find the Emperor Nero, 64 years after Christ, still trying to invade the country. For 200 years more they struggled on until at last the Nubians and Abbysinians from the highlands overwhelmed Ethiopia and were converted to Christianity by St. Athanasius in 330. Then 500 years after "encompassed," as Gibbon said, "by the enemies of their religion, the Ethiopians, and slept for nearly a thousand years, forgetful of the world by whom they were forgotten."

Throughout the Middle Ages, however, the legend of a great Christian kingdom hidden away in African persisted, and the search for Prester John became one of the world quests.

Here is the half-known story which I have given merely in bare outline. There is much about Taharka and Ethiopia which is unknown and inconceivable. It remains for students such as may come out of this class to bring authentic history of this most interesting period of the world to wider knowledge. Meantime, we can see in many ways the influence of this triumph of Ethiopia over the world, all down the ages of history, even unto San Francisco.

It may well be asked what is the use of talking today about men and matters that belong to a world 3000 years in the past? The use is obvious; to emphasize in your minds the continuity of history, the eternal interdependence of human experience. Your first reaction to this story of Taharka and is times will be to recognize his likeness to you. He was of the same color and cast of

35-1-127

countenance of many of you and therefore you feel a certain unity with him, and you assume that his experience makes him one with you.

But ~~wx~~ may I emphasize that this is not really the stronger tie. Physical likeness and differences have always played a great part in the world, as they do today. But they are of less importance than cultural matters. And by cultural matters, as I have siad , we mean the way in which people solve the problems of living; the organization of the family, of property, of work and ownership, of worship and recreation. The physical likeness of the peoples in Ethiopia to the Negroes of Norfolk is of less importance than the cultural influence . The cultural influence of Ethiopia was felt in the ancient ~~x~~ world. It touched and modified the civilization of Greece, of Western Asia, of Southern Europe. It was a part of that great organization of men known as the Roman Empire and it is today a part of the history of America.

It is for this reason that we should be interested in it; that we should think of Ethiopia and Africa as helping to build that intricate web of civilization on which is today so often ~~sx~~ called European. But as a matter of fact, it came only particlly from Europe and only partly of the thought and action of European men. This heritage of culture which makes our life today and will make it eternally , came first our of Africa and is the great prize of all those people who share it, who share it unconsciously throu h imitating the ways and habits of others; and who share it consciously through education and thought and reflection. It is a priceless heritage. It is threatened today by world war, and indeed by a succession of world wars which loom in the future. Against the destruction, physical and spiritual which these wars encourage, the interests of all people, black and white are opposed. We seek to know them, Taharka, King of Ethiopia and Emperor of the World, in order to protect that hixh he bequathed to the Roman Empire, the Englishe Commonwealth and to American democracy.

Council on African Affairs

MADISON SQUARE GARDENS

6 JUNE, 1946

FROM W.E.B. DU BOIS

MAY I BRING TO THIS MEETING PERSONALLY AND IN BEHALF OF THE PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS WHICH I REPRESENT, MY GREETING AND CONGRATULATION ON YOUR INTEREST IN AFRICA AND ITS CRYING NEEDS. I HAVE GIVEN LONG THOUGHT AND STUDY TO AFRICA AND ITS PROBLEMS. I AM CONVINCED THE WHOLE COLONIAL SYSTEM BUILT ON THE SLAVETRADE AND AMERICAN SLAVERY HAS BEEN THE MAIN CAUSE OF THE EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN EUROPE, ASIA AND AMERICA. THIS EXPLOITATION HAS BEEN THE RECURRENT AND PERSISTENT CAUSE OF WAR AND WAR HAS CAUSED THE PRESENT CRITICAL COLLAPSE OF CIVILIZATION. IF THE WORLD WANTS PEACE, IT MUST ABOLISH THE COLONIAL SYSTEM, AND THIS ABOLITION MUST START IN AFRICA. AFRICAN COLONIALISM, EVEN MORE THAN ASIATIC, AND much ~~EVEN~~ MORE THAN AMERICAN, LIES AT THE BOTTOM OF THE MODERN WOES OF LABOR THE WORLD OVER. I AM GLAD, THEREFORE, THAT YOU HAVE TAKEN NOTE OF THE PHYSICAL HUNGER IN AFRICA TODAY. I TRUST YOU WILL CONTINUE YOUR EFFORTS AND INCLUDE HELP FOR THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEGRADATION OF THE LAND WHERE HUMAN CIVILIZATION WAS BORN.

30-7-153

Commencement at Knoxville

Du Bois, Negro College, The Future and Function [1946]

THE FUTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE PRIVATE NEGRO COLLEGE

by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

We all know the main lines of the rise of Negro education in the United States: after a desperate and sporadic struggle to finance and maintain Negro schools, resulting in several schools among free Negroes north and south and in two schools of higher training before the Civil War, there came after emancipation, a mass demand for popular education unequalled by any other group in world history. Of how that demand was met I wrote forty years ago in the "Souls of Black Folk"

"Through the shining trees that whisper before me as I write, I catch glimpses of a boulder of New England granite, covering a grave, which graduates of Atlanta University have placed there, with this inscription:

> "In grateful memory of their former teacher and friend and of the unselfish life he lived, and the noble work he wrought; that they, their children, and their children's children might be blessed."

"This was the gift of New England to the freed Negro: not alms, but a friend; not cash, but character. It was not and is not money these seething millions want, but love and sympathy, the pulse of hearts beating with red blood; - a gift which to-day only their own kindred and race can bring to the masses, but which once saintly souls brought to their favored children in the crusade of the sixties, that finest thing in American history, and one of the few things untainted by sordid greed and cheap vainglory. The teachers in these institutions came not to keep the Negroes in their place, but to raise them out of the defilement of the places where slavery had wallowed them. The colleges they

founded were social settlements; homes where the best of the sons of the freedmen came in close and sympathetic touch with the best traditions of New England. They lived and ate together, studied and worked, hoped and harkened in the dawning light. In actual formal content their curriculum was doubtless old-fashioned, but in educational power it was supreme, for it was the contact of living souls." (+)

49-6-10

Since those days these colleges have gone through various transitions. For a while they had to support themselves by contributions chiefly from the missionary funds of Northern churches and from federal funds which Negroes provided. Then for twenty-five years they tried to raise larger sums from philanthropists often from prosperous sons of the original teachers and founders. Later the colored colleges turned toward the state for aid. Today the private institutions are facing

the fact that unless they receive increased contributions, not now in sight, and these funds reach large figures, they must either close or become fully state schools.

I have in many cases urged that the state must in the future support and control higher education because of its large and increasing cost. The church today carries or should carry too heavy a burden of social duties to permit it to continue to support large and increasingly expensive colleges. With almost unanimous action, ~~they are~~ it is shifting this burden to public appropriation or private philanthropy. This means of course less religious influence in colleges, which has both its good and bad side. I said at Wilberforce only a few years ago that the only visible future for that first of Negro colleges was to become a state school. Private philanthropy as a support of higher education is un-

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desirable, as I shall point out later.

In recent years, however, I have been reconsidering the plight of certain other private schools and for reasons which I shall take up with you today, I have some suggestions which may save schools like Knoxville College from closing or coming under the control of Tennessee.

There are in the United States today one hundred and eighteen Negro colleges giving from one to four years of college work. Thirty-six of these are supported by government funds chiefly from the United States and states. Eighty-two are supported by private organizations. In 1940 these colleges were attended by about 45,000 students and 28,000 of these were in schools of A or B grading meaning that they were doing fairly efficient college work.

These colleges receive considerably more than $15 million a year

in income of which $9 million goes at least to the private colleges. But the source of this income has been varying in instructive ways during the generation from 1910 to 1940. In 1910, for instance, private institutions received less than a fifth of their income from student fees while today they receive nearly a third from fees; indicating the marked economic progress of Negroes which enables them ~~today~~ to pay a considerable share of the expense of educating their children. When I was at Fisk in the years from 1884 to 1888, there was not a single college student who was able to pay ten per cent of ~~his fees~~ the cost of his training

The contribution from endowment funds furnished chiefly by philanthropists has not varied much, ranging from 38 to 46 per cent. There are indications that this source may dwindle in the near future because endowments are not eternal and can only be depended upon for relatively

short periods. This is a reversal of our economic beliefs in the nineteenth century. Led on by British capitalism, founded on Negro slavery, we assumed that income from a given batch of invested capital would if rightly administered continue forever. This we now realize is false and evil. Wealth for consumption ~~or future use~~ is no more eternal than the muscle or brain which created it and can only last forever by continuing to take from wages and giving to profit an absolutely unjustifiable share. It is on this fact that the whole argument for more equitable distribution of production rests. Consequently we see endowments of all sorts dwindling, and richly endowed institutions continually appealing for more funds. Three-fourths of my communications from Harvard since my graduation in 1890 have been appeals for contributions.

49-6-14

But the most serious fact is that while the private institutions

got nearly one-half their support from gifts in 1910, they got only a fifth of that support from gifts in 1940. What now are these institutions going to do? Some of them have begun to turn and are turning increasingly to state aid. Of the sixteen leading private Negro colleges Tuskegee, Wilberforce and ~~probably~~ Lincoln (Pennsylvania) are doubtless going to get their income increasingly from the state. Certain of the smaller church schools such as Clark, Paine, Morris Brown and Shaw, cannot hope for larger contributions from the church and must, therefore, explore other methods of support.

49-6-15

Atlanta University, as a graduate school, has adequate funds from endowment just now to meet its present needs but it will not have twenty years from now for an expanding future. There are certain other schools such as Talladega, Morehouse, Dillard, Fisk, Knoxville and

Virginia Union which were formerly church schools, but have already outgrown that support and the problem of their future is serious. Xavier will, of course, continue to be supported by the Catholic Church for reasons not entirely educational. Howard is a federal University.

Two questions, therefore, present themselves: are these institutions worth saving? Especially is this last group of six private institutions without adequate or any church support worth saving or is their fate either to become state schools or disappear?

First it is clear that they cannot hope for support from miscellaneous and philanthropic gifts and this would be undesirable even if it were possible. Education is not and should not be a private philanthropy; it is a public service and whenever it becomes merely a gift of the rich it is in danger. Probably the greatest threat to

American education today is the fact that its great and justly celebrated private institutions are supported mainly by their rich graduates: Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton together with smaller institutions like Amherst and Williams are increasingly looked upon as belonging to a certain class in American society: the class of the rich, well-to-do employers, whose interests are more or less openly opposed to those of the laboring millions. It is because of this unfortunate situation that the clear unhampered study of the industrial process and of economic science has made so little progress in the United States at a time when the critical situation of the modern world calls desperately for such knowledge and teaching.

In the same way and for something of the same reasons the state

institutions/are often inhibited from development/of the economic and social sciences/ because of political influence/and because of wealth and class/working through politics.// But here is the hope/ of the democratic process;/ as democracy replaces oligarchy in industry,/ concurrently, the social and educational work/of the state/will improve in object/and method.//We can see evidence of this/in state universities/like Wisconsin and Michigan./ On the other hand in Southern states/like Texas/ the State University/has been the football/ of the oil interests.// Negro state colleges/were/a generation ago/ hot-beds of graft for white politicians;/ only in the last ten years/have they been able/ to begin to develop/ a decent educational program.

49-6-18

In the long interim,/while the state/is gathering strength/and democratic authority/for its educational duties/ and perhaps long after that/~~there~~ may there not be a field/in the private college/for a certain

educational leadership/and individuality? //And particularly/in a distinct social group,/ like that of the American Negro,/ may there not be/a peculiar function for the Negro private college/which no other social organ/could fill?/ There would certainly seem to be/a distinct place/in the educational world/for some private institutions/whose support is such/that they would be free/to teach what they thought/ ought to be taught,/ particularly in the critical/and developing field/of social investigation.

49-6-19

If this is true/of colleges in general,/ it is equally true/for the same and additional reasons/in the Negro college.// We American Negroes/are not simply Americans,/ nor simply Negroes./ We form a minority group in a ~~great~~ vast conglomerate/ land/and a minority group/which by reason of its efforts/during the last two generations/has made extraordinary/and gratifying progress.// But in the making/of this progress,//

in the working together of peoples belonging to this group, in the patterns of thinking which they ~~had~~ have had to follow and the memories which they shared, they have built up a distinct and unique culture, a body of habit, thought and adjustment which they cannot escape because it is in the marrow of their bones and which they ought not to ignore because it is the only path to a successful future.

49-6-20

What is a culture? It is a careful Knowledge of the Past but of which the group as such has emerged: in our case a knowledge of African history and social development - one of the richest and most intriguing which the world has known. I have hurried here today from a new investigation and evaluation of "The World and Africa" which I hope to publish this year and which I ~~hope~~ trust will effectively stress this point.

Our history in America, north, south and Caribbean, has been an extraordinary one which we must know to understand ourselves and our world. The experience through which our ancestors have gone for four hundred years is part of our bone and sinew whether we know it or not. The methods which we evolved for opposing slavery and fighting prejudice are not to be forgotten, but learned for our own and others' instruction.

49-6-21

We must understand the differences in social problems between Africa, the West Indies, South and Central America, not only among Negroes but affecting Indians and other minority groups. Plans for the future of our group must be built on a base of our problems, our dreams and frustrations; they cannot stem from empty air or successfully be based on the experiences of others alone. The problem of our children is distinctive: when shall a colored child learn of the color line? At

home,/ at school/ or suddenly on the street?// What shall we do/ in art and literature?/ Shall we seek/ to ignore our background/ and graft ourselves/ on a culture/ which does not wholly admit us,/ or build anew/ on that marvellous African art heritage,/ one of the world's greatest/ as all critics now admit./ Whence shall our drama come, from ourselves, here, today/ or from Shakespeare/ in the English seventeenth century?

Many Negroes/ do not realize this./ In their haste/ to become Americans,/ their desire not to be peculiar/ or segregated/ in mind or body,/ they try to escape their cultural heritage/ and the body of experience/ which they themselves have built-up./ This is the reason/ that there is always/ a certain risk/ in taking a colored student/ from his native environment/ and transplanting him suddenly/ to a northern school./ He may

49-6-22

adjust himself,/ he may/ through the help of his own social group/ in the neighborhood of this school/ successfully achieve an education/ through the facilities offered// On the other hand/ he may meet peculiar frustration/ and in the end/ be unable to achieve success/ in the new enviorment/ or fit again into the old.

For these/ and analogous reasons/ I am convinced/ that there is a place/ and a continuing function/ for the small Negro college.// This is additional reason/ that this college/ should have a certain kind of independent support./ If a number/ of small colleges/ with ~~one~~ 100/ or less than two hundred students/ with a carefully selected faculty/ and clearly conceived methods and ideals/ could survive in America/ they might have unusual opportunity/ to fill a great need/ and to do a work/ which no other agency/ could do so well./ They would not be subservient/ to the dominant wealth/ of the

49-6-23

country; they would not be under the control of politics in a state now directed for the most part ~~at present~~ by prejudiced persons guided by a definite ideal of racial discrimination.

The question then comes: how can such schools be supported and what would their program be? It was estimated in that very excellent National Survey of Higher Education of Negroes made by the United States Office of Education in 1940 that the cost of educating a student in a small private college was about $450 a year in addition to housing and board. If we put this total cost at $900, it would probably be true that Negro students could pay from one-fourth to a third of this cost. At $600 a student a small college then would cost $120,000 a year to which must be added something for buildings, grounds a broad program of free scholarships and other items of administration

49-6-24

which might bring the total cost to $150,000. Extra gifts for buildings, emergencies, and scholarships might still come from church, liberal donors or even the state; the main source of current maintenance must be the organized alumni of the college itself.

How now could a small college raise $150,000 outside of what the students pay? There is, of course, but one method and that is for the alumni and the local constitutency of the college to tax themselves for this amount. A college with two thousand graduates could raise this sum rather easily if each graduate gave $100 a year not as a pledge but as an actual payment. This amounts to $2 a week. If the college had only one thousand graduates it would amount to $4 a week. I say "tax" and I mean tax: a payment as regular and recognized as just as compulsory as any tax.

a considerable part of $50 a week salary

49-6-25

The question comes, therefore, could the graduates of such colleges be made to see vividly enough the necessity of their continued existence so that they would be willing to tax themselves to this considerable amount. I believe it would be possible but only possible if this kind of contribution was lifted out of the class of ordinary miscellenous giving to which we are so used and stressed ~~that~~ throughout the college course an an absolute necessity for the maintenance of independent methods of education. This would be an innovation. I am not sure that we have in our student body today and our body of graduates the guts for any such real sacrifice. We are used to being educated for nothing and expecting praise for giving our valuable time. We pay on the nail for spring clothes, automobiles and golf clubs, but for a college training? I do not know.

49-6-26

What now should such a college be and what should it do? It should in the first place be small. We should get rid of the idea of bigness which permeates American ideals. A college of two thousand students is an entirely different kind of institution from a college of one hundred students. The success and the marked success of Fisk and Talladega and Atlanta and similar institutions in earlier years was the fact that their college department consisted of a small number of students brought into direct contact for long periods with able teachers. When I first went to Atlanta University to teach there were only ~~twenty-five~~ 100 students in college and the whole college department at Fisk during my under-graduate days consisted of less than ~~twenty~~ 25 persons. What is needed for efficient education of youth is individual attention, close acquaintanceship with their fellows and that skilled guidance that

49-6-27

only can be gotten in the small college.

Secondly, this college must have a carefully selected faculty; its president must be not a financeer ~~and collector of funds~~ or professional beggar but an educational administrator broadly trained capable of laying down an educational program and selecting the people who can carry it out. // The teachers in such a college must be scholars and gentlemen; scholars in the sense of having direct and careful and complete acquaintanceship with human life & modern science and gentlemen in the sense of knowing and practicing the highest canons of good taste and well-bred conduct. // The curriculum of a college of this sort would be comparatively simple: the idea of acquainting growing youth with what the world has known in science and art and what it is doing today; and in making that acquaintanceship as complete and thorough as time allows; the idea of knowing thoroughly the lives of people today, comparing them with the people of the past and evolving through science a guide and prophet for the future.

49-6-28

For this reason the college should be equipped with library, laboratories, a museum and an art gallery a theatre. The library should contain the written body of human life and experience in such quantity and number as to be easily and quickly accessible to all; it should be conducted by persons who know the inside of books better than their backs and catalogue numbers. The college should have a theatre for the drama and facilties for hearing and studying music. // But above and beyond this it should have a distinct department of adult education calculated to teach its students from the first the art of reading and writing and counting. Most of the students who come to college, white and black all over the United States, do not read and write and count well. And many who come to our colleges cannot read and write at all. // The reason for this does not necessarily involve any individual blame. It is because of the wretched system of public schools where these students have been trained. The system of elementary education in the United States has got to be improved and in the end will be; but in the meantime one or more generations of students will grow-up and will have to know how to read and write and cipher in order to pursue a college course. // Each college, therefore, should have provision for the scientific

49-6-29

teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic to adult persons. The experience of the army in this war has shown that this is a perfectly feasible program.

Finally a main object of such a college should be vocational guidance. So much nonsense has been taught on this subject that we often fail to realize its real function. It goes back to the old Socratic "know thyself". When a man goes through college he ought to go through a general process of becoming acquainted with his own ability and desires so that by the time he graduates he will have a fairly clear idea of what place he can and ought to occupy in the world.

49-6-30

This means that the small college which I have in mind would not be a professional school, would not be an industrial school, would not attempt to teach anybody how to earn a living. Its object would be to teach youth what the world is and what it means; and then after the college course we should learn the technique of earning a living in any way one can or wishes. The main job of such a college course is the unified cultural

message. It takes the boy and shows him the world as it is with its customs and habits, it memories and ideals and works from that toward a vision of real life. Above all in our case it shows him our world - the one in which we live and must work.

For this reason the college should be closely integrated with its surrounding social setting. One of the great limitations of the older Negro college was that ~~they~~ it came up with the idea of detachment from the town, city and state where ~~they were~~ it was. In part this was forced upon ~~them~~ it by slavery and its consequences but it afterward became a habit; so that an intellectual class was trained which had no organic connection with the community around. In the small college which I have in mind this should no longer be true. The college should be an integral part of the community, of the colored community, of course, first; but also and just as needfully of the white community, so that in all its work and thinking, its government and art expression the community and college should be one and inseparable and at the same time the college could retain its leading function because of its independence and its clear ideals.

49-6-31

S Such a college should be under the absolute control of its own ~~the~~ alumni: they should elect the trustees and hold them to strict account. Of course for such work the alumni themselves would need training: they would have to adopt a selfy-denying ordinance not to use their power to make jobs for themselves or their children and to hold their power as a sacred trust for the education of a new and redeeming generation of men.

This may be a dream but it is worth considering.

Ladies and gentlemen of the graduating class: there are many approved ways of greeting graduates on the assumption of their duties at the Commencement of their lives. On the whole I prefer an idea rather than an emotional appeal. I give you then the query: How can we save Knoxville, by the way I have suggested or by ways that you yourselves may think out?

49-6-32

THE FUTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE PRIVATE NEGRO COLLEGE

by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Uncorrected carbon

We all know the main lines of the rise of Negro education in the United States: after a desperate and sporadic struggle to finance and maintain Negro schools, resulting in several schools among free Negroes north and south and in two schools of higher training before the Civil War, there came after emancipation, a mass demand for popular education unequalled by any other group in world history. Of how that demand was met I wrote forty years ago in the Souls of Black Folk

"Through the shining trees that whisper before me as I write, I catch glimpses of a boulder of New England granite, covering a grave, which graduates of Atlanta University have placed there, with this inscription:

> "In grateful memory of their former teacher and friend and of the unselfish life he lived, and the noble work he wrought; that they, their children, and their children's children might be blessed."

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Since those days these colleges have gone through various transitions. For a while they had to support themselves by contributions chiefly from the missionary funds of Northern churches and from federal funds which Negroes provided. Then for twenty-five years they tried to raise larger sums from philanthropists often from prosperous sons of the original teachers and founders. Later the colored colleges turned toward the state for aid. Today the private institutions are facing

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the fact that unless they receive increased contributions, not now in sight, and these funds reach large figures, they must either close or become fully state schools.

I have in many cases urged that the state must in the future support and control higher education because of its large and increasing cost. The church today carries or should carry too heavy a burden of social duties to permit it to continue to support large and increasingly expensive college. With almost unanimous action, they are shifting this burden to public appropriation or private philanthropy. This means of course less religious influence in colleges, which has both its good and bad side. I said at Wilberforce only a few years ago that the only visible future for that first of Negro colleges was to become a state school. Private philanthropy as a support of higher education is un-

desirable, as I shall point out later.

In recent years, however, I have been reconsidering the plight of certain other private schools and for reasons which I shall take up with you today, I have some suggestions which may save schools like Knoxville College from closing or coming under the control of Tennessee.

There are in the United States today one hundred and eighteen Negro colleges giving from one to four years of college work. Thirty-six of these are supported by government funds chiefly from the United States and states. Eighty-two are supported by private organizations. In 1940 these colleges were attended by about 45,000 students and 28,000 of these were in schools of A or B grading meaning that they were doing fairly efficient college work.

These colleges receive considerably more than $15 million a year

in income of which $9 million goes at least to the private colleges. But the source of this income has been varying in instructive ways during the generation from 1910 to 1940. In 1910, for instance, private institution received less than a fifth of their income from student fees while today they receive nearly a third from fees; indicating the marked economic progress of Negroes which enables them today to pay a considerable share of the expense of educating their children. When I was at Fisk in the years from 1884 to 1888, there was not a single college student who was able to pay ten per cent of his fees.

The contribution from endowment funds furnished chiefly by philanthropists has not varied much, ranging from 38 to 46 per cent. There are indications that this source may dwindle in the near future because endowments are not eternal and can only be depended upon for relatively

short periods. This is a reversal of our economic beleifs in the nineteenth century. Led on by British capitalism, founded on Negro slavery, we assumed that income from a given batch of invested capital would if rightly administered continue forever. This we now realize is false and evil. Wealth for consumption or future use is no more eternal than the muscle or brain which created it and can only last forever by continuing to take from wages and giving to profit an absolutely unjustifiable share. It is on this fact that the whole argument for more equitable distribution of production rests. Consequently we see endowments of all sorts dwindling, and richly endowed institution continually appealing for more funds. Three-fourths of my communications from Harvard since my graduation in 1890, have been appeals for contributions.

But the most serious fact is that while the private institutions

got nearly one-half their support from gifts in 1910, they got only a fifth of that support from gifts in 1940. What now are these institutions going to do? Some of them have begun to turn and are turning increasingly to state aid. Of the sixteen leading private Negro colleges Tuskegee, Wilberforce and probably Lincoln (Pennsylvania) are doubtless going to get their income increasingly from the state. Certain of the smaller church schools such as Clark, Paine, Morris Brown and Shaw, cannot hope for larger contributions from the church and must, therefore, explore other methods of support.

Atlanta University, as a graduate school, has adequate funds from endowment just now to meet its present needs but it will not have twenty years from now for an expanding future. There are certain other schools such as Talladega, Morehouse, Dillard, Fisk, Knoxville and

Virginia Union which were formerly church schools, but have already outgrown that support and the problem of their future is serious. Xavier will, of course, continue to be supported by the Catholic Church for reasons not entirely educational.

Two questions, therefore, present themselves: are these institutions worth saving? Especially is this last group of six private institutions without adequate or any church support worth saving or is their fate either to become state schools or disappear?

First it is clear that they cannot hope for support from miscellaneous and philanthropic gifts and this would be undesirable even if it were possible. Education is not and should not be a private philanthropy; it is a public service and whenever it becomes merely a gift of the rich it is in danger. Probably the greatest threat to

American education today is the fact that its great and justly celebrated private institutions are supported mainly by their rich graduates: Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton together with smaller institutions like Amherst and Williams are increasingly looked upon as belonging to a certain class in American society: the class of the rich, well-to-do employers, whose interests are more or less openly opposed to those of the laboring millions. It is because of this unfortunate situation that the clear unhampered study of the industrial process and of economic science has made so little progress in the United States at a time when the critical situation of the modern world calls desperately for such knowledge and teaching.

In the same way and for something of the same reasons the state

institutions are often inhibited from development of the economic and social sciences because of political influence and because of wealth and class working through politics. But here is the hope of the democratic process; as democracy replaces oligarchy in industry, concurrently, the social and educational work of the state will improve in object and method. We can see evidence of this in state universities like Wisconsin and Michigan. On the other hand in Southern states like Texas, the State University has been the football of the oil interests. Negro state colleges were a generation ago hot-beds of graft for white politicians; only in the last ten years have they been able to begin to develop a decent educational program.

In the long interim, while the state is gathering strength and democratic authority for its educational duties, and perhaps long after that there may not be a field in the private college for a certain

educational leadership and individuality? And particularly in a distinct social group, like that of the American Negro, may there not be a peculiar function for the Negro private college which no other social organ could fill? There would certainly seem to be a distinct place in the educational world for some private institutions whose support is such that they would be free to teach what they thought ought to be taught, partisularly in the critical and developing field of social investigation.

If this is true of colleges in general, it is equally true for the same and additional reasons in the Negro college. We American Negroes are not simply Americans, or simply Negroes. We form a minority group in a great vast conglomerated land and a minority group which by reason of its efforts during the last two generations has made extraordinary and gratifying progress. But in the making of this progress,

in the working together of peoples belonging to this group, in the patterns of thinking which they ~~had~~ have had to follow and the memories which they shared, they have built-up a distinct and unique culture, a body of habit, thought and adjustment which they cannot escape because it is in the marrow of their bones and which they ought not to ignore because it is only path to a successful future.

What is a culture? It is a careful Knowledge of the Past out of which the group as such has emerged: in our case a knowledge of African history and social development - one of the richest and most intriguing which the world has known. I have hurried here today from a new investigation and evaluation of "The World and Africa" which I hope to publish this year and which I hope will effectively stress this point.

Our history in America, north, south and Caribbean, has been an extraordinary one which we must know to understand ourselves and our world. The experience through which our ancestors have gone for four hundred years is part of our bone and sinew whether we know it or not. The methods which we evolved for opposing slavery and fighting prejudice are not to be forgotten, but learned for our own and others' instruction. We must understand the differences in social problems between Africa, the West Indies, South and Central America, not only among Negroes but affecting Indians and other minority groups. Plans for the future of our group must be built on a base of our problems, our dreams and frustrations; they cannot stem from empty air or successfully be based on the experiences of others alone. The problem of our children is distinctive: when shall a colored child learn of the color line? At

home, at school or suddenly on the street? What shall we do in art and literature? Shall we seek to ignore our background and graft ourselves on a culture which does not wholly admit us, or build anew on that marvellous African art heritage, one of the world's greatest as all critics now admit. Whence shall our drama come, from ourselves today or from Shakespeare in the English seventeenth century.

Many Negroes do not realize this. In their haste to become Americans their desire not to be peculiar or segregated in mind or body, they try to escape their cultural heritage and the body of experience which they themselves have built-up. This is the reason that there is always a certain risk in taking a colored student from his native environment and transplanting him suddenly to a northern school. He may

adjust himself, he may through the help of his own social group in the neighborhood of this school successfully achieve an education through the facilities offered. On the other hand he may meet peculiar frustration and in the end be unable to achieve success in the new enviorment or fit into the old.

For these and analgous reasons I am convinced that there is a place and a continuing function for the small Negro college. This is additional reason that this college should have a certain kind of independent support. If a number of small colleges with one or less than two hundred students with a carefully selected faculty and clearly conceived methods and ideals could survive in America they might have unusual opportunity to fill a great need and to do a work which no other agency could do so well. They would not be subservient to the dominant wealth of the

country; they would not be under the control of politics in a [illegible] state now directed for the most part at present by prejudiced persons guided by a definite ideal of racial discrimination.

The question then comes: how can such schools be supported and what would their program be? It was estimated in that very excellent National Survey of Higher Education of Negroes made by the United States Office of Education in 1940 that the cost of educating a student in a small private college was about $452 a year in addition to housing and board. If we put this total cost at $900, it would probably be true that Negro students could pay from one-fourth to a third of this cost. At $600 a student a small college then would cost $120,000 a year to which must be added something for buildings, grounds a broad program of free scholarships and other items of administration

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which might bring the total cost to $150,000. Extra gifts for buildings, emergencies, and scholarships might still come from church, liberal doners or even the state; the main source of current maintenance must be the organized alumni.

How now could a small college raise $150,000 outside of what the students pay. There is, of course, but one method and that is for the alumni and the local constitutency of the college to tax themselves for this amount. A college with two thousand graduates could raise this sum rather easily if each graduate gave $100 a year not as a pledge but as an actual payment. This amounts to $2 a week. If the colledge had only one thousand graduates it would amount to $4 a week. I say "tax" and I mean tax: a payment as regular and recognized as just as compulsory as any tax.

The question comes, therefore, could the graduates of such colleges be made to see vividly enough the necessity of their continued existence so that they would be willing to tax themselves to this considerable amount. I believe it would be possible but only possible if this kind of contribution was lifted out of the class of ordinary miscellenous giving to which we are so used and stressed ~~thus~~ throughout the college course an an absolute necessity for the maintenance of independent methods of education. This would be an innovation. I am not sure that we have in our student body today and our body of graduates the guts for any such real sacrifice. We are used to being educated for nothing and expecting praise for giving our valuable time. We pay on the nail for spring clothes, automobiles, and golf clubs, but for a college training? I do not know.

What now should such a college be and what should it do? It should in the first place be small. We should get rid of the idea of bigness which permeates American ideals. A college of two thousand students is an entirely different kind of institution from a college of one hundred students. The success and the marked success of Fisk and Talladega and Atlanta and similar institutions in earlier years was the fact that their college department consisted of a small number of students brought into direct contact for long periods with able teachers When I first went to Atlanta University to teach there were only twenty-five students in college and the whole college department at Fisk during my under-graduate days consisted of less than twenty persons. What is needed for efficient education of youth is individual attention , close acquaintanceship with their fellows and that skilled guidance that

only can be gotten in the small college.

Secondly, this college must have a carefully selected faculty; its president must be not a financeer and collector of funds but an educational administrator capable of laying down an educational program and selecting the people who can carry it out. The teachers in such a college must be scholars and gentlemen; scholars in the sense of having direct and careful acquaintanceship with modern science and gentlemen in the sense of knowing and practicing the highest canons of good taste and conduct. The curriculum of a college of this sort would be comparatively simple: the idea of acquainting growing youth with what the world has known in science and art and what it is doing today; and in making that acquaintanceship as complete and thorough as time allows; the idea of knowing thoroughly the lives of people today, comparing them with the people of the past and evolving through science a guide and prophet for the future.

For this reason the college should be equipped with library, laboratories, a museum and an art gallery. The library should contain the body of human life and experience in such quantity and number as to be easily and quickly accessible to all; it should be conducted by persons who know the inside of books better than their backs and catalogue numbers. The college should have a theatre for the drama and facilities for hearing and studying music. But above and beyond this it should have a distinct department of adult education calculated to teach its students from the first the art of reading and writing. Most of the students who come to college, white and black all over the United States, do not read and write well. And many who come to our colleges cannot read and write at all. The reason for this does not necessarily involve any individual blame. It is because of the wretched system of public schools where these students have been trained. The system of elementary education in the United States has got to be improved and in the end will be; but in the meantime one or two generations of students will grow-up and will have to know how to read and write and cipher in order to pursue a college course. Each college, therefore, should have provivision for the scientific

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teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic to adult persons. The experience of the army in this war has shown that this is a perfectly feasible program.

Finally a main object of such a college should be vocational guidance. So much nonsense has been taught on this subject that we often fail to realize its real function. It goes back to the old Socratic "know thyself". When a man goes through college he ought to go through a general process of becoming acquainted with his own ability and desires so that by the time he graduates he will have a fairly clear idea of what place he can and ought to occupy in the world.

This means that the small college which I have in mind would not be a professional school, would not be an industrial school, would not attempt to teach anybody how to earn a living. Its object would be to teach youth what the world is and what it means; and then after the college course we should learn the technique of earning a living in any way one can or wishes. The main job of such a college course is the unified cultural

message. It takes the boy and shows him the world as it is with its customs and habits, it memories and ideals and works from that toward a vision of real life. Above all in our case it shows him our world - the one in which we live and must work.

For this reason the college should be closely integrated with its surrounding social setting. One of the great limitations of the older Negro college was that they came up with the idea of detachment from the town, city and state where they were. In part this was forced upon them by slavery and its consequences but it afterward became a habit; so that an intellectual class was trained which had no organic connection with the community around. In the small college which I have in mind this should no longer be true. The college should be an integral part of the community, of the colored community, of course, first; but also and just as needfully of the white community, so that in all its work and thinking, its government and art expression the community and college should be one and inseparable and at the same time the college could retain its leading function because of its independence and its clear ideals.

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S Such a college should be under the absolute control of the alumni: they should elect the trustees and hold them to strict account. Of course for such work the alumni themselves would need training: they would have to adopt a selfy-denying ordinance not to use their power to make jobs for themselves or children and to hold their power as a sacred trust for the education of a new and redeeming generation of men.

This may be a dream but it is worth considering.

Ladies and gentlemen of the graduating class: there are many approved ways of greeting graduates on the assumption of their duties at the Commencement of their lives. On the whole I prefer an idea rather than an emotional appeal. I give you them the query: How can we save Knoxville, by the way I have suggested or by ways that you yourselves may think out?

115th Street Library, New York City
1946

COLONIAL PEOPLES AND THE AMERICAN NEGRO IN THE UNITED NATIONS

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

It is an excellent sign of progress to find Libraries becoming interested in social problems and able to guide their readers. They face to be sure, a danger of influencing some readers in lines of knowledge which prevalent public opinion does not approve. but this is a part of the democracy of freedom. Certainly no library today can afford to be unintelligent with regard to the new parliament of man and federation of the world. The mass of people ought to be led to read about it and to become intelligent concerning its possibilities.

In any coming together of the peoples of earth we of course have first the free peoples; that is those nations which are independent and who form the nucleus of the new world body. But in addition to the people who are actually more or less free or independent, we have too a mass of human beings who are unfree.

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Some of these may be called "Free" but as a matter of fact, the unfree peoples of the world are the majority of mankind. They consist of nations dominated by other countries because of their small size and because of foreign investments in their produce and labor.

Such countries are illustrated by states like Liberia and Haiti; Persia and Egypt, by the great land of China; by the situation in many countries of central and South America.

In addition to this there are the people whose countries are owned: that is colonies over which imperial countries exercise more or less absolute domination. With these may be bracketted the suppressed groups in certain large nations, as in the case of Negroes in the United States.

It is of the colonial peoples and of American Negroes that I am especially speaking tonight. The ownership of colonies is historically and logically the result of capitalistic investment which has been the main form of economic enterprise since the early eighteenth century.

It may be truly said that there are other reasons for holding and dominating colonies, beside the profits which come from the raw materials which they raise and the labor,missions, science, and philanthropy which they furnish. Nevertheless, it is true that the chief reason for possession of colonies is the profits which come from them; and this profit is part basis of most of th e income of the imperial nations.

This profit is made larger because of the low wage which the colonial laborers receive as compared with home labor and because of the low price which the other country can place upon colonial produce through monopoly.

It is for this reason that it is so difficult to speak freely and openly concerning colonies, or to get exact data on colonial conditions.

Whenever you interfere with a person's income you are interfering with his basic and primary interests. Consequently when there arises the question of having colonial peoples represented in the deliberation of the United Nations, difficulties immediately arise: first, of course, there is the question as to how far these colonieal peoples can express themselves and make their wants known; how far are the matters concerinig which they complain, of real importance or simply seemingly important because inexperienced and uneducated people think so.

Manifestly there has got to be some interpretation and investigation in order that the real reasons for complaint can be understood. But who are the folk to furnish these facts and voice these difficulties ? It has been usual that the master countries holding the colonies should emphasize their rights as spokesmen for the colonial peoples. But surely the nations whose prosperity and power depends or is thought to depend upon present conditions in the colonies are by no means unprejudiced judges as to what the colonial peoples really need.

36-7-12

Manifestly it is just here that a world organization should step in for at least a first and fundamental duty of ascertaining what the facts are. Moreover, there is no colonial people which is entirely without ability to express its needs. In practically all cases there is a group, smaller or larger, of educated and thoughtful people among them. In addition to that there is a heritage of ancient wisdom coming down through cultural patterns from the past which cannot and ouhgt not to be ignored. More and more in our day we are coming to respect these early and even primitive patterns of human culture.

Two things are therefore needed in the case of colonial peoples; first, an international body which shall ascertain without prejudice the exact condition of these people and their real needs. We know in broad outline what the findings of such investigation would have to be: it would be bound to say that the fundamental difficulty with colonies is the extreme poverty of the working classes; and the consequent poor health of the people, their ignorance and the natural anti-social tendencies which arise under such circumstances. We know how poverty, disease and ignorance act, because we have the same problems in lesser degree in regard to the suppressed classes in our own country and in all civilized lands. But the advantage which our suppressed classes have is that they can make their wants known and to some extent they thave political power to implement their protest against distress.

There was a time when we thought we could show that the difference between colonial peoples and the poor, sick and ignorant in culture lands rested upon the different kind of humanity involved; the colonial peoples seemed by heredity inferior and could not be raised to the status of civilized men. It has been the contribution of the 20th century to human knowledge that these assumptions have been shown to be exaggerated and we are fairly certain today that among modern groups of men of all races and colors there is prectical equality of possibilities; and that it seems possible to have a world where the mass of people are intelligent and healthy normal in their reactions and that such people can and ought to earn enough to live decently.

We are sure that if the immense treasure in gold and jewels, metals and grains, food and oil, fibers and fruit were distributed with any justice between the native worker and the foreign owner of machines, tools, and technique, the colonial peoples could earn quite enough to be educated and healthy.

First then the United Nations should ascertain the facts about colonial conditions. Next the organization should do something to change and better these conditions. There cannot be one wolrd, there cannot be peace and progress as long as most human beings or any considerable minority are not treated with justice or Allowed to progress toward freedom and manhood.

The United Nations exists not simply for the benefit of the peoples already free, but even more for the enslaved and partially enslaved peoples Just what can be done and when and how fast may require time, experiment and thought, but for these very reasons the sooner work to this end is started the better. The United Nations cannot exist half-slave and half-free.

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My paper might here continue with a more detailed statement of colonial conditions so far as we know them now: we might call attention to the greatest emancipation of colonial peoples in history now beginning in India; or to the fierce pressure upon imperial policies in Indonesia; or especially to the colonial unrest in Africa. But I am calling your attention tonight particularly to the relations of colonies to the new United Nations. Therefore instead of inquiring into colonial conditions, I am going to turn to a situation which is not actually colonial but which has such analogies that it may be considered in the same category.

I refer to certain minorities in the midst of great nations, which despite legal right and justice occupy a status in many respects akin to colonies. The most obvious case is that of the Jews, formerlly in Germany, and still today in Poland and other lands. But this is so obviously a matter of international action, and is being now so thoroughly discussed, that I turn instead to the case of persons of Negro descent in the United States.

When we turn to the case of American Negroes we meet a quasi-colonial situation and at the same time an additional difficulty. There is still present among many people of intelligence and good-will, the idea that American Negroes are to a degree if not substantially so inferior to white people that they cannot expect a decent wage or reach average intelligence, or be healthy or escape crime. Naturally most of this audience and all the colored people themselves; and an increasing number of white people deny this. They say if American Negroes in the army or in industry or in schools and colleges show any mark of inferiority, most of that inferiority can be traced directly to the poor training which they have previously had. to the homes and neighborhoods in which they have been compelled to live; and especially to the low income which they receive.

In this way a suppressed group like American Negroes resembles in many respects the situation in the colonies. However in this case if we ask for any action by the United Nations, we would be faced by the objection that this in an internal affair and that the United Nations has no business to interfere with the internal policies of nations.

It will be a great mistake for the United Nations and the friends of universla orgnization for peace and prosperity, to take a stand like this Any organization means by its very nature the curtailment of ndividual freedom and initiative. It is of course desirable that initiative be curtailed only in so far as is absolutely necessary for universal progress. But if we are going to have a United Nations, which is anything more than a word and expression of hope, it means that the action of even the great nations which compose this org nization must be amenable to the public will

to universal public opinion; that they cannot c ntinue to feel themselves free to carry on a national program or any treatment even of their own citizens and affairs, which is, in the judgment of the world, a theret to world peace and to world progress.

It is for this reason that the American Negroes have a right to put their case before the United Nations and to say that here in America where we profess democracy we have built up a legal fascist caste system which interferes with family life; which cuts doen the wages of Negroes th ough discriminatipn; and denies them medical service and hospital facilities; and which especially makes it impossible for a vast number of Negroes to learn to read and write. And that for this reason the United "ations should take cognizance of this situation and at least make it known to the world in order that the world should publicly oppose this treatment of Negroes in the United States; and such international action should especially point out that this situation is a contradiction and direct nullification of the laws which this country itself has made for its own guidance. I trust therefore that you as Librarians and persons interested in libraries are going to see to it that this aspect of colonies and suppressed groups will be brought to the attention of the United Nations which is making its capital and center in our land.

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Colonial Peoples and the American Negro in the United Nations.

IT IS AN EXCELLENT SIGN OF PROGRESS TO FIND LIBRARIES BECOMING INTERESTED IN SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND ABLE TO GUIDE THEIR READERS. THEY FACE TO BE SURE A DANGER OF INFLUENCING SOME READERS IN LINES OF KNOWLEDGE WHICH PREVALENT PUBLIC OPINION DOES NOT APPROVE. BUT THIS IS A PART OF THE DEMOCRACY OF FREEDOM. CERTAINLY NO LIBRARY TODAY CAN AFFORD TO BE UNINTELLIGENT WITH REGARD TO THE NEW PARLIAMENT OF MAN AND FEDERATION OF THE WORLD. THE MASS OF PEOPLE OUGHT TO LED TO READ ABOUT IT AND TO BECOME INTELLIGENT CONCERNING ITS POSSIBILITIES.

IN ANY COMING TO GETHER OF THE PEOPLES OF EARTH WE OF COURSE HAVE FIRST THE FREE PEOPLES; THAT IS THOSE NATIONS WHICH ARE INDEPENDENT AND WHO FORM THE NUCLEUS OF THE NEW WORLD BODY. BUT IN ADDITION TO THE PEOPLE WHO ARE ACTUALLY MORE OR LESS FREE OR INDEPENDENT, WE HAVE TOO A MASS OF HUMAN BEINGS WHO ARE UNFREE.

SOME OF THESE MAY BE CALLED "FREE" BUT AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE UNFREE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD ARE THE MAJORITY OF MANKIND. THEY CONSIST OF PERSONS DOMINATED BY OTHER COUNTRIES BECAUSE OF THEIR SMALL SIZE AND BECAUSE OF FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN THEIR PRODUCE AND LABOR.

SUCH COUNTRIES ARE ILLUSTRATED BY STATES LIKE LIBERIA AND HAITI; BY THE GREAT LAND OF CHINA; BY THE SITUATION IN MANY COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA.

IN ADDITION TO THIS THERE ARE THE PEOPLE WHOSE COUNTRIES ARE OWNED: THAT IS COLONIES OVER WHICH IMPERIAL COUNTRIES EXERCISE MORE OR LESS ABSOLUTE DOMINATION. WITH THESE MAY BE BRACKETTED THE SUPPRESSED GROUPS IN CERTAIN LARGE NATIONS, AS IN THE CASE OF NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES.

IT IS OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES AND OF AMERICAN NEGROES THAT I

AM SPEAKING TONIGHT. THE OWNERSHIP OF COLONIES IS HISTORICALLY AND LOGICALLY THE RESULT OF CAPITALISTIC INVESTMENT WHICH HAS BEEN THE MAIN FORM OF ECONOMIC ENTERPRISE SINCE THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

IT MAY BE TRULY SAID THAT THERE ARE OTHER REASONS FOR HOLDING AND DOMINATING COLONIES, BESIDE THE PROFITS WHICH COME FROM THE RAW MATERIALS WHICH THEY RAISE AND THE LABOR WHICH THEY FURNISH. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS TRUE THAT THE CHIEF REASON FOR POSSESSION OF COLONIES IS THE PROFITS WHICH COME FROM THEM; AND THIS PROFIT IS PART BASIS OF MUCH OF THE INCOME OF THE IMPERIAL NATIONS.

THIS PROFIT IS MADE LARGER BECAUSE OF THE LOW WAGE WHICH THE COLONIAL LABORERS RECEIVE AS COMPARED WITH HOME LABOR AND BECAUSE OF THE LOW PRICE WHICH THE MOTHER COUNTRY PLACES UPON COLONIAL PRODUCE.

IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT IT IS SO DIFFICULT TO SPEAK FREELY AND OPENLY CONCERNING COLONIES, OR TO GET EXACT DATA ON COLONIAL CONDITIONS

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WHENEVER YOU INTERFERE WITH A PERSONS' INCOME YOU ARE INTERFERING WITH HIS BASIC AND PRIMARY INTERESTS. CONSEQUENTLY WHEN THERE ARISE THE QUESTION AS OF HAVING COLONIAL PEOPLES REPRESENTED IN THE DELIBERATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS, DIFFICULTIES IMMEDIATELY ARISE: FIRST, OF COURSE, THERE IS THE QUESTION AS TO HOW FAR THESE COLONIAL PEOPLES CAN EXPRESS THEMSELVES AND MAKE THEIR WANTS KNOWN; HOW FAR ARE THE MATTERS CONCERNING WHICH THEY COMPLAIN? OF REAL IMPORTANCE OR SIMPLY SEEM IMPORTANT BECAUSE INEXPERIENCED AND UNEDUATED PEOPLE THINK SO.

MANIFESTLY THERE HAS GOT TO BE SOME INTERPRETATION AND INVESTIGATION AND UNDERSTANDING IN ORDER THAT THE REAL REASONS FOR COMPLAINT CAN BE UNDERSTOOD. BUT WHO ARE THE FOLK TO FURNISH THESE FACTS AND VOICE THESE DIFFICULTIES? IT HAS BBEN USUAL THAT THE MASTER COUNTRIES HOLDING THE COLONIES SHOULD EMPHASIZE THEIR RIGHTS AS SPOKESMEN FOR THE COLONIAL PEOPLES. BUT SURELY THE PEOPLE WHOSE PROSPERITY AND POWER DEPEND

OR IS THOUGHT TO DEPEND UPON THE PRESENT CONDITIONS IN THE COLONIES ARE BY NO MEANS UNPREJUDICED JUDGES AS TO WHAT THE COLONIAL PEOPLES REALLY NEED.

MANIFESTLY IT IS JUST HERE THAT A WORLD ORGANIZATION SHOULD STEP IN FOR AT LEAST A FIRST AND FUNDAMENTAL DUTY OF ASCERTAINING WHAT THE FACTS ARE. MOREOVER, THERE ARE NO COLONIAL PEOPLE WHO ARE ENTIRELY WITHOUT ABILITY TO EXPRESS THEIR NEEDS. IN PRACTICALLY ALL CASES THERE IS A GROUP, SMALLER OR LARGER, OF EDUCATED AND THOUGHTFUL PEOPLE AMONG THEM. IN ADDITION TO THAT THERE IS A HERITAGE OF ANCIENT WISDOME COMING DOWN THROUGH CULTURAL PATTERNS FROM THE PAST WHICH CANNOT AND OUGHT NOT TO BE IGNORED. MORE AND MORE IN OUR DAY WE ARE COMING TO RESPECT THESE EARLY AND EVEN PRIMITIVE PATTERNS OF HUMAN CULTURE.

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TWO THINGS ARE THEREFORE NEEDED IN THE CASE OF COLONIAL PEOPLES; FIRST, AN INTERNATIONAL BODY WHICH SHALL ASCERTAIN WITHOUT PRE-

JUDICE THE EXACT CONDITION OF THESE PEOPLE AND THEIR REAL NEED. WE KNOW IN BROAD OUTLINE WHAT THE FINDINGS OF SUCH INVESTIGATION WOULD HAVE TO BE: IT WOULD BE BOUND TO SAY THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFICUTLY WITH COLONIES IS THE EXTREME PROVERTY OF THE WORKING CLASSES; AND THE CONSEQUENT POOR HEALTH OF THE PEOPLE THEIR IGNORANCE AND THE NATURAL CRIMINAL TENDENCIES WHICH ARISE UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES. WE KNOW HOW POVERTY, DISEASE AND IGNORANCE ACT, BECAUSE WE HAVE THE SAME PROBLEM IN LESSER DEGREE IN REGARD TO THE SUPPRESSED CLASSES IN OUR OWN COUNTRY. BUT THE ADVANTAGE WHICH OUR SUPPRESSED CLASSES HAVE IS THAT THEY CAN MAKE THEIR WANTS KNOWN AND TO SOME EXTENT THEY HAVE POLITICAL POWER TO IMPLEMENT THEIR PROTEST AGAINST DISTRESS.

THERE WAS A TIME WHEN WE THOUGHT WE COULD SHOW THAT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN COLONIAL PEOPLES AND THE POOR, SICK AND INGNORANT IN CULTURE LANDS

RESTED UPON THE DIFFERENT KIND OF HUMANITY INVOLVED; THE COLONIAL PEOPLES WERE MOSTLY BY HEREDITY INFERIOR AND COULD NOT BE RAISED TO THE STATUS OF CIVILIZED MEN. IT HAS BEEN THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY TO HUMAN KNOWLEDGE THAT THESE ASSUMPTIONS HAVE BEEN EXAGGERATED AND WE ARE FAIRLY CERTAIN TODAY THAT AMONG MODERN GROUPS OF MEN, OF ALL RACES AND COLOR THERE IS PRACTICAL EQUALITY OF POSSIBILITIES; AND THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO HAVE A WORLD WHERE MOST PEOPLE ARE INTELLIGENT AND HEALTHY AND NORMAL IN THEIR REACTION ; AND THAT SUCH PEOPLE CAN AND OUGHT TO EARN ENOUGH TO LIVE DECENTLY;THAT IF THE IMMENSE TREASURE IN GOLD AND JEWELS, METALS AND GRAINS, FOOD AND OIL, FIBRES AND FRUIT WERE DISTRIBUTED WITH ANY JUSTICE BETWEEN THE NATIVE WORKER AND THE FOREIGN OWNER OF TOOLS AND TECHNIQUE, THE COLONIAL PEOPLES COULD EARN ENOUGH TO BE EDUCATED AND HEALTHY.

36-7-36

WHEN WE TURN NOW TO ONE CASE OF AMERICAN NEGROES WE MEET A QUASI-COLONIAL SITUATION AND AT THE SAME TIME AN ADDITIONAL DIFFICULTY.

8

THERE IS STILL PRESENT AMONG MANY PEOPLE OF INTELLIGENCE AND GOOD WILL, THE IDEA THAT AMERICAN NEGROES ARE TO A DEGREE IF NOT SUBSTANTIALLY SO INFERIOR TO WHITE PEOPLE THAT THEY CANNOT RECEIVE A DECENT WAGE OR REACH AVERAGE INTELLIGENCE, OR BE HEALTHY OR ESCAPE CRIME. THIS MOST OF THIS AUDIENCE AND ALL THE COLORED PEOPLE THEMSELVES; AND INCREASING NUMBER OF WHITE PEOPLE DENY. IF AMERICAN NEGROES IN THE ARMY OR IN INDUSTRY OR IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES SHOW ANY MARK OF INFERIORITY, MOST OF THAT INFERIORITY CAN BE TRACED DIRECTLY TO THE POOR TRAINING WHICH THEY HAVE PREVIOUSLY HAD; TO THE PLACES, HOMES AND NEIGHBORHOODS IN WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN COMPELLED TO LIVE; AND ESPECIALLY TO THE LOW INCOME WHICH THEY RECEIVE.

IN THIS WAY A SUPPRESSED GROUP LIKE AMERICAN NEGROES RESEMBLES IN MANY RESPECTS THE SITUATION IN THE COLONIES. HOWEVER IN THIS CASE IF WE ASK FOR ANY ACTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS, WE WOULD BE FACED BY THE

OBJECTION THAT THIS IS AN INTERNAL AFFAIR AND THAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS NO BUSINESS TO INTERFERE WITH THE INTERNAL POLICIES OF NATIONS.

IT WILL BE A GREAT MISTAKE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE FRIENDS OF UNIVERSAL ORGANIZATION FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY, TO TAKE A STAND LIKE THIS. ANY ORGANIZATION MEANS BY ITS VERY NATURE THE CURTAILMENT OF INDIVIDUAL NATIONAL FREEDOM AND INITIATIVE. IT IS OF COURSE DESIRABLE THAT INITIATIVE BE CURTAILED ONLY IN SO FAR AS THAT IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY FOR UNIVERSAL PROGRESS. BUT IF WE ARE GOING TO HAVE A UNITED NATIONS, WHICH IS ANYTHING MORE THAN A WORD AND EXPRESSION OF HOPE, IT MEANS THAT THE ACTION OF THE GREAT NATIONS WHICH COMPOSE THIS ORGANIZATION ARE GOING TO BE AMENABLE TO THE PUBLIC WILL, TO UNIVERSAL PUBLIC OPINION; THAT THEY CANNOT CONTINUE TO FEEL THEMSELVES FREE TO CARRY ON A NATIONAL PROGRAM OR ANY TREATMENT EVEN OF THEIR OWN CITIZENS AND AFFAIRS, WHICH IS, IN THE JUDGMENT OF THE WORLD, A THREAT TO WORLD

30-7-37

PEACE AND TO WORLD PROGRESS.

IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT THE AMERICAN NEGROES HAVE A RIGHT TO PUT THEIR CASE BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS AND TO SAY THAT HERE IN AMERICA WHERE WE PROFESS DEMOCRACY WE HAVE BUILT UP A LEGAL CASTE SYSTEM WHICH INTEFERES WITH FAMILY LIFE;WHICH COUTS DOWN THE WAGES OF NEGROES THROUGH DISCRIMINAT ON; AND DENIES THEM MEDICAL SERVICE AND HOSPITAL FACILITIES; AND WHICH ESPECIALLY MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE MAJORITY OF NEGROES TO LEARN TO READ AND WRITE WELL. AND THAT FOR THIS REASON THE UNITED NATIONS SHOULD TAKE COGNIZANCE OF THIS SITUATI ON AND AT LEAST MAKE IT KNOW TO THE WORLD IN ORDER THAT WORLD SHOULD OPPOSE THIS TREATMENT OF NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES; AND SUCH INTERNATIONAL ACTION SHOULD ESPECIALLY POINT OUT THAT THIS SITUATION IS A CONTRADICITION AND DIRECT NULLIFACATION OF THE LAWS WHICH THIS COUNTRY HAS MADE FOR ITS OWN GUIDANCE. I TRUST THEREFORE THAT YOU AS LIBRIANS AND PERSONS INTERESTED IN LIBRARIES ARE GOING TO SEE

TO IT THAT THIS ASPECT OF COLONIES AND SUPPRESSED AMERICAN NEGROES WILL BE BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS. WHICH IS MAKING ITS CAPITOL AND CENTER IN OUR LAND.

36-7-38

To the Southern Negro Youth Congress, October 20, 1946

The future of American Negroes is in the South. Here three hundred and twenty-seven years ago, they began to enter what is now the United States of America; here they have made their greatest contribution to American culture; and here they have suffered the damnation of slavery, the frustration of reconstruction and the lynching of emancipation. I trust then that an organization like yours is going to regard the South as the battle-ground of a great crusade. Here is the magnificent climate; here is the fruitful earth under the beauty of the Southern sun; and here if anywhere on earth, is the need of the thinker, the worker and the dreamer. This is the firing line not simply for the emancipation of the American Negro but for the emancipation of the African Negro and the Negroes of the West Indies; for the emancipation of the colored races; and for the emancipation of the white slaves of modern capitalistic monopoly.

Remember here, too, that you do not stand alone. It may seem like a failing fight when the newspapers ignore you; when every effort is made by white people in the South to count you out of citizenship and to act as though you did not exist as human beings while all the time they are profiting by your labor; gleaning wealth from your sacrifices and trying to build a nation and a civilization upon your degradation. You must remember that despite all this, you have allies and allies even in the white South. First and greatest of these possible allies are the white working classes about you. The poort whites whom you have been taught to despise and who in turn have learned to fear and hate you. This must not deter you from efforts to make them understand, because in the past in their ignoranae and suffering they have been led foolishly to look upon you as the cause of most of their distress. You must remember that this attitude is hereditary from slavery and that it has been deliberately cultivated ever since emancipation.

Slowly but surely the working people of the South, white and

black, must come to remember that their emancipation depends upon their mutual cooperation; upon their acquaintanceship with each other; upon their friendship; upon their social intermingling. Unless this happens each is going to be made the football to break the heads and hearts of the other.

White youth in the South is peculiarly frustrated. There is not a single great ideal which they can express or aspire to, that does not bring them into flat contradiction with the Negro problem. The more they try to escape it, the more they land into hypocrisy, lying and double-dealing; the more they become, what they least wish to become, the oppressors and despisers of human beings. Some of them, in larger and larger numbers, are bound to turn toward the truth and to recognize you as brothers and sisters, as fellow travellers toward the dawn.

36-7-20

There has always been in the South that intellectual elite who saw the Negro problem clearly. They have always lacked and some still lack the courage to stand up for what they know is right. Nevertheless they can be depended on in the long run to follow their own clear thinking and their own decent choice. Finally even the politicans must eventually recongize the trend in the world, in this country, and in the South. James Byrnes, that favorite son of this commonwealth, and Secretary of State of the United States, is today occupying an indefensible and impossible position; and if he survives in the memory of men,he must begin to help establish in his own South Carolina something of that democracy which he has been recently so loudly preaching to Russia. He is the end of a long series of men whose eternal damnation is the fact that they looked TRUTH in the face and did not see it; John C. Calhoun, Wade Hampton, Ben Tillman are men whose names must ever be besmirched by the fact that they fought against freedom and democracy in a land which was founded upon Democracy and Freedom.

Eventually this class of men must yield to the writing in the stars. That great hypocrite, Jan Smuts, who today is talking of humanity and standing beside Byrnes for a United Nations, is at the same time, oppressing the black people of Africa to an extent which makes their two countries, South Africa and the Southern South, the most reactionary peoples on earth. Peoples whose exploitation of the poor and helpless, reahes the last degree of shame. They must in the long run yield to the forward march of civilization or die.

30-7-21

If now you young people instead of runn ng away from the battle here in Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi, instead of seeking freedom and opportunity in Chicago and New York which do spell opportunity - nevertheless grit your teeth and make up your minds to fight it out right here if it takes every day of your lives and the lives of your childrens' children. If you do this, you must in meetings like this ask yourselves what does the fight mean? How can it be carried on? What are the best tools, arms, and methods? And where does it lead?

I should be the last to insist that the uplift of mankind never calls for force and death. There are times, as both you and I know, when

"Tho' love repine and reason chafe,
There came a voice without reply,
'Tis man's perdition to be safe
When for the truth he ought to die.'

At the same time and even more clearly in a day like this, after the millions of mass murders that have been done in the world since 1914, we ought to be the last to believe that force is ever the final word. We cannot escape the clear fact that what is going to win in this world is reason if this ever becomes a reasonable world. The careful reasoning of the human mind backed by the facts of science is the one salvation of man. The world, if it resumes its march toward civilization, cannot ignore reason. This has been the tragedy of the South in the past; it is still its awful and unforgivable sin that it has set its face against reason

and against the fact. It tried to build slavery upon freedom; it tried to build tyranny upon democracy; it tried to build mob violence on law and law on lynching and in all that despicable endeavor, the state of South Carolina has led the South for a century. It began not the Civil War - not the War between the States but the War to Preserve Slavery; it began mob violence and lynching and today it stands in the front rank of those defying the Supreme Court on disfranchisement.

36-7-22

Nevertheless reason can and will prevail; but of course it can only prevail with publicity - pitiless, blatant publicity. You have got to make the people of the United States and of the world know what is going on in the South. You have got to use every field of publicity to force the truth into their ears, and before their eyes. You have got to make it impossible for any human being to live in the South and not realize the barbarities that prevail here. You may be condemned for flamboyant methods; for calling a congress like this; for waving your grievances under the noses and in the faces of men. That makes no difference; it is your duty to do it. It is your duty to do more of this sort of thing than you have done in the past. As a result of this you are going to be called upon for sacrifice. It is no easy thing for a young black man or a young black woman to live in the South today and to plan to continue to live here; to marry and raise childfen; to establish a home. They are in the midst of legal caste and customary insults; they are in continuous danger of mob violence; they are mistreated by the officers of the law and they have no hearing before the courts and the churches and public opinion commensurate with the attention which they ought to receive. But that sacrifice is only the Beginning of Battle, you must re-build this South.

There are enormous opportunities here for a new nation, a new Economy, a new culture in a South really new and not a mere renewal of

an old South of slavery, monopoly and race hate. There is a chance for a new cooperative agriculture on renewed land owned by the State with capital furnished by the State, mechanized zand coordinated with city life. There is chance for strong, virile Trade Unions without race discrimination, with high wage, closed shop and decent conditions of work to beat back and hold in check the swarm of landlords, monopolists and profiteers who are today sucking the blood out of this land. There is chance for cooperative industry, built on the cheap power of T.V.A. and its future extensions. There is opportunity to organize and mechanize domestic service with decent hours, and high wage and dignified training. There is a vast field for consumers cooperation, building business on public service and not on private profit as the main-spring of industry. There is chance for a broad, sunny, healthy home life, shorn of the fear of mobs and liquor, and rescued from lying, stealing polititions, who build their deviltry on race prejudice. Here in this South is the gateway to the colored millions of the West Indies, Central and South America. Here is the straight path to Africa, the Indies, China and the South Seas. Here is the Path to the Greater, Freer truer World. It would be shame and cowardice to surrender this glorious land and its opportunities for civilization and humanity to the thugs and lynchers, the mobs and profiteers, the monopolists and gamblers who today choke its soil and steal its resources. The oil and sulpher: the coal and iron; the cotton and corn; the lumber and cattle belong to you the workers, black and white, and not to the thieves who hold them and use them to enslave you. They can be rescued and restored to the people if you have the guts to strive for the real right to vote, the right to real education, the right to happiness and health and the total abolition of the father of these scourges of mankind, POVERTY.

"Behold the beautiful land which the Lord thy God hath given thee." Behold the land, the rich and resourceful land, from which for a hundred years its best elements have been running away, its youth and hope black and white, scurrying North because they are afraid of each other, and dare not face a future of equal, independent, upstanding human beings, in a real and not a sham democracy.

36-7-24

To rescue this land, in this way, calls for the Great Sacrifice; This is the thing that you are called upon to do because it is the right thing to do. Because you are embarked upon a great and holy crusade, the emancipation of mankind black and white; the upbuilding of democracy; the breaking down, particularly here in the South, of forces of evil represented by race prejudice in South Carolina; by Lynching in Georgia; by disfranchisement in Mississippi; by ignorance in Louisiana and by all these and monopoly of wealth in the whole South.

There could be no more splendid vacation beckoning to the youth of the twentieth century, after the flat failures of white civilization, after the flamboyant establishment of an industrial system which creates poverty and the children of poverty which are ignorance and disease and c crime; after the crazy boasting of a white culture that finally ended in wars which ruined civilization in the whole world; in the midst of allied peoples who have yelled about democracy and never practised it either in the British Empire or in the American Commonwealth or in South Carolina.

Here is the chance for young women and young men of devotion to lift again the banner of humanity and to walk toward a civilization which will be free and intelligent; which will be healthy and unafraid; and build in the world a culture led by black folk and joined by peoples of all colors and all races - without poverty, ignorance and disease!

Once a great German poet cried: "Selig der Er in Sieges Glänze findet"

"Happy man whom Death shall find in Victory's splendor"

But I know a happier one: he who fights in despair and in defeat still fights. Singing with Arna Bontemps the quiet, determined philosophy of undefeatable men:

36-7-25

"I thought I saw an angel flying low,
I thought I saw the flicker of a wing
Above the mulberry trees; but not again,
Bethesda sleeps. This ancient pool that healed
A Host of bearded Jews does not awake.
This pool that once the angels troubled does not move.
No angel stirs it now, no Saviour comes
With healing in His hands to raise the sick
and bid the lame man leap upon the ground.

The golden days are gone. Why do we wait
So long upon the marble steps, blood
Falling from our open wounds? and why
Do our black faces search the empty sky?
Is there something we have forgotten? Some precious thing
We have lost, wandering in strange lands?

There was a day, I remember now,
I beat my breast and cried, "Wash me God,"
Wash me with a wave of wind upon
The barley; O quiet one, draw near, draw near!
Walk upon the hills with lovely feet
And in the waterfall stand and speak!

W. E. B. Du Bois

Southern Negro Conference / 1 "Behold the Lord"

20 October 1944

THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO IS IN THE SOUTH. HERE THREE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIX YEARS AGO, THEY BEGAN TO ENTER WHAT IS NOW THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; HERE THEY HAVE MADE THEIR GREATEST CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICAN CULTURE; AND HERE THEY HAVE SUFFERED THE DAMNATION OF SLAVERY AND THE FRUSTRATION OF RECONSTRUCTION AND THE LYNCHING OF EMANCIPATION. I TRUST THEN THAT AN ORGANIZATION LIKE YOURS IS GOING TO REGARD THE SOUTH AS THE FIRING LINE OF A GREAT CRUSADE. HERE IS THE MAGNIFICENT CLIMATE; HERE IS THE FRUITFUL EARTH UNDER THE BEAUTY OF THE SOUTHERN SUN; AND HERE IF ANYWHERE ON EARTH, IS THE NEED OF THE THINKER, THE WORKER AND THE DREAMER. THIS IS THE FIRING LINE NOT SIMPLY FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO BUT FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE AFRICAN NEGRO AND THE NEGROES OF THE WEST INDIES; FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE COLORED RACES; AND FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WHITE SLAVES OF MODERN CAPITALISTIC MONOPOLY.

36-7-160

REMEMBER HERE THAT, TOO, YOU DO NOT STAND ALONE. IT MAY SEEM

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LIKE A FAILING FIGHT WHEN THE NEWSPAPERS IGNORE YOU; WHEN EVERY EFFORT IS MADE BY THE WHITE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH TO COUNT YOU OUT OF CITIZENSHIP AND TO ACT AS THOUGH YOU DID NOT EXIST AS HUMAN BEINGS WHILE ALL THE TIME THEY WERE PROFITING BY YOUR LABOR; GLEANING WEALTH FROM YOUR SACRIFICES AND TRYING TO BUILD A NATION AND A CIVILIZATION UPON YOUR DEGRADATION. YOU MUST REMEMBER THAT DESPITE ALL THIS, YOU HAVE ALLIES AND ALLIES EVEN IN THE WHITE SOUTH. FIRST AND GREATEST OF THESE POSSIBLE ALLIES ARE THE WHITE WORKING CLASSES ABOUT YOU. THE POOR WHITES WHOM YOU HAVE BEEN TAUGHT TO DESPISE AND WHO IN TURN HAVE LEARNED TO FEAR AND HATE YOU. THIS MUST NOT DETER YOU FROM EFFORTS TO MAKE THEM UNDERSTAND, BECAUSE IN THE PAST IN THEIR IGNORANCE AND SUFFERING THEY HAVE BEEN LED FOOLISHLY TO LOOK UPON YOU AS THE CAUSE OF MOST OF THEIR DISTRESS. YOU MUST REMEMBER THAT THIS ATTITUDE IS HEREDITY FROM SLAVERY AND THAT IT HAS BEEN DELIBERATELY CULTIVATED BY

SINCE EMANCIPATION.

SLOWLY BUT SURELY THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH, WHITE AND BLACK, MUST COME TO REMEMBER THAT THEIR EMANCIPATION DEPENDS UPON THEIR MUTUAL COOPERATION; UPON THEIR ACQUAINTANCESHIP WITH EACH OTHER; UPON THEIR FRIENDSHIP; UPON THEIR SOCIAL INTERMINGLING. UNLESS THIS HAPPENED EACH IS GOING TO BE MADE THE FOOTBALL TO BREAK THE HEADS AND HEARTS OF THE OTHER.

WHITE YOUTH IN THE SOUTH IS PECULIARLY FRUSTRATED. THERE IS NOT A SINGLE GREAT IDEAL TO WHICH THEY CAN EXPRESS OR ASPIRE TO, THAT DOES NOT BRING THEM INTO FLAT CONTRADICTION WITH THE NEGRO PROBLEM. THE MORE THEY TRY TO ESCAPE IT, THE MORE THEY LAND INTO HYPOCRISY, LYING AND DOUBLE-DEALING; THE MORE THEY BECOME, WHAT THEY LEAST WISH TO BECOME, THE OPPRESSORS AND DESPISERS OF HUMAN BEINGS. SOME OF THEM, IN LARGER AND LARGER NUMBERS, ARE BOUND TO TURN TOWARD THE TRUTH AND TO RECOGNIZE YOU AS BROTHERS AND SISTERS. AS FELLOW TRAVELLER TOWARD THE DAWN.

36-7-161

THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN IN THE SOUTH THAT INTELLECTUAL ELITE WHO SAW THE NEGRO PROBLEM CLEARLY. THEY HAVE ALWAYS LACKED AND STILL LACK THE COURAGE TO STAND UP FOR WHAT THEY KNOW IS RIGHT. NEVERTHELESS THEY CAN BE DEPENDED ON IN THE LONG RUN TO FOLLOW THEIR OWN CLEAR THINKING AND THEIR OWN DECENT CHOICE. FINALLY EVEN THE POLITICANS MUST EVENTUALLY RECOGNIZE THE TREND IN THE WORLD, IN THIS COUNTRY, AND IN THE SOUTH. JAMES BYRNES, THAT FAVORITE SON OF THIS COMMONWEALTH, AND SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES, IS TODAY OCCUPYING AN INDEFENSIBLE AND IMPOSSIBLE POSITION; AND IF HE SURVIVES IN THE MEMORY OF MEN, HE MUST BEGIN TO ESTABLISH IN HIS OWN SOUTH CAROLINA SOMETHING OF THAT DEMOCRACY WHICH HE HAS BEEN RECENTLY SO LOUDLY PREACHING TO RUSSIA. HE IS THE END OF A LONG SERIES OF MEN WHOSE ETERNAL DAMNATION IS THE FACT THAT THEY LOOKED <u>TRUTH</u> IN THE FACE AND DID NOT SEE IT: JOHN C. CALHOUN, WADE HAMPTON, BEN TILLMAN ARE MEN WHOSE NAMES MUST EVER BE BESMIRCHED BY THE FACT THEY THEY FOUGHT AGAINST FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN A LAND WHICH

WAS FOUNDED UPON DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM.

EVENTUALLY THIS CLASS OF MEN MUST YIELD TO THE WRITING IN THE STARS. THAT GREAT HYPOCRITE JAN SMUTZ WHO TODAY IS TALKING OF HUMANITY AND STANDING BESIDE BYRNES FOR A UNITED NATIONS, IS AT THE SAME TIME, OPPRESSING THE BLACK PEOPLE OF AFRICA TO AN EXTENT WHICH MAKES THEIR COUNTRIES, SOUTH AFRICA AND THE SOUTHERN SOUTH, THE MOST REACTIONARY PEOPLES ON EARTH. THEY MUST IN THE LONG RUN YIELD TO THE FORWARD MARCH OF CIVILIZATION OR DIE.

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IF NOW YOU YOUNG PEOPLE INSTEAD OF RUNNING AWAY FROM THE BATTLE HERE IN CAROLINA, GEORGIA, ALABAMA, LOUISIANA AND MISSISSIPPI, INSTEAD OF SEEKING THE FREEDOM AND OPPORTUNITY IN CHICAGO AND NEW YORK, WHICH DO SPELL OPPORTUNITY - NEVERTHELESS GRIT YOUR TEETH AND MAKE UP YOUR MINDS TO FIGHT IT OUT RIGHT HERE IF IT TAKE EVERY DAY OF YOUR LIVES AND THE LIVES OF YOUR CHILDRENS' CHILDREN MUST IN MEETINGS LIKE THIS ASK YOURSELVES WHAT DOES THE FIGHT MEAN? HOW CAN IT BE CARRIED ON? WHAT ARE THE BEST TOOLS, ARMS, AND

METHODS?

I SHOULD BE THE LAST TO INSIST THAT THE UPLIFT OF MANKIND NEVER CALLS FOR FORCE AND DEATH. THERE ARE TIMES, AS BOTH YOU AND I KNOW, WHEN "THO' LOVE REPINE AND REASON CHAFE,

THERE CAME A VOICE WITHOUT REPLY,
'TIS MAN'S PERDITION TO BE SAFE
WHEN FOR THE TRUTH HE OUGHT TO DIE.'

AT THE SAME TIME AND JUST EVEN MORE CLEARLY IN A DAY LIKE THIS, AFTER THE MILLIONS OF MASS MURDERS THAT HAVE BEEN DONE IN THE WORLD SINCE 1914, WE OUGHT TO BE THE LAST TO BELIEVE THAT FORCE IS EVER THE FINAL WORD. WE CANNOT ESCAPE THE CLEAR FACT THAT WHAT IS GOING TO WIN IN THIS WORLD IS REASON IF THIS EVER BECOMES A REASONABLE WORLD. THE CAREFUL REASONING OF THE HUMAN MIND BACKED BY THE FACTS OF SCIENCE IS THE ONE SALVATION OF MAN.

THE WORLD, IF IT CONTINUES ITS MARCH TOWARD CIVILIZATION, CANNOT IGNORE REASON. THIS HAS BEEN THE TRAGEDY OF THE SOUTH IN THE PAST; IT IS STILL ITS AWFUL AND UNFORGIVABLE SIN HAS SET ITS FACE AGAINST REASON AND AGAINST THE FACT. IT TRIED TO BUILD SLAVERY UPON FREEDOM; IT TRIED TO BUILD TYRANNY UPON DEMOCRACY; IT TRIED TO BUILD MOB VIOLENCE ON LAW AND LAW ON LYNCHING AND IN ALL THAT DESPICALBE ENDEAVOR, THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA HAS LED THE SOUTH FOR A CENTURY. IT BEGAN THE WAR TO PRESERVE SLAVERY; IT LED IN MOB VIOLENCE AND LYNCHING AND TODAY IT STANDS IN THE FRONT RANKS IN DEFYING THE SUPREME COURT ON DISFRANCHISEMENT.

NEVER THELESS REASON CAN AND WILL PREVAIL; BUT OF COURSE IT CAN ONLY PREVAIL WITH PUBLICITY - PITILESS, BLATANT PUBLICITY. YOU HAVE GOT TO MAKE THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE WORLD KNOW WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE SOUTH. YOU HAVE GOT TO USE EVERY FIELD OF PUBLICITY TO FORCE THE

36-7-163

TRUTH INTO THEIR EARS, AND BEFORE THEIR EYES. YOU HAVE GOT TO MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANY HUMAN BEING TO LIVE IN THE SOUTH AND NOT REALIZE THE BARBARITIES THAT PREVAIL HERE. YOU MAY BE CONDEMNED FOR FLAMBOYANT METHODS; FOR CALLING A CONGRESS LIKE THIS; FOR WAVING YOUR GRIEVANCES UNDER THE NOSES AND IN THE FACES OF MEN. THAT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE; IT IS YOUR DUTY TO DO IT. IT IS YOUR DUTY TO DO MORE of THIS SORT OF THING THAN YOU HAVE DONE IN THE PAST. AS A RESULT OF THIS YOU ARE GOING TO BE CALLED UPON FOR SACRIFICE. IT IS NO EASY THING FOR A YOUNG BLACK MAN OR A YOUNG BLACK WOMAN TO LIVE IN THE SOUTH TODAY AND TO PLAN TO CONTINUE TO LIVE HERE; TO MARRY AND RAISE CHILDREN; TO ESTABLISH A HOME. THEY ARE IN THE MIDST OF LEGAL CASTE AND CUSTOMARY INSULTS; THEY ARE IN CONTINOUS DANGER OF MOB VIOLENCE; THEY ARE MISTREATED BY THE OFFICERS OF THE LAW AND THEY HAVE NO HEARING BEFORE THE COURTS AND THE CHURCHES AND PUBLIC OPINION COMMENSURATE WITH THE ATTENTION WHICH THEY OUGHT TO RECEIVE.

THIS IS THE GREAT SACRIFICE; THIS IS THE THING THAT YOU ARE CALLED UPON TO DO BECAUSE IT IS THE RIGHT THING TO DO. BECAUSE YOU ARE EMBARKED UPON A GREAT AND HOLY CRUSADE, THE EMANCIPATION OF MANKIND BLACK AND WHITE; THE UPBUILDING OF DEMOCRACY; THE BREAKING DOWN, PARTICULARLY HERE IN THE SOUTH, OF FORCES OF EVIL REPRESENTED BY RACE PREJUDICE IN SOUTH CAROLINA; BY LYNCHING IN GEORGIA; BY DISFRANCHISEMENT IN MISSISSIPPI; BY IGNORANCE IN LOUISIANA AND BY ALL THESE IN THE WHOLE SOUTH.

36-7-164

THERE COULD BE NO MORE SPLENDID VOCATION BECKONING TO THE YOUTH OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, AFTER THE FLAT FAILURES OF WHITE CIVILIZATION, AFTER THE FLAMBOYANT ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM WHICH CREATES POVERTY AND THE CHILDREN OF POVERTY WHICH ARE IGNORANCE AND DISEASE AND CRIME; AFTER THE CRAZY BOASTING OF A WHITE CULTURE WHICH FINALLY ENDED IN WAR WHICH RUINED THE CIVILIZATION OF THE WORLD; IN THE MIDST OF THE ALLIED PEOPLE WHO HAVE YELLED ABOUT DEMOCRACY AND NEVER PRACTISED IT EITHER IN

THE BRITISH EMPIRE OR IN THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH.

HERE IS THE CHANCE FOR YOUNG WOMEN AND YOUNG MEN OF DEVOTION TO LIFT AGAIN THE BANNER OF HUMANITY AND TO WALK TOWARD A CIVILIZATION WHICH WILL BE FREE AND INTELLIGENT; WHICH WILL BE HEALTHY AND UNAFRAID; AND BUILD IN THE WORLD A CULTURE LED BY BLACK FOLK AND JOINED BY PEOPLES OF ALL COLORS AND ALL RACES.

ONCE A GREAT GERMAN POET CRIED:

HAPPY THE MAN WHO DIES IN VICTORY'S SPLENDOR

BUT I KNOW A HAPPIER ONE: HE WHO FIGHTS IN DESPAIR AND IN DEFEAT STILL FIGHTS.

"I THOUGHT I SAW AN ANGEL FLYING LOW,
I THOUGHT I SAW THE FLICKER OF A WING
ABOVE THE MULBERRY TREES; BUT NOT AGAIN.

BETHESDA SLEEPS. THIS ANCIENT POOL THAT HEALED

A HOST OF BEARDED JEWS DOES NOT AWAKE.
THIS POOL THAT ONCE THE ANGELS TROUBLED DOES NOT MOVE.
NO ANGEL STIRS IT NOW, NO SAVIOUR COMES
WITH HEALING IN HIS HANDS TO RAISE THE SICK
AND BID THE LAME MAN LEAP UPON THE GROUND.

THE GOLDEN DAYS ARE GONE. WHY DO WE WAIT
SO LONG UPON THE MARBLE STEPS, BLOOD
FALLING FROM OUR OPEN WOUNDS? AND WHY
DO OUR BLACK FACES SEARCH THE EMPTY SKY?
IS THERE SOMETHING WE HAVE FORGOTTEN? SOME PRECIOUS THING
WE HAVE LOST, WANDERING IN STRANGE LANDS?

THERE WAS A DAY, I REMEMBER NOW,
I BEAT MY BREAST AND CRIED, "WASH ME GOD,

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WASH ME WITH A WAVE OF WIND UPON
THE BARLEY; O QUIET ONE, DRAW NEAR, DRAW NEAR!
WALK UPON THE HILLS WITH LOVELY FEET
AND IN THE WATERFALL STAND AND SPEAK.

W.E.B. Du Bois "Stage for action" October 1946

TWO THINGS I MAY SAY: THE ONE IS BY WAY OF APOLOGY IN APPEARING UPON A PROGRAM DEVOTED TO THE DRAMA. MY OWN PERSONAL INTEREST IN THE DRAMA AS TOUCHING AMERICAN NEGROES AND RACE RELATIONS DATES BACK TO THE CELEBRATION OF THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF EMANCIAPATION HELD IN NEW YORK CITY IN 1913. WE STAGED THERE A PAGEANT OF NEGRO HISTORY CALLED "THE STAR OF ETHIOPIA" WHICH WAS SO SUCCESSFUL THAT I WAS INDUCED TO TAKE IT TO WASHINGTON IN 1914 WHERE WE PLAYED IT UPON A BALLFIELD WITH A THOUSAND ACTORS. IT WAS STRIKING SPECTACLE; IT WAS REPEATED AFTERWARDS IN PHILADELPHIA ON THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE A.M.E. CHURCH AND LATER IN LOS ANGELES, IN THE HOLLYWOOD BOWL.

36-7-17

I WAS ON THESE OCCASIONS TRYING FOR SOMETHING MORE THAN A MERE SPECTACLE; I WAS SEEKING FOR SELF-EXPRESSION ON THE PART OF A GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO, QUITE BEYOND THE FACT OF THEIR PHYSICAL LIKENESS AND BIOLOGICAL DESCENT, HAVE A CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL UNITY, WHICH

COMES FROM A LONG HISTORY OF OPPRESSION AND REPRESSION; AND WHICH CALLED FOR EXPRESSION TO BENEFIT OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

LATER IN 1926 A GIFT OF PRIZES FOR WRITING AND PLAYS LED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CRISIS GUILD OF WRITERS, AND ACTORS; KRIGWA AS WE CALLED IT. FROM THIS WE MOVED IN A FEW YEARS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LITTLE THEATRE IN THE BASEMENT OF 135thSTREET BRANCH OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY. WE GAVE PLAYS FROM TIME TO TIME AND AT ONE TIME GAINED THE SECOND PRIZE IN THE NATION-WIDE LITTLE THEATRE CONTEST. BUT OUR ACTORS WERE HIRED AWAY BY BROADWAY AND THE AUDIENCE DID NOT GRASP THE IDEA OF SELF-EXPRESSION IN FOR THEIR OWN LIFE IN HARLEM AND IN UNITED STATES. SO WHILE WE MADE SOME SORT OF BEGINNING WE DID NOT GO FAR.

THIS THEN IS MY PERSONAL INTEREST IN THE NEGRO STAGE. I WANT

TO EMPHASIZE THE STATEMENT WHICH I MADE BEFORE: A GROUP OF PEOPLE NO MATTER WHAT THEIR BIOLOGICAL BACKGROUND MAY BE; NO MATTER WHAT THEIR COLOR AND RACE, IF THEY HAVE LIVED, worked AND STRIVEN TOGETHER AS A GROUP; IF THEY SHARE THE SAME MEMORIES AND EXPERIENCES, THEY HAVE SOMETHING WHICH THEY OUGHT TO EXPRESS FOR THE BENEFIT OF MANKIND AND THE DRAMA IS ONE GREAT AND FINE MODE OF EXPRESSION. THIS THEN IS THE WIDE AND FRUITFUL FIELD FOR THE NEGRO DRAMA IN THE UNITED STATES.

36-7-18

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RECENT AFRICAN MOVEMENTS FOR FREEDOM

THERE HAS BEEN ALMOST NO EFFORT IN MODERN TIMES TO COLLECT AND STUDY THE VARIOUS MOVEMENTS AMONG AFRICAN PEOPLES LOOKING TOWARD EMANCIPATION AND AUTONOMY. THIS IS SO TRUE THAT THERE IS A PREVALENT OPINION, AMONG EVEN INTELLIGENT MEN, THAT OF ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD, AFRICA ALONE IS SILENT CONCERNING HER OWN EMANCIPATION. THIS OF COURSE IS ASTONISHINGLY UNTRUE.

REPEATEDLY THESE DEMANDS HAVE TAKEN THE FORM OF DESPERATE WAR AND REVOLT, AS SHOWN BY THE SIX ASHANTI WARS AGAINST THE BRITISH, THE INNUMERABLE WARS OF THE KAFFIRS AND ZULUS AGAINST THE BOERS AND ENGLISH IN SOUTH AFRICA; THE STRUGGLE IN THE SUDAN AND EAST AFRICA AGAINST EUROPE AND ASIA FROM TWO THOUSAND YEARS BEFORE CHRIST TO THE REVOLT OF THE MAHDI IN 1881; THE FIGHTING IN ABBYSSINIA AGAINST PORTUGUESE, ENGLISH AND ITALIANS FROM THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, AND THE BLOODY INDUSTRIAL STRIKES OF OUR DAY.

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BUT I PASS OVER THESE WARS AND PHYSICAL STRUGGLES TO STRESS THE MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL BATTLES OF AFRICA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. I HAVE OFTEN SAID THAT THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA HELD IN ACCRA, GOLD COAST, BRITISH WEST AFRICA, MARCH 15-23, 1920, SHOULD BE STUDIED IN UNIVERSITIES AS A DOCUMENT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN THE WORLD. I QUOTE ONE PARAGRAPH: "...THE PEOPLE HAVING THEIR OWN NATURAL REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM AND THE GOVERNMENT ASSUMING THE POWER OF PASSING MEASURES AGAINST THE SOLID VOTE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, NOMINATED BY GOVERNMENT AND PUT FORWARD BY GOVERNMENT AS REPRESENTING THE PEOPLE, IS A STANDING GRIEVANCE AND IN THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE THE TIME HAS COME WHEN THIS PARTICULAR DISABILITY SHOULD BE REMOVED. IT HAS BECOME IMPERATIVE THEREFORE, NOW FOR THE PEOPLE BY CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION TO BRING HOME TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF REMOVING SUCH DISABILITY AND GRANTING THE FRANCHISE TO THE

TO THE PEOPLE OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA."

EVERY PART OF AFRICA HAS HELPED TOWARD FREEDOM AND EACH HAS TAKEN DIFFERENT WAYS OF REACHING THEIR ASPIRATIONS AND DEMANDS. THERE IS NOT TIME TO RECOUNT ALL THESE MOVEMENTS HERE; I CAN ONLY REFER BRIEFLY TO A FEW. THE STRUGGLE OF THE NEGROES OF SOUTH AFRICA TO OBTAIN EDUCATION AND POLITICAL RECOGNITION, IS ONE WHICH GOES BACK TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, BUT NEVERTHELESS IS STILL ALIVE AS THE RECENT APPEAL OF SOUTH AFRICANS TO THE UNITED NATIONS SHOWS: "...WE HAVE DEMANDS. BUT OUR DEMANDS ARE NOT AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHER PEOPLES. OUR DEMANDS CAN ONLY ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF BUILDING A PEACEFUL WORLD ON NEW BEGINNINGS. WE ARE A PEACE-LOVING PEOPLE. WE HAVE NO ENMITY OR MALICE TOWARDS THE EUROPEANS, FOR WE WISH TO LIVE SIDE BY SIDE WITH THEM IN PEACE AND HARMONY. YET WE CAN ONLY LIVE SIDE BY SIDE WITH THEM IN PEACE AND HARMONY AS EQUALS AND NOT AS INFERIORS. WE ARE ALSO A CONSTITUTIONAL PEOPLE. AND IF WE MAKE

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THIS DECLARATION DIRECTLY TO THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD AND NOT THROUGH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, IT IS BECAUSE IT MUST BE CLEAR FROM ALL THE FOREGOING, THAT IT WOULD BE BOTH LUDICROUS AND FUTILE TO APPEAL AGAINST THE TYRANTS THROUGH THE TYRANTS..."

THE BUNGA OF THE TRANSKEI IN CAPE COLONY SOUTH AFRICA IS PERHAPS THE MOST ADVANCED LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AMONG NEGROES THE WORLD OVER, AND IS WELL-KNOWN FOR ITS PROFICIENCY. PROTECTORATES LIKE BASUTOLAND, FOUNDED BY THE GREAT MOSESH WHO IN THE MOMENT OF VICTORY DELIBERATELY OFFERED ENGLAND PEACE INSTEAD OF WAR AND ESPECIALLY TODAY BECHUANALAND UNDER THE EDUCATED YOUNG CHIEF, TSHEKEDI KHAMA, ARE EXAMPLES OF DETERMINATION AND ABILITY FIGHTING AGAINST TREMENDOUS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ODDS. THERE IS THE STRUGGLE OF UGANDA STARTING BACK WITH THE MISSIONARIES OF NINETEENTH CENTURY BUT CONTINUING IN OUR DAY IN AN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE IN A COUNTRY WHOSE AUTONOMY HAS BEEN MAINTAINED FOR A THOUSAND YEARS.

IN WEST AFRICA ON THE GOLD COAST AND IN NIGERIA THERE IS NOT ONLY A CONTINUOUS HISTORY OF REVOLT, BUT A MODERN EFFORT AT LOGICAL APPEAL AND ASSERTION WHICH WE SEE CULMINATING IN OUR DAY. EVEN BACK IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THE FANTI CONFEDERATION WAS A STRIKING EXAMPLE OF AN ATTEMPT AT STATE BUILDING AND ORGANIZATION, IN ONE WEST AFRICAN TRIBE. THE MOVEMENT WAS CONTINUED BY THE ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY, THE CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA, AND TODAY BY THE NIGERIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL AND THE YOUTH MOVEMENT. IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SENEGAL IN POLITICAL POWER AND EDUCATION WITHOUT WAR SEES ITS CULMINATION TODAY IN THE RECOGNITION OF ALL BLACK COLONIAL AFRICA AS PART OF THE NEW FRENCH UNION AS THE EMPIRE WILL HEREAFTER BE CALLED.

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IT IS ESPECIALLY APPROPRIATE TONIGHT TO REMIND YOU OF THE STRUGGLE WHICH ETHIOPIA HAS MADE SINCE THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN AN INDEPENDENT BLACK EMPIRE ON THE HEIGHTS OF THE CITADEL OF AFRICA HAS BEEN A TRIUMPH OF LOGICAL ARGUMENT AND MORAL RIGHT AS WELL

AS ARMS. THAT FIGHT IS BY NO MEANS FINISHED; IT IS STILL GOING ON AND IT SHOULD BE ONE OF THE DUTIES OF THE AMERICAN NEGROES TO BRING EVERY OUNCE OF THEIR GREAT POLITICAL POWER TO BEAR ON THE UNITED STATES IN ORDER THAT ETHIOPIA MAY RETAIN ERITREA, HER ANCIENT COLONY AND SEAPORT TO THE WORLD; THAT SHE BE FREED OF THE FOREIGN SOLDIERS WHICH STILL REMAIN UPON HER SOIL; AND ESPECIALLY THAT IN THE COMING TREATY OF PEACE, ITALY IS RESTRAINED FROM ANY MAINTAINING CLAIMS, UPON THE INDEPENDENT EMPIRE OF ETHIOPIA.

FINALLY MAY I POINT OUT THAT THE GREATEST MASS MOVEMENT IN AFRICA TODAY IS THE FORMATION OF TRADE UNIONS THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE LAND TO PROTECT LABOR. THE WAY IN WHICH THE VOICE OF COLORED LABOR WAS HEARD AROUND THE WORLD IN THE RECENT WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE MARKED AN EPOCH. THE TWENTY-FIFTH PARAGRAPH OF THE FINAL DECISION OF THIS CONFERENCE WAS

PLACED THERE ON THE INSISTENCE OF THE AFRICAN AND WEST INDIAN DELEGATES. ITS READING MAY WELL END THIS REFERENCE TO THE DETERMINATION OF AFRICANS AND THEIR DESCENDENTS TO BE FREE:

"IN THE VIEW OF THIS WORLD CONFERENCE, IT IS LIKEWISE NECESSARY TO BRING TO AN END THE SYSTEM OF COLONIES, DEPENDENCIES AND SUBJECT COUNTRIES AS SPHERES OF ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION, AND TO FACILITATE IMMEDIATELY THE DEVELOPMENT OF FREE TRADE UNIONS IN THOSE COUNTRIES. IN THE COMING PEACE, THE FOUNDATIONS MUST BE LAID WITH ALL POSSIBLE SPEED, AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 3 OF THE ATLANTIC CHARTER, OF A WORLD ORDER IN WHICH NON-SELF-GOVERNING COMMUNITIES AND NATIONS CAN ATTAIN THE STATUS OF FREE NATIONS THAT WILL ENABLE THEM TO GOVERN THEMSELVES AND TO DEVELOP THEIR OWN INSTITUTIONS OF FREE CITIZENSHIP."

35-2-324

Nobel Prize Lecture

10 December 1946

WE HAVE HEARD TONIGHT | AN INTERESTING SUMMARY | OF THE VITAL INTEREST IN WORLD PEACE | WHICH IS SHARED BY RADIO AND CINEMA, | SCIENCE AND THE PRESS, | STATESMAN AND TEACHER, | ~~WOMAN AND~~ SOLDIER, | AND STUDENTS | OF SOCIETY. | WILL YOU FOR ~~TWO~~ ONE MINUTE | LET ME ADD A LAST WORD: | THE BLACK FOLK OF THE WORLD | HAVE NO RECOGNIZED PLACE | IN ANY OF THESE ~~NINE~~ CATEGORIES. | YET AT THE TRIUMPHANT END OF THIS ~~THINKING~~ PROGRAM, | MAY I REMIND YOU | THAT THESE TWO HUNDRED MILLIONS | OF MEN | AND OTHER MILLIONS OF THEIR FATHERS, | THROUGH SLAVERY AND DEGRADATION FROM 1441 TO 1863, | AND DECADES THEREAFTER, | GAVE THE MODERN WORLD | THE FOUNDATION OF ITS PRESENT WEALTH AND POWER. |

VICTIMS OF WAR | IN THE MIDST OF A CENTURY'S CRUSADE | FOR PEACE | THEY STILL STAND | AS THE GREATEST SINGLE TEMPTATION | TO FURTHER WAR.

THERE CAN BE NO CERTAIN PEACE | IN THIS WORLD | SO LONG AS CHEAP LABOR | IN AFRICA | CAN FURNISH DIAMONDS AND GOLD, OIL AND COCOA, COPPER AND A HUNDRED OTHER MATERIALS, | OVER WHICH EUROPE AND AMERICA | STAND EVER WILLING TO FIGHT. | THE EMANCIPATION | OF THE BLACK MASSES OF THE WORLD | IS ~~THE~~ ONE GUARANTEE ~~FOR~~ OF A FIRM FOUNDATION | FOR WORLD PEACE.

46-2-162

NOBEL PRIZE AWARD SPEECH December 10, 1946

W. E. B. Du Bois

We have heard tonight an interesting summary of the vital interest in world peace which is shared by radio and cinema, science and the press, statesmen and teacher, woman and soldier, and students of society. Will you for one minute let me add a last word: The black folk of the world have small recognized place in any of these nine categories. Yet at the triumphant end of this program may I remind you that these two hundred millions of men and other millions of their fathers, through slavery and degradation from 1441 to 1865 and decades thereafter, gave the modern world the foundation of its wealth and power.

Victims of war in the midst of a century's crusade for peace, they still stand as the greatest single temptation to further war. There can be no certain peace in this world so long as cheap labor in Africa can furnish diamonds and gold, oil and cocoa, copper and a hundred other materials over which Europe and America stand ever willing to fight. The emancipation of the black masses of the world is the one guarantee of a firm foundation for world peace.

36-7-179

File Thomas Bell

THOMAS BELL WAS A SIMPLE, GOOD MAN. AFTER LONG HARD STRUGGLE, HE BECAME AN EXCELLENT PHYSICIAN. HE COUCILLED THE WELL, HEALED THE SICK , AND BROUGHT THE DYING UP FROM DEATH. AS A MAN HE BECAME CENTER OF A FAMILY WHO LOVED AND OBEYED HIM. HE LIVED IN A CITY WHICH FOLLOWED HIS LEADERSHIP, AND IN A STATE WHICH HONORED HIM; AND FOR A RACE WHICH DID NOT KNOW HIM, YET HEARD HIS STEPS. HE DIED AWAITING REST IN THE WEST, AND FOUND LONG REST IN THAT WEST WHICH IS FAR AWAY. HE DIED AS ALL MEN WANT TO DIE, PLYING HIS TRADE, STANDING IN A HOT CLINIC, SERVING THE SICK.

"SELIG DER, DEN ER, IN SIEGES-GLANZE FINDET!"

" HAPPY MAN, WHOM DEATH, SHALL FIND IN VICTORY'S SPLENDOR! "

3-13-20

National Lawyers Nat'l Lawyers Guild Jan 25 January, 1947 W 454 D.C.

AS DELIVERED

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION BEFORE AND AFTER THE PASSAGE OF THE 14TH AMENDMENT.

ONE MAY DIFFERENTIATE SOMETHING LIKE EIGHT DIFFERENT PERIODS IN THE RECOGNITION OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF CITIZENS OF NEGRO DESCENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

BEFORE THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, THE DENIAL OF CIVIL RIGHTS WAS NOT BASED WHOLLY UPON RACE. AT THAT TIME, MOST OF THE NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES WERE SLAVES BUT NOT ALL; THERE WERE OVER A HUNDRED THOUSAND NEGROES, A TENTH OF THE NEGRO POPULATION, WHO WERE FREE AND WHO WERE NOT ONLY FREE BUT WERE RECOGNIZED AS HAVING SOME OF THE RIGHTS OF FREEMEN. BUT OF COURSE IN THOSE DAYS EVEN A FREE WHITE PERSON WAS LIMITED IN HIS CIVIL RIGHTS BY BIRTH AND BY HIS POSSESSION OF PROPERTY. NEVERTHELESS IT CAN BE SAID: IN THE EARLIER HISTORY EVEN OF THE SOUTH, FREE NEGROES HAD SOME CIVIL RIGHTS. INDEED? SO FAR AS THE LETTER OF THE LAW WAS CONCERNED, THERE WAS NOT A SINGLE SOUTHERN COLONY IN WHICH A BLACK MAN, WHO OWNED THE REQUISITE AMOUNT OF PROPERTY, AND COMPLIED WITH OTHER CONDITIONS, DID NOT

35-1-42

AT SOME PERIOD HAVE THE LEGAL RIGHT TO VOTE. IN OTHER MATTERS BESIDES VOTING THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF FREE NEGROES WERE RECOGNIZED IN SOME DEGREE AT THAT TIME AND FOR SOME TIME AFTER. EVEN SLAVES IN THIS PERIOD HAD SOME RECOGNIZED RIGHTS.

IN THE SECOND PERIOD, BETWEEN 1800 and 1850, THERE WAS WIDE* SPREAD AND DETERMINED EFFORT TO MAKE SLAVERY AND RACE SYNONYMOUS. THIS WAS BECAUSE OF THE RISE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE NEW COTTON KINGDOM AND THE NECESSITY OF BLACK LABOR AS THE FOUNDATION OF ITS PROSPERITY. AS A RE* SULT OF THIS, DISFRANCHISING LAWS AIMED AGAINST NEGROES, WERE PASSED IN STATES LIKE SOUTH CAROLINA AND VIRGINIA; AND IN MANY NORTHERN STATES, LIKE PENNSYLVANIA, WHERE THERE HAD BEEN A MOVEMENT TOWARD EMANCIPATION AND THE RECOGNITION OF THE NEGRO AS A CITIZEN. WITHOUT SPECIFIC LAW, CUSTOM NARROWED THE RIGHTS OF FREE NEGROES AS TO DOMICILE, STATUS IN COURT AND ADD

AND ADMITTANCE TO PUBLIC PLACES AND FACILITIES. THE MOVEMENT AGAINST THE NEGRO AS FREEMEN INCREASED TOWARD 1850 IN THE SOUTH AND APPROACHED A CASTE SYSTEM BASED ON RACE. THERE WERE SOME EXCEPTIONS AS AMONG THE FREE NEGRO LAND AND SLAVE-HOLDERS IN LOUISIANA AND ARTISANS IN CITIES LIKE CHARLESTON AND RICHMOND.

BETWEEN 1850 AND THE CIVIL WAR THE CASTE STATUS OF NEGROES WAS FIRMLY AND ALMOST UNIVERSALLY ESTABLISHED IN THE SOUTH AND WAS INCREASING IN THE NORTH. IT COULD BE SAID, AS ONE WRITER PUT IT "IT IS SAFE TO SAY THAT THE LAW REGARDS A NEGRO SLAVE, SO FAR AS HIS CIVIL STATUS IS CONCERNED, PURELY AND ABSOLUTELY AS PROPERTY, TO BE BOUGHT AND SOLD AND TO PASS AND DESCEND AS A TRACT OF LAND, A HORSE, OR AN OX." THE FREE NEGRO BECAME IN THE SOUTH A PERSON OFTEN WITH FEWER RIGHTS THAN A SLAVE.

35-1-42

THE WHOLE LEGAL STATUS OF THE NEGRO WAS ENUNCIATED IN THE EXTRAORDINARY STATEMENT OF A CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES THAT NEGROES HAD ALWAYS BEEN REGARDED IN AMERICA " AS HAVING NO RIGHTS WHICH A WHITE MAN WAS BOUND TO RESPECT." HISTORICALLY THIS WAS NOT TRUE, BUT IN 1856

IT APPROACHED A FAIR ESTIMATE OF CONDITIONS AT THE TIME.

SO FAR AS THE LAW OF SLAVERY WAS CONCERNED, IT MAY BE SAID THAT THE LAW WAS OFTEN HARSHER THAN THE PRACTICE. NEVERTHELESS THE LAWS AND DECISIONS REPRESENTED THE LEGALLY PERMISSIBLE POSSIBILITIES, AND THE ONLY CURB UPON THE POWER OF THE MASTER WAS HIS SENSE OF HUMANITY AND DECENCY, ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE CONSERVING OF HIS INVESTMENT ON THE OTHER. OF THE HUMANITY OF LARGE NUMBERS OF SOUTHERN MASTERS THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT. IN SOME CASES, THEY GAVE THEIR SLAVES A FATHERLY CARE. AND YET EVEN IN SUCH CASES THE STRAIN UPON THEIR ABILITY TO CARE FOR LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLES AND THE NECESSITY OF ENTRUSTING THE CARE OF THE SLAVES TO TOHER HANDS THAN THEIR OWN? LED TO MUCH SUFFERING AND CRUELTY.

DURING THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION THE WHOLE RELATION OF FEDERAL AND STATE LEGISLATION BEGAN TO CHANGE. EVEN DURING THE WAR

3/29 Ed and Ed

THE CASTE SYSTEM WAS PARTIALLY OVERTHROWN CHIEFLY BY THE FACT THAT THE NORTH BEGAN TO USE NEGROES AS LABORERS AND SOLDIERS, AND IN THE SOUTH COULD NOT PREVENT SLAVES FROM RUNNING AWAY AND COMING UNDER FEDERAL CONTROL. THE PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION MAY BE DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS: A FIRST PART, WHEN THE SOUTH STARTED TO REASSERT ~~ITS~~ THEIR SOVEREIGNTY AND STRESS STATE RIGHTS. THEY PASSED THE BLACK CODES WHICH CURTAILED THE FREED NEGRO POPULATION IN ALL BUT THE BAREST PROVISION FOR CIVIL RIGHTS: MARRIAGE, OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY AND THE RIGHT TO APPEAR IN COURT.

THEN CAME THE REVOLUTION INSTITUTED BY THE RECONSTRUCTION ACTS AND THE 14TH AMENDMENT AND A NEW RELATION OF CITIZENS TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. SOME SOUTHERN STATES PASSED CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION AND THERE CAME THE FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1866. IN 1868 CAME THE 14THE AMENDMENT. LOUISIANA PASSED A CIVIL RIGHTS LAW IN 1869 AND IN 1873 AND ARKANSAS IN 1873. CIVIL RIGHTS ACTS WERE PASSED BY MASSACHUSETTS IN 1865 AND BY KANSAS AND NEW YORK IN 1874.

6

THE COUNTER REVOLUTION CAME IN 1876, AND FROM 1875 TO 1883 WE HAVE A NEW ERA. DELAWARE IN 1873 AND TENNESSEE IN 1875 TRIED TO TAKE AWAY MOST CIVIL RIGHTS, AND ALL SOUTHERN STATES PRACTICALLY NULLIFIED ENFRANCHISEMENT BY LAWLESSNESS AND INTIMIDATION. HERE AROSE THE NEW PROBLEM OF LYNCHING. MOB MURDERS REACHED THEIR CLIMAX IN 1892 AND THE HELPLESSNESS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT UNDER LAW AND DECISION WAS CLEAR. BETWEEN 1883 AND THE EARLY PART OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS PASSED BY THE RECONSTRUCTION ADMINISTRATIONS IN THE SOUTH BECAME INOPERATIVE OR WERE REPEALED. THE 14THE AMENDMENT WAS EMASCULATED IN 1872. THE FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS BILL OF 1875 WAS DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL IN 1883.

THEN FOLLOWED THE BULK OF STATE CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION IN THE NORTH.

THIS LEGISLATION FOR THE MOST PART FORBADE DISCRIMINATION IN RESTAURANTS, PUBLIC CONVEYANCES AND IN PLACES OF PUBLIC AMUSEMENT AND

ACCOMMODATION, INCLUDING BARBER SHOPS AND THEATRES. LESS OFTEN IT MENTIONED HOTELS, SODA FOUNTAINS AND SALOONS. DURING THIS PERIOD THERE WERE NO CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS IN DELAWARE, IDAHO, MAINE, MARYLAND, MISSOURI, MONTANA, NEVADA, NEW HAMPSHIRE, NORTH DAKOTA, OREGON, SOUTH DAKOTA, UTAH, VERMONT, WEST VIRGINIA, AND WYOMING.

35-1-45

FOR THE MOST PART VIOLATION OF THESE LAWS WAS PUNISHED BY A FINE AND REGARDED AS MISDEMEANOR. USUALLY COURTS ENFORCED THESE LAWS RELUCTANTLY AND DEMANDED SPECIFIC STATEMENT AS JUST WHAT THE LEGISLATION MEANT AND TO WHAT IT APPLIED TO. IN FACT THE LEGISLATION OF THIS PERIOD WAS FAR IN ADVANCE OF PUBLIC OPINION AND HAD NO FEDERAL SANCTION BACK OF IT.

DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY THE STATE CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS HAVE BEEN AMENDED IN VARIOUS WAYS AND NOW EXIST IN SIXTEEN DIFFERENT STATES. THERE ARE NONE IN MAINE, NEW HAMPSHIRE OR VERMONT AND GENERALLY THEY ARE MISSING IN THE FAR WEST. THE MOST RADICAL FORWARD STEP IN THIS ERA HAS BEEN THE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE LEGISLATION ORIGINATING IN ROOSEVELT'S

WAR ORDER AND THEN IMPLEMENTED BY STATE ACTION IN NEW YORK AND ELSEWHERE. WHEREAS CIVIL RIGHTS PREVIOUSLY HAD TOUCHED LARGELY MATTERS OF COMFORT AND RECREATION, IT NOW ENTERED THE VASTLY MORE IMPORTANT AND FUNDAMENTAL FIELD OF EARNING A LIVING. IT'S PROGRESS HERE ESPECIALLY BY FEDERAL LEGISLATION WILL BE CRUCIAL.

IN THE SOUTH, SINCE THE BOOKER WASHINGTON SPEECH AT ATLANTA IN 1895, THERE HAS BEEN AN ATTEMPT TO SET UP "SEPARATE BUT EQUAL" CIVIL RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY IN TRANSPORTATION, EDUCATION, AND PUBLIC FACILITIES, AND TO SOME EXTENT IN WORK AND HOUSING. EVERY EFFORT WAS MADE TO AVOID FEDERAL INTERFERENCE. THE FIGHT AGAINST THIS HAS BEEN LONG AND BITTER AND WAS FIRST SUCCESSFUL IN THE MATTER OF NEGRO REPRESENTATION ON JURIES AND FINALLY IN THE MISSOURI UNIVERSITY CASE ON EDUCATION.

WHAT WE REALLY SEE IN THIC CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION IS A CONFLICT BETWEEN IDEALS AND PREJUDICE; BETWEEN THE ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH DEMOCRACY

UPON EQUAL TREATMENT UNDER THE LAW,,AND AT THE SAME TIME THE REFUSAL OF A LARGE NUMBER OF PERSONS TO TREAT PERSONS OF NEGRO DESCENT ON ANY REAL BASIS OF EQUALITY. THE RESULT OF THIS DICHOTOMY IS A TENDENCY TO LET THE LAWS FALL INTO DISUSE; OR TO ENFORCE THEM LIGHTLY; AND ON THE PART OF THE NEGROES, DISINCLINATION TO CALL THEM INTO EFFECTIVE ACTION. THEY REPRESENT THEREFORE ON THE WHOLE NOT THE EXPRESSION OF A CLEAR PUBLIC OPINION BUT AN ATTEMPT TO FORCE PUBLIC OPINION TO TAKE A STAND, WHICH, HOWEVER, THIS SAME OPINION RECOGNIZES AS ETHICALLY RIGHT.

CONSIDERING THIS WHOLE MATTER, WE ARE FACED BY SEVERAL CONSIDERATIONS: HOW FAR CAN A NATION MAINTAIN A HIGH IDEAL OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ACTION, WHEN THE MAJORITY OF PERSONS IN THAT NATION ARE DISINCLINED TO ITS APPLICATION IN PARTICULAR CASES? THIS IS PRIMARILY A MATTER OF EDUCATION AND OF ADVANCE IN ETHICAL STANDARDS. IT CALLS FOR CAREFUL CONSIDERATION ON THE PART OF THE NATION AS TO JUST HOW FAR ITS IDEALS ARE WORTH WHILE. DO WE WANT DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES, AND IF SO WHAT ARE WE WILLING

TO PAY FOR IT?

FOR A LONG TIME THE IDEA WAS PREVALENT THAT WHILE WE WANTED AND WERE DETERMINED TO HAVE DEMOCRACY, IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE THAT NEGROES SHOULD BE A PART OF IT, BECAUSE OF THEIR LOW LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND, AS MOST PEOPLE THEM THOUGHT, OF ABILITY AND CHARACTER. THEREFORE WE COULD ONLY HAVE DEMOCRACY WHEN WE GOT RID OF THE NEGRO POPULATION.

IT MAY BE SAID THAT DURING THE FIRST THREE QUARTERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, THIS WAS A DOMINANT THOUGH AMONG AMERICANS WHO REALIZED THE CONTRADICTION IN OUR BASIC PHILOSOPHY. ONE OF THE GREATEST ADVOCATES IF THE MIGRATION OF THE NEGREES WAS ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND HE WAS PRECEDED BY GREAT MANY AMERICANS BACK TO THE TIME WHEN THE BROTHER OF GEORGE WASHINGTON BECAME FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

BY THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY TWO THINGS WERE CLEAR: FIRST THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO SEPARATE NEGROES FROM THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BECAUSE OF THEIR NUMBER; BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF LANDS WHERE THEY COULD BE DECENTLY TRANSPORTED, BECAUSE OF THE ENORMOUS COST; AND ABOVE ALL, BECAUSE THEIR ECONOMIC VALUE TO THE NATION. TO THIS WAS ADDED THE FACT THAT THE EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL LEVEL OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE WAS BEING RAISED SO FAR AND TO SUCH AN EXTRAORDINARY DEGREE; THAT IT WAS FAIR TO SAY, THEY WERE REACHING THE AVERAGE OF THE NATION; AND THAT A LARGE ELEMENT WAS ABOVE THE AVERAGE.

35-1-47

THE OTHER CONSIDERATION WHICH RUNS PARALLEL TO THIS WAS THE FACT THAT NEGROES THEMSELVES RECOGNIZED THAT THEIR CHIEF AND STRONGEST DEMAND FOR EQUALITY LAY IN THE RAISING OF THEIR OWN STATUS THROUGH EFFORT TO ACHIEVE EDUCATION AND SOCIAL EFFICIENCY; AND THEIR CONCEPTION OF THEIR DUTY TO TEACH THE NATION THE VALUE OF ITS OWN IDEALS. IF THERE HAD BEEN DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY THE MONEY AND COOPERATION WHICH THESE NEGRO EFFORTS DESERVED, WE COULD HAVE MADE IN THE UNITED STATES A FIGHT AGAINST ILLITERACY MUCH MORE STARTLING AND ENCOURAGING THAN THAT MADE FOR THE

RUSSIAN PEASANTS.

TODAY THE FIGHT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS LIES FIRST, IN THE FIELD OF APPEALING TO PUBLIC OPINION; THIS HAS BEEN MOST EFFECTIVELY CARRIED OUT IN SUCH INSTANCES AS THE MARION ANDERSON CONCERT, THE CASE OF THE WASHINGTON THEATRES, THE ACTION OF THE MOVIE HOUSES IN CHIO AND NUMBERS OF SIMILAR CASES. ON THE OTHER HAND THE MOST DISCOURAGING SITUATION THAT FACES US ARE THE COVENANTS BASED ON THE ORGANIZED ACTION OF REAL ESTATE INTERESTS TO URTAIL THE HOUSING RIGHTS OF NEGROES AND TO INSURE THE PERPETUATION OF SLUMS. BEYOND THIS IS A CLEAR CALL FOR POSITIVE FEDERAL LAW AGAINST LYNCHING, AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN WORK AND EDUCATION AND AGAINST DISENFRANCHISEMENT. THE RESTORATION OF THE 14THE AMENDMENT AND FURTHER LAWS BASED ON ITS ORIGINAL MEANING ARE DEMANDED.

AS DELIVERED

Chicago PCA
April 13, 1947

AID TO GREECE
By W.E.B. DuBois

I REMEMBER VIVIDLY MY ONE GLIMPSE OF THE LAND CALLED GREECE. I HAD COME FROM THE VOLGA RIVER BY WAY OF LENINGRAD AND MOSCOW. I HAD SEEN THE FLATTENED DOMES OF KIEV AND THE HUNDRED STEPS AT ODESSA THAT LED DOWN TO THE BLACK SEA. I SAILED THAT SEA, SLIPPED THROUGH THE BOSPHORUS, BY THE MIGHTY BASTIONS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, AND THROUGH THE SEA OF MARMORA, I CAME TO THE TORTUOUS DARDANELLES WITH THE HORROR OF GALLIPOLI ON THE RIGHT AND THE ASIA OF TURKEY AND ANCIENT PERSIA ON THE LEFT. I FLEW OVER THAT WATER WHERE TWENTY-FIVE CENTURIES AGO THE WEARY GREEK SOLDIERS, ESCAPING FROM AN EMPEROR OF IRAN, HAD SHRIEKED, "THE SEA! THE SEA!"

AND THEN IT WAS THAT I CAME TO A LAND WHERE IT SEEMS ALWAYS AFTERNOON, AND WHERE RAISING ITS GREAT COLUMNS ABOVE A HOT, AND TORTURED EARTH, I SAW IN THE PALE IVORY BEAUTY OF THE PARTHENON, THE GLORY THAT WAS GREECE. IT LAY ON A LONG TONGUE OF SAND, SCORCHED BY A THOUSAND WARS, AND YET ETERNAL. ITS MONUMENTS HAD BEEN RAPED BY ENGLAND TO ADORN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, ITS HISTORY HAD BEEN IGNORED AND IN ITS STRICKEN WEAKNESS SNEERED AT BY A CRIPPLED POET: "HEREDITARY BONDSMEN, KNOW YE NOT, WHO WOULD BE FREE, THEMSELVES MUST STRIKE THE BLOW!"

FOR FIVE CENTURIES SORROW, HUNGER AND DEATH, HAVE FALLEN ON THESE PEOPLE AND TODAY THE APPEAL TO HELP THIS NATION ASSAILS THE EAGER EARS OF EVERY AMERICAN WHO KNOWS WHAT GREECE ONCE GAVE CIVILIZATION AND WHO CAME TO COLLEGE, AS MY GENERATION WAS COMPELLED TO COME BY THOSE SONOROUS PERIODS OF HOMER'S ILIAD: "MENIN AEIDE, THEA, PALEIADO ACHILLAOS!"

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OUT OF THE POVERTY OF THE POOR IN THIS RICH LAND, WE ARE WILLING TO SHARE OUR BREAD WITH THE HUNGRY--NOT ONLY GREECE, BUT IN SPAIN, IN AFRICA, IN POLAND AND ESPECIALLY IN THE RUSSIAN UKRAINE, WHERE AS NEVER BEFORE IN HISTORY A PEOPLE HAS POURED OUT ITS LIFE BLOOD, WITHOUT STINT, TO CHECK AND SUBDUE THE MOST POWERFUL ARMY THAT EVER THREATENED ENGLAND, FRANCE, AMERICA, AND THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

BUT PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S APPEAL SEEMS ONLY INCIDENTALLY A MATTER OF FOOD FOR THE HUNDRY, PRIMARILY IT IS ANNOUNCED AS ARMED THREAT AGAINST AGGRESSION. THE SCARCELY VEILED IMPLICATION IS THAT RUSSIA IS THREATENING THE CONQUEST OF GREECE, TURKEY AND THE WORLD. THAT IS A GRAVE AND DANGEROUS ASSERTION, AN ASSERTION OF FEARFUL IMPORT. IT IS A DISTINCT STEP TOWARD A THIRD WORLD WAR. (FOR ANY ARMED GESTURE TOWARD GREECE AND TURKEY WOULD BE INTERPRETED AS A CHALLENGE TO RUSSIA AND EVENTUALLY TO OPEN WAR). SUCH A TERRIBLE UNDERTAKING CAN NOT BE ENTERED UPON WITHOUT THE MOST CAREFUL KNOWLEDGE OF THE FACTS AND WITHOUT EXHAUSTING EVERY AVENUE IN OUR RECENT EFFORT TOWARD WORLD ORGANIZATION TO PRESERVE THE PEACE.

WE HAVE NOT APPEALED TO THE FACTS NOR TO THE MACHINERY OF THE UNITED NATIONS BECAUSE WE KNOW WELL THAT THE ALLEGATION OF RUSSIAN MILITARY THREAT TO GREECE, TURKEY, CHINA, THE UNITED STATES OR ANY OTHER COUNTRY IS A FALSIFICATION OF THE FACTS (IF NOT A DELIBERATE LIE). THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT RUSSIA IS BENDING EVERY THOUGH AND ALL HER ENERGY TO HEALING THE FRIGHTFUL WOUNDS OF WAR AND HAS NEITHER WILL NOR STRENGTH TO CONQUER THE WORLD. BECAUSE OF THE ETHICS OF OUR JOURNALISM, NOW PREVALENT, A WELL-PAID, GIFTED MAN STARTS OUT WITH ORDERS TO BRING IN FACTS TO SUPPORT A CERTAIN PRE-ADOPTED OPINION. HE DOES THAT. HIS SUBSEQUENT REPORT MAY PRESENT THE TRUTH OR A HALF-TRUTH, OR IT MAY BE A BARE-FACED LIE. IN ANY CASE, HE TAKES HIS ORDERS AND EXECUTES THEM. YET, WE ARE CONTINUALLY SWAYED BY THIS KIND OF DELIBERATE PROPAGANDA.

MOREOVER, IF THERE IS IN THE WORLD TODAY A NATION PREPARED FOR WAR AND APPARENTLY INCREASINGLY EAGER TO FIGHT IT IS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IT IS WE THAT OWN A NAVY LARGER THAN THE COMBINED NAVIES OF THE WORLD; WE HAVE THE OVERWHELMING NUMBER OF AIRCRAFT AND ENDLESS FACILITIES FOR MAKING MORE; WE HAVE A STANDING ARMY LARGE, AND URGED BY EVERY DEVICE OF PROPAGANDA TO GROW PERMANENTLY LARGER BY FORCED DRAFT. WE HAVE SEIZED FOR EVENTUAL FORTIFICATION EVERY STRONGHOLD IN THE PACIFIC, AND WE HAVE BEEN WORKING IN CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE BRITISH MILITARY AND NAVAL MACHINE. FINALLY AND ABOVE ALL, WE HAVE THE ONLY KNOWN STOCKPILE OF ATOMIC BOMBS WHICH WE ARE PRESUMABLY

DAILY AUGMENTING. FOR US THEN TO CALL ATTENTION TO ANY OTHER COUNTRY ON EARTH AS THREATENING PEACE, WHILE THESE FACTS ARE KNOWN TO EVERY CHILD, IS NOTHING LESS THAN RIDICULOUS. IF THERE IS THE SLIGHTEST CHANCE OF ANY NATION OUTSIDE OURSELVES THREATENING ARMED AGGRESSION TODAY, WE HAVE AT HAND THE ORGANS CREATED AND DESIGNED TO MEET JUST SUCH AN EMERGENCY IN THE UNITED NATIONS. WHY DID NOT PRESIDENT TRUMAN READ THE CHARTER OF THAT ORGANIZATION BEFORE MAKING HIS EXTRAORDINARY DECLARATION, CALCULATED MORE THAN ANY OTHER POSSIBLE MOVE TO STRANGLE THIS INFANT TO WHICH WE HAVE GIVEN BIRTH AND NURTURED FOR FIVE YEARS? THAT PREAMBLE BEGINS:

> WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED TO SAVE SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS FROM THE SCOURGE OF WAR, WHICH TWICE IN OUR LIFE -TIME HAS BROUGHT UNTOLD SORROW TO MANKIND, TO REAFFIRM FAITH IN FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS, IN THE DIGNITY AND WORTH OF THE HUMAN PERSON, AND THE EQUAL RIGHTS OF MEN AND WOMEN, AND OF NATIONS LARGE AND SMALL, AND TO ESTABLISH CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH JUSTICE AND RESPECT FOR THE OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM TREATIES AND OTHER SOURCES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW CAN BE MAINTAINED, AND TO PROMOTE SOCIAL PROGRESS AND BETTER STANDARDS OF LIFE IN LARGER FREEDOM,
>
> AND FOR THESE ENDS:
>
> TO PRACTICE TOLERANCE AND LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE WITH ONE ANOTHER AS GOOD NEIGHBORS, AND TO UNITE OUR STRENGTH TO MAINTAIN INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY, AND TO ENSURE, BY THE ACCEPTANCE OF PRINCIPLES AND THE INSTITUTION OF METHODS, THAT ARMED FORCE SHALL NOT BE USED, SAVE IN THE COMMON INTEREST, AND TO EMPLOY INTERNATIONAL MACHINERY FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT OF ALL PEOPLES, HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS.
>
> ACCORDINGLY, OUR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS, THROUGH REPRESENTATIVES ASSEMBLED IN THE CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO, WHO HAVE EXHIBITED THEIR FULL POWERS FOUND TO BE IN GOOD AND DUE FORM, HAVE AGREED TO THE PRESENT CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND DO HEREBY ESTABLISH AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION TO BE KNOWN AS THE UNITED NATIONS.

THIS IS THE ORGANIZATION WHICH PRESIDENT TRUMAN IGNORES. BY-PASSING THE WORLD INTERNATION, WE PROPOSE TO ACT ALONE AND TELL THE REST OF THE WORLD THAT WE WILL LET IT AGREE WITH US IF IT WANTS TO. IS THIS THE WAY TO RAISE AMERICA IN THE RESPECT OF HUMANITY, OR IS IT THE WAY TO CONFIRM OUR REPUTATION AS A BOASTFUL, RUTHLESS TYRANT?

THE MATTER DOES NOT REST HERE. NO SOONER THAN THIS ASPECT OF OUR PROPOSED VENTURE IS MENTIONED, NO SOONER DO WE ASK FOR FACTS, FOR EVIDENCE THAT RUSSIAN TROOPS ARE ON GREEK SOIL OR THREATENING TURKEY, FOR EXPLANATION AS TO WHY WE CANNOT AWAIT THE REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMITTEE ALREADY INVESTIGATING CIVIL WAR IN GREECE, THAN WE ARE TOLD WITH DARK SECRECY THAT IT IS NOT TROOPS BUT IDEAS THAT WE ARE PROPOSING TO FIGHT, THAT CERTAIN DANGEROUS IDEAS ARE BATTLING FOR SUPREMACY IN GREECE AND THE BALKANS TODAY AND THAT WE PROPOSE TO HELP THAT SIDE WIN WHOSE IDEAS WE BELIEVE TO BE RIGHT. TO THIS EVERY HONEST AMERICAN SHOULD REPLY: IDEAS CANNOT BE CLUBBED INTO OR SHOT OUT OF MEN'S HEADS.

WE KNOW AND KNOW WELL JUST WHAT THESE CLASHING IDEAS ARE. THERE IS NOTHING SECRET NOR NECESSARILY SINISTER ABOUT THEM. FUNDAMENTALLY THEY REST ON HISTORIC FACT. THROUGHOUT THE NINETEENTH CENTURY ALMOST UNCONTROLLED ECONOMIC GROWTH HAS BEEN THE RULE IN WESTERN EUROPE. THE AUTOMATIC, SELF-REGULATING WORLD MARKET HAS BEEN THE IDEAL OF INDSUTRY, BUILT ON THE TREATMENT OF LABOR AS A COMMODITY, LAND AND ITS PRODUCTS AS BEST DEVELOPED BY PRIVATE OWNERSHIP, AND GOLD AS THE ONLY REAL MONEY. THE RESULTS IN TECHNIQUE, PRODUCTION, AND COMMERCE HAVE BEEN MIRACULOUS.

BUT FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND EVEN EARLIER, A COUNTER-CRY HAS

DECLARED THAT FREEDOM AND PRIVATE INITIATIVE IN INDUSTRY MUST BE SUCJECT TO SOCIAL CONtrol and planning, IF HUMAN BEINGS AND NATURAL RESOURCES ARE TO SERVE THE ENDS OF THE BEST CIVILIZATION. THIS IDEA OF SOCIAL CONTROL GREW IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES UNDER VARIOUS NAMES AND PLANS. IT DID NOT ORIGINATE IN RUSSIA, ALTHOUGH RUSSIA IN OUR DAY HAS MADE THE BOLDEST ATTEMPT TO CARRY IT OUT. THIS IDEA,WHETHER CALLED COMMUNISM OR SOCIALISM, OR THE NEW DEAL, HAS BEEN DEFENDED BY SOME OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST MINDS. IT HAS SPREAD WIDELY SINCE TWO TERRIBLE WORLD WARS, BECAUSE MANY HONEST PEOPLE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE EXTREME ATTEMPT TO CARRY ON FREE AND UNCONTROLLED INDUSTRY WAS A MAIN CAUSE OF THESE TWO DEVASTATING CATASTROPHES WHICH HAVE NEARLY OVERTHROWN CIVILIZATION.

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THE TRUTH OR FALSEHOOD OF THIS THESIS IS A MATTER FOR SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION AND NOT FOR MERE EMOTION. IT MAY BE TRUE THAT SOCIALISM HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY SINISTER DEEDS AND THAT COMMUNISM IS RED WITH BLOOD. IT MAY BE THAT THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT WILL FAIL, BUT IT REMAINS UNDENIABLE THAT UNDER TWO CENTURIES OF FREE ENTERPRISE, WHEN PRIVATE INITIATIVE ALMOST UNCONTROLLED RULED THE WORLD, WE HAVE HAD SLAVERY, POVERTY, CRIME, RECURRENT COMMERCIAL CRISES, AND WAR, WAR, WAR. THESE FACTS DO NOT SETTLE THE QUESTION AS TO HOW FAR GOVERNMENT SHOULD CONTROL INDUSTRY, PROTECT LABOR, PREVENT MONOPOLY AND DISTRIBUTE INCOME RATIONALLY, BUT THEY CALL FOR MORE FACTS, NOT MORE GUNS.

CERTAINLY TODAY GOVERNMENT, ALL OVER THE WORLD, IS PLAYING THIS ROLE INCREASINGLY. ENGLAND HAS A SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT. FRANCE HAS A SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT. CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAS A SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT. RUSSIA HAS A SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE COMMUNIST FORMULA OF KARL MARX. ITALY WILL HAVE A SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT. EVEN IN THE UNITED STATES, AND FIRST AT THE WILD AND INSISTENT DEMAND OF INDUSTRY AND FINANCE, THE NEW DEAL ADOPTED A DISTINCTLY SOCIALIST PROGRAM OF OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL, CONTROL OF INDUSTRY, PUBLIC RELIEF, PUBLIC HOUSING, PUBLIC WORKS AND LONG-TERM PLANNING.

IN SUCH WORLD-WIDE CLASH OF IDEAS AND POLICIES, HOW CAN WE ACHIEVE THE GREATEST MEASURE OF TRUTH AND WELL-BEING? CAN WE MAKE PEOPLE THINK AS WE DO, BY BASHING THEM IN THE HEAD OR SHOOTING THEM? BY DELIBERATELY PROMOTING CIVIL WAR? BY WITCH-HUNTING AND YELLING "COMMUNIST" EVERY TIME AN HONEST MAN QUESTIONS THE POLICIES OF STANDARD OIL OR A HALF-STARVED WORKER STRIKES? IS IT GUNS OR BREAD THAT WE ARE ANXIOUS TO EXPORT TO GREECE? DO WE WANT THE TURKS TO THINK OR FIGHT?

WE ASSUME THAT OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY IS SO COMPLETELY RIGHT THAT ANYONE WHO CAN DISAGREE WITH IT IS A SCOUNDREL. WE BOAST OF OUR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AS SOMETHING WHICH INSURES THE TRIUMPH OF JUSTICE THROUGH THE RIGHT TO VOTE AND VOICE OUR OPINIONS. BUT CAN WE BE SO SURE OF THIS? CAN WE EXPORT DEMOCRACY TO GREECE AND NOT PRACTICE IT IN MISSISSIPPI? SO LONG AS THE SOUTH CAN SEND A LOUD-MOUTHED RANKIN TO CONGRESS BY FOUR THOUSAND VOTES,WHEN IT TAKES ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND VOTERS TO SEND A NORTHERN CONGRESSMAN FROM ILLINOIS, SO LONG AS SOUTH CAROLINA CAN DISFRANCHISE EIGHTY-FIVE PER CENT OF ITS VOTING POPULATION WHITE AND BLACK, AND YET ON THE VOTE OF THE REMAINING FIFTEEN PER CENT SEND TWO SENATORS TO CONGRESS TO BACK ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATION AND BLATANT, "RED-BAITING," CAN WE BE SO SURE THAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED ENOUGH DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA TO TEACH TURKEY OR POLAND?

WHAT THE WORLD NEEDS TODAY IS NOT ARMED PREVENTION OF OPINION SO MUCH AS TRUTH ABOUT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS. SUCH TRUTH AS OUR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES IN TOO MANY CASES DARE NOT TEACH AND OUR INCREASINGLY MONOPOLIZED PRESS WILL NOT PRINT. AS SOON AS WE VOICE HONEST OPINION, WE HEAR LOW WHISPERS OF CONSPIRACY, OF CRIME, OF LURKING DANGER, OF ALL MANNER OF HIDDEN EVIL. THIS IS NOTHING NEW. IT WAS CONSPICUOUSLY TRUE IN THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY. FOR YEARS AMERICANS DEPLORED SLAVERY IN THIS LAND OF THE FREE. BUT WHEN THE ABOLITIONISTS BEGAN AT LAST TO AGITATE AGAINST THE SYSTEM, IT HAD ALREADY BECOME TOO PROFITABLE TO TOLERATE CRITICISM. WHEN,THEN, SOME GOOD-HEARTED NEW ENGLAND SPINSTER QUESTIONED HALTINGLY THE SLAVERY OF HUMAN BEINGS, STERN-FACED PATRIOTS TOOK HER IN HAND: DO YOU WANT SOUTHERN LADIES RAPED AND THEIR DAUGHTERS MARRIED TO NEGROES? DO YOU NOT KNOW THAT ABOLITIONISTS ARE ATHEISTS AND FREE-LOVERS, SOCIALISTS, AND ANARCHISTS? DO YOU NOT KNOW THAT DARKIES ARE HAPPIEST AS SLAVES? MADAME I HAVE BEEN SOUTH. I HAVE SEEN NIGGERS DANCING AND SINGING. TO FREE THEM WOULD MEAN THEIR EXTERMINATION. THEY WOULD STARVE OR EAT EACH OTHER UP.

THIS IS NOT JUST MY IMAGINATION. EVERY ONE OF THESE ACCUSATIONS AND STATEMENTS WERE BROUGHT UP AGAIN AND AGAIN AGAINST ABOLITIONISTS, SO THAT MOST CITIZENS REFUSED TO LISTEN TO THEM; WERE SCARED EVEN TO KNOW THEM AND SWORE BEFORE GOD THEY HAD NO SYMPATHY WITH THE DIRTY AGITATORS. MOST MINITERS OF RELIGION WOULD NOT EVEN MENTION SLAVERY, AND GARRISON, PHILLIPS, AND DOUGLASS WERE THE REPEATED VICTIMS OF MOBS. THIS DID NOT SAVE SLAVERY. IT ONLY BROUGHT A CRUEL AND USELESS CIVIL WAR, WHOSE EFFECTS WE STILL FEEL. SO OUR INTERVENTION IN GRE CE IS NOT GOING TO CHANGE PEOPLES' MINDS. IT IS SIMPLY GOING TO MAKE UNDERSTANDING AND SETTLEMENT MORE DIFFICULT AND LONGER DELAYED.

Town Hall,
New York, N.Y.
April 29, 1947

HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL MINORITIES

BY

W. E. B. Du BOIS

You who have followed the discussion in this peoples congress have heard of problems of minorities as effecting catholics, Moslems and Jews; peoples in the Pacific and Peoples of Africa; the Indians and other folk in South America, the minorities in Europe, especially the Balkans; and minorities in India, Negroes and Indians in the United States and various minorities in China and Eastern Asia.

This covers a large number of people. Indeed so large that it is fair to say that minorities together form a majority, and the majority is a minority with power to enforce its will,. But as one looks at this list of peoples, it is not at first clear that there is any inter-minority unity; there seems no logical nor functional unity among these minorities. In certain sections and at certain times, one o these minorities might have majority power; and between them there often is friction, such as between Moslems and Jews; Africans and Indians, in the Caribbean; and native groups in China and India.

What have these groups in common save that repeatedly and in various ways their rights have been denied? We have seen in our own day a presidential campaign in this land turn on the fact that one candidate was a Catholic; we have seen the Jews of Germany murdered and crucified as seldom human beings have suffered in history; we see a great and ancient land torn in sunder with blood because of suspicion between Hindu and Moslem; and the wail of tortured Africa mocks Christianity today as it has for five hundred ye rs; in America Negro slavery has not been entirley aboilshed; the American Indians, the peoples of the Balkans, the Denizens of the South Seas, the Japanese and Chinese, all form today parts of a vast human congeries of groups subject again and again to inhuman treatment.

Beyond these facts can we see some common denominator? I believe we can and that it is the poverty with the resultant ignorance and disease of the mass of mankind; and the desperate fear of the few, lest they too fall into this disaster. This has led to theprolongation of the ancient belief th t there never has been, is not and never will be enough of goods and services to satisfy the needs of more than a small minority of men; that the selection of the rich must be an act of God or the deserved reward of human effort; that any attempt to distribute wealth more widely is not only sacrilege but a flying into the face of unchangeable scientific fact; that the defense of religion and civilization unfortuantely but inevitably involves the continued and persistent existence of poverty, ignorance and disease, which may be alleviated but never eradicated.

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Out of this basic myth, has arisen and persists in our day, the denial to faiths, nations, groups and races of any rights or privileges which infringe or threaten the status of the priviledged. Whenever at any time a wave of sentiment, or surge of conviction or even scientific hypothesis starts to challenge this basic and wide-spread be if of mankind immediately violence, hate and intolerance break forthand we have increased denial to men of basic human rights.

Especially is this so when as in the reformation and the renaissance, a new vision of the possibilities and power of mankind burst forth. This was not only met by fear, intolerance and disbelif, but by an astonishing new theory of human effort based on the discovery of a new world, a vast migration of labor and a revolution in industrial processes more fundamental than any the world had ever seen. Not only a new prosperity, a new attack on poverty was evident, but it was accompanied by a new attack on humanity. The freeing of human energy and ingenuity in the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was accompanied by a new degradation of labor through African slavery. The first impulsive recoil of religion and humanity to this horror of the slave trade

to America was in the face of the new wealth in crops, manufacture and commerce, quickly rationalized into a new defense of poverty. The rich were envisaged as the white nations of earth, armed with a new and miraculous tenhnique; the congenital poor were the peoples of the tropics born to be slaves and fulfill their destiny and the glory of God by working for the comfort and luxury of the whites. But the methods of exploitat on of human toil could not be confined by barriers of race.

New patterns of curelty and contempt for human beings were based ona doctrine of the inferiority of most men, which was announced as a scientific law and spread by the education of youth and the techings of religion. This new economics regarded all labor black, brown, yellow and white s a commodity. Ittrafficked the bodies of men in the slums of London as well as t e plantations of Virginia. Thus men built a new culture pattern in the nineteenth century which was used even after chattel slavery of Negroes disappeared, to suppress any group different in body, thought and wish from the dominant group; and then came to be a weapon to exterminate rival groups who like the German Jews were accused of taking economic opportunity from German youth; and finally the Church came repeatedly to be the center of propaganda against groups of different faith which did not represent the dominant majority.

These excuses we are beginning to see clearly, come after the fact. They rationalize something that the world, or the dominant majority which calls itself the world, wants to believe to justify its acts. It is clear to those who think, that what is needed in all these cases is understanding and sharing of knowledge and experience, and it is precisely this which comprehens the fundamental meaning of democracy.

Democracy is not merely a distribution of power among a vast number of individuals. It is not merely majority rule, based on the fact that the majority has the physical force tp prevail. It is

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something far more fundamental than this: it rests upon the fact , that when we have proven knowled e, interpreted through the experience of a large number of individuals, it is possible through this po led knowledge and experience, to come to decisions much more fundamental and much more f r-reaching than can be had in any other way. This is so clear and logical, that it needs no proof, but rests on certain fundamental assum tions. The people participating effectively in this poll of democracy must be alive and well, they must know the world which they are interpreting and they must know themsleves.

It is here that frustration of democracy comes particularly in the case of minorities. Manifestly, there can be no hope of effective functioning of democracy among people who have not enough to eat or to live decentl ; among people who are sick and ignorant. Nor can we assume that poverty; ignorance and disease are always the fault of those who suffer from them. If a minority does suffer because of these disadvantages, we know immediately where the remedy lies, and what we are compelled to do if we want decency and justice in the world.

We know that colonies as centers of this frustration of democracy are the sta ting point of injustice and cruelty toward all groups of people who form m nority groups; and at the same time in a sense, who are the majority of the peoples of the world. And they are part of this majority even though unjustly treated minorities do not actually occupy colonial status, often they occupy qusi-colonial status, segregated in the slums of a large and prosperous nation chiwh is leading civilization.

It is then this colonial status that forms an integral, and fundamental part of modern civilization. We must not let words mislead us and think of the modern colony as the pioneer group of Grecian days or of European exploration, when people of one country went out in search of adventure or to earn a living in another trade. This kind

of colony in modern days changed: either it became a part of the economic organization of the mother country. In this latter case in our era it was that part of our economy which illustrated and carried out logically, the conception of labor as a commodity.

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We know the growth of classical economics in England in the nineteenth century: of its conception of the self-regulating world-market; of labor and land as purchasable commodities and of gold as the only real money,. But we do not remember nor try to learn that back of the industrial revolution, out of the experiences of which classical economics arose, lay African slavery and that it was through the purchase of slaves in open market where there were no floor to the price of labor, that the conception of labor as a commodity and not as the effort of human beings, arose and became an axium in modern industry.

Without this African slave trade it is doubtful if European labor or even the larger part of the labor of Asia or Africa which came under its sway could have been reduced to the commodity status. But once labor, paid at the lowest conceivable price, became the baisis of prosperity in America and England under the capitalists system, than a pattern was laid which gripped the world.

It led to land seizure and land monopoly in colonial and twentieth centuries, as not something far away from the centers of civilization; not as comprehending problems which are not our problems, the local problems of London, Paris, San Francisco and New York,. They are not somthing which we can consider at our leisure but rather a part of our own present local economic organization. Moreover while the center of the colonial system and its form and pattern is set in the localities which are clalled definitely colo ies; and are owned politically and industrially by imperial countries; we must r member that also in the organized and dominant states there are groups of people who occupy the quasi-colonial

status; laborers who are settled in the slums of large cities; groups like Negroes in the United States who are segregated physically and discriminated against spiritually in law and custom; groups like the South Seas who are legally part of imperial countries and as a matter of fact, have their labor treated as a commodity at the lowest wage, and the land monopolized. All these people occupy what is really a colonial status and make the kernel and substance of the problem of minorities.

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The connection of these colonial and quasi-colonial conditions within our economy is so strong and intricate that we seldom realize or study it. Rember today that we depend upon colonial and quasi-colonial workers for coffee, tea and cocoa; for sugar, rubber and the increasingly valuable vegetable oils; for minerals like gold, dismonads, uranium, copper and tin; for fibers like cotton, hemp and silk; for rice, spices, quinine and gum arabic. Indeed for a mass of material which are so inextricably part of our modern ~~xxk~~ life that it would practically be impossible for us to get on without them. Yet all of these materials are raised by labor which does not receive in return enough income to keep it healthy, trained or effective, or even physically to reproduce itself. In order to force this labor to work it is ~~xx~~ systematically deprived of ownership or land and of a share in the free bounty of nature. It is kept in ignorance, first because intelligence would bring active or passive revolt against these conditions; and secondly because the cost of education would reduce the profits which are pouring into the coffers of the investors and into our mouths and on our backs.

This means that every civilized man is part and parcel of the colonial system and is depending for his welfare and convenience, not to mention his luxury, upon the degradation of the majority of man.

Not only this but policies of suppression and repression, common in colonies and in slums, easily transport themselves to treatment of other minorities, whose oppression is not due directly to economic causes.

We have all seen how racial antiphathy evolves policies of religious intolerance; how economic exploitation is transmuted into color prejudice; how any refusal to submit to dominant cultural patterns, current at the particular time, tends to bring into use the whole machinery of suppression, which is born of economic explcitation. This is the basic reason for coupling religious, geographic, racial and other problems w ich find their essential unity in the oppression of the poor and ignorant in segregated parts of the world known as colonies and slums; and result in wide-spread denial of human rights.

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For this reason a more detailed study of colonial injustice may be here inserted. An excellent example is the cocoa crop, it will repay us to glance briefly at this tale as illustrating the methods of modern colonial exploitation and its results, Even under a liberal administration. The world consumption of cocoa has increased from 77,000 tons in 1895 to 700,000 tons at present. Formerly three-fourths of the cocoa was raised in South America. Now two-thirds is raised in West Africa.

This development of a new industry has an interesting history. A black laborer, Tetteh Quarsie, in 1879 brought cocoa beans from Spanish Africa and distributed them among his friends on the old Coast, British West Africa. In 1891, eighty pounds of cocoa were raised by West African farmers. By 1936 this crop on the Gold Coast alone had been increased to 250,000 tons. It was purely an indigenous enterprise of black peasant farmers. The deeply-laid plans to transfer the raising of cocoa from Spanish Africa to plantations in British West Africa, developed by the Cadbury-Instituted "Boycott", went stray, and the black peasants took over the job. On their own little farms, averaging about two and one-half acres, they increased crops and made cocoa and chocolate in wide demand throughout the civilized world. Their fathers in Ashanti and Benin had fought Britain for centuries to retain ownership of this land.

For cocoa and chocolate today consumers pay annually at least five hundred million dollars. Out of each dollar of this, less than three cents goes to the cocoa farmer; this is another instance of the manufacture of poverty out of progress.

Since the cocoa in West Africa is not raised on plantations, as it is in the West Indies and South America, the problem of the traders and manufacturers is to make profit by beating down the sale price and by manipulation of the world market. For this reason the price to cocoa farmers varied from $44 per ton during the depression, to $188 per ton, during the time of scarcity in 1927; and about $60 a ton in 1945.

Ostensibly for correcting this price fluctuation, but really for controlling the price, the British buyers on the Gold Coast have for many years tried to come into agreement so as to make one price and one bid for all the cocoa offered. There are thirteen main buyers: the British Unilevers, Cadbury and Fry, buying for themselves and the Lyon's Teahouses and others.

Finally in 1937 these firms came to a buying agreement. The cocoa farmers desperately resisted. They staged a boycott for eight months, reducing the sale of cocoa from 250,000 tons to 50,000 tons. The buyers resisted. They applied pressure on the colonial office in London, and without showing the text of that "Buying Agreemment", induced it to advise the natives that the proposal was for their benefit and to accept it. The colonial Governor also without sight of the agreement, immediately followed this directive from London and strongly "advised" acquiescence by the natives. The natives still refused. Mr. Cadbury then went to the Gold Coast and talked to the chiefs and farmers. They demanded to see a copy of the agreement. He "Regretted" that he had not brought a copy with him. Finally the British Government capitulated and sent a Royal Commission to the Coast. This commission secured a copy of the Agreement , and after careful investigation, recommended that the buying agreement

be terminated and that co-operative enterprise be instituted with representation of the African farmers.

Before this plan could be implemented however, the war broke out and the government proposed to take charge of the cocoa crop, set prices and sell it for the farmers. They promised to bear any losses and to distribute any profit among the farmers. This was satisfactory to the farmers; although they protested at the low price per ton which the government set in order to guard itself against loss.

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The African colonial governments are virtually ruled by investors in England. Investors not only dictate the choice of governors, but these governors have broad rights of legislation under the colonial office in London. They are "advised" by councils, on which business interests are directly represented. Recently local natives have been elected to such councils; but even so most of the real power still rests in the hands of the governor.

Government conduct of industry in West Africa, is therefore conducted by London investors. The whole economy of the colony is rigged by outside business interests. Instead of a tax on imports to encourage local effort, the Gold Coast, for instance, claps an export duty on cocoa of $3.75 a ton; and during the war it added a surtax of $4.58 making a total of $8.43 on a ton of cocoa, for which the cocoa farmer has at times during this war received as little as $37 a ton; and on the average not more than $52 from 1939 to 1943. At the same time, English exporters of goods to Africa need pay no import tax. As a result the cost of imported goods skyrocketed during the war, so that cotton print which sold before the war for $2.50 rose to $18 --Khaki from $.80 to $3.20, and sheet iron from $1.00 to $20. "The result of this situation is that today many of the farmers have been completely impoverished and paralyzed economically."

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However, the whole picture changed in the minds of the Negro farmers when the labour party came to power and took over the colonial office. Perhaps they were over optimistic, but they were certainly justified in some degree by the results of Government operations during World War II. Instead of the anticipated losses, the Government in five years of operation, netted the neat profit of $25,000,000. Indeed, if they had previously built proper storage facilities on the Gold Coast , instead of compelling farmers to sell and rush the crop immediately to Europe, regardless of prices or conditions of the market; and if they had ever encouraged simple progressing operations, which would have saved freight and increased local employment; if such policies had been followed, much cocoa could have been saved from spoiling, and some 150,00 tons need not have been burned. The net profit might have been doubled.

But the Labour Party, to the indignation of the Black cocoa farmers now proposed to put all West African produce, under control of a board sitting in England with representat on of the manufacturers of cocoa and other materials and with no representation of the farmers! In addition, instead of returning the profits of the cocoa pool to the farmers as promised, the Government now proposed to use it "For their benefit," including the hiring of a number of English "experts" at high salaries to protect the cocoa trees from disease. The farmers protested bitterly. They wanted the profits turned over to them and their own sons trained as experts.

Finally after long argument and delay the details of a new government control of West African cocoa has been announced. Two organizations are to be set-up: one on the Gold Coast and one in Nigeria. These bodies are to fix the prices paid cocoa farmers, determine arrangements for purchasing and issue licenses to buyers, and to set-up and maintain executive machinery for purchasing, shipping and selling all the cocoa purchased.

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On the Gold Coast this marketing board will consist of ten members; Six of these are nominated by the governor; two are nominated by local councils where the farmers have some representation; three are nominated by the merchants; which means that the power is overwhelmingly in the hands of the investors. The Nigerian cocoa marketing board consists of members appointed solely by the governor but assisted by an advisory committee on which there will be representatives of producers and the commercial interests. In other words the whole industry is strongly weighted in favor of the merchants.

The results of these beliefs and practices, has been unrest and revolt in colonies, strikes in imperial countries and war and suspicion in the world. What effect did all this have upon the dark natives of Africa? In the past we have dwelt upon physical suffering, the loss of lives, and the devastation of the land, but we have not thought of the larger and deeper social disintegration. First of all, not only was the way opened from the Sahara to the Cape of Good Hope for marauding masses of Bantu warriors, but this great and long-continued movement became organized for aggression and conquest. We hear of the fierce onslaughts of wild tribes like the Yaggas, but we must also remember that there came a new sort of organization. Negro life could not settle down for political organization and empire building. It could not wait for the development of herdsmen and agriculture. It must hurry on to safer places and sheltered land and loot.

"It was sorrowfully recognized that the degradation of the Negro peoples of the nearer African interior was the direct result of European slave-dealing. The savagery of Dahomey and Benin was the survival of the ferocity by which native chiefs, a century earlier, had supplied the demands of English and Dutch traders for victims for the plantation."

This movement culminated in the magnificent and utterly ruthless army of a Chaka in the nineteenth century, which almost successfully

battled machine guns with Assagais. Then too on the West Coast came transformation: The city-states with their intricate social organization and carefully planned industry and beautiful art were pushed back and overwhelmed by newer, stronger military states, like that of Dahomey in theseventeenth century; and the Ashanti earlier had never gained in the line of peaceful industry and art as much as the new gains which they made as intermediaries of the slave traders.

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The mild domestic slavery of the African tribes and of the Arabs and Persians, which did not preclude the son of a slave becomming a king, a statesman, or a poet, was changed into chattel slavery with hard labor and cruel tasks. The continued development of African civilization, forecast in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by that in the Sudan, was prevented and turned backward into ~~the~~ chaos, flight, and death.

Decadence could be seen on the West Coast, in the shadow of Fabled Atlantis, where there emerged in curious juxtaposition the blood sacrifice of the Benin Juju together with the beautiful bronzes of the Benin Sculptors. The great kingdoms and empires of the Sudan which fell at the battle of Tenkadibou not only suffered the incubus of a horde of Berber invaders as they moved east and became the Sudanese kingdoms ~~and~~ Kanem and Bornu and the realm of the Fung; they approached the valley of the Nile and came into fierce combat with some of the worst manifest tions of Mohammedanism.

With all this went the fall and disruption of the family, the deliberate attack upon the ancient African clan by missionaries. The invading investors who wanted cheap labor at the gold mines, the diamond mines, the copper and tin mines, the oil forests and cocoa fields, followed the missionaries. The authority of the family was broken up; the authority and tradition of the clan disappeared; the power of the chief was transmuted into the rule of the white district commissioner.

The old religion was held up to ridicule, the old culture and ethical standards were degraded or disappeared, and gradually all over Africa spread the inferiority complex the fear of color, the worship of white skin, the imitation of white ways of doing and thinking, whether good, bad, or indifferent. By the end of the nineteenth century the degradation of Africa was as complete as organized human means could make it. Chieftains representing a thousand years of striving human culture, were decked out in second-hand London top-hats, while Europe snickered.

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HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL MINORITIES.

By W. E. Burghardt DuBois

You who have followed the discussion in this Peoples Congress have heard of problems of minorities as effecting Catholics, Moslems and Jews; peoples in the Pacific and peoples of Africa; the Indians and other folk in South America have been mentioned, and the minorities in Europe, especially in the Balkans; and minorities in India. There might have been further discussion of Negroes and Indians in the United States and various minorities in China.

This covers a large number of people. Indeed so large that it is fair to say that minorities together form a majority, and the majority is a minority with power to enforce its will. But as one looks at this list of peoples, it is not at first clear that there is any inter-minority unity; there seems no logical nor functional unity among these minorities. In certain sections and at certain times, one of these minorities might have majority power; and between them there often is friction, such as between Moslems and Jews; Africans and Indians, in the Caribbean; and native groups in China and India.

What have these groups in common save that repeatedly and in various ways their rights have been denied? We have seen in our own day a presidential campaign in this land

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turn on the fact that one candidate was a Catholic; we have seen the Jews of Germany murdered and crucified as seldom human beings have suffered in history; we see a great and ancient land torn in sunder with blood because of suspicion between Hindu and Moslem; and the wail of tortured Africa mocks Christianity today as it has for five hundred years; in America Negro slavery has not been abolished; the American Indians, the peoples of the Balkans, the Denizens of the South Seas, the Japanese and Chinese, all form today parts of a vast human congeries of groups subject again and again to inhuman treatment.

Beyond these facts can we see some common denominator? I believe we can and that it is the poverty with the resultant ignorance and disease of the mass of mankind; and the desperate fear of the few, lest they too fall into this disaster. This has led to the prolongation of the ancient belief that there never has been, is not and never will be enough of goods and services to satisfy the needs of more than a small minority of men; that the selection of the rich must be an act of God or the deserved reward of human effort; that any attempt to distribute wealth more widely is not only sacrilege but a flying into the face of unchangeable scientific fact; that the defense of religion and civilization unfortunately but inevitably involves the continued and persistent existence of poverty, ignorance and disease, which may be alleviated but never eradicated.

Out of this basic myth, has arisen and persists in

our day, the denial to faiths, nations, groups and races of any rights or privileges which infringe or threaten the status of the privileged. Whenever at any time, a wave of sentiment, or surge of conviction or even scientific hypothesis starts to challenge this basic and wide spread belief of mankind, immediately violence, hate and intolerance breaks forth and we have increased denial to men of basic human rights.

Especially is this so when as in the reformation and the renaissance, a new vision of the possibilities and power of mankind burst forth. This was not only met by fear, intolerance and disbelief, but by an astonishing new theory of human effort based on the discovery of a new world, a vast migration of labor and a revolution in industrial processes more fundamental than any of the world had ever seen. Not only a new prosperity, a new attack on poverty was evident, but it was accompanied by a new attack on humanity. The freeing of human energy and ingenuity in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries was accompanied by a new degradation of labor through African slavery. The first impulsive recoil of religion and humanity to this horror of the slave trade to America was in the face of the new wealth in crops, manufacture and commerce, quickly <u>rationalized</u> into a new defense of poverty. The rich were envisaged as the white nations of earth, armed with a new and miraculous technique; the congenital poor were the peoples of the tropics born to be slaves and fulfill their destiny and the glory of God by working for the comfort and

luxury of the whites. But the methods of exploitation of human toil could not be confined by barriers of race.

New patterns of cruelty and contempt for human beings were based on a doctrine of the inferiority of most men, which was announced as a scientific law and spread by the education of youth and the teachings of religion. This new economics regarded all labor black, brown, yellow and white as a commodity. It trafficked the bodies of men in the slums of London as well as the plantations of Virginia. Thus men built a new culture pattern in the Nineteenth Century which was used even after chattel slavery of Negroes disappeared, to suppress any group different in body, thought and wish from the dominant group; and then came to be a weapon to exterminate rival groups who like the German Jews were accused of taking economic opportunity from German youth; and finally the Church came repeatedly to be the center of propaganda against groups of different faith which did not represent the dominant majority.

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These excuses, we are beginning to see clearly come after the fact. They rationalize something that the world, or the dominant majority which calls itself the world, wants to believe to justify its acts. It is clear to those who think, that what is needed in a ll these cases is understanding and sharing of knowledge and experience and it is precisely this which comprehends the fundamental meaning of democracy.

Democracy is not merely a distribution of power among a vast number of individuals. It is not merely majority rule based on the fact that the majority has the physical force to prevail. It is something far more fundamental than this: It rests upon the fact, that when we have proven knowledge, interpreted through the experience of a large number of individuals, it is possible through this pooled knowledge and experience to come to decisions much more fundamental and much more far-reaching than can be had in any other way. This is so clear and logical, that it needs no proof, but rests on certain fundamental assumptions. The people participating effectively in this pool of democracy must be alive and well, they must know the world which they are interpreting and they must know themselves.

It is here that frustration of democracy comes particularly in the case of minorities. Manifestly, there can be no hope of effective functioning of democracy among people who have not enough to eat or to live decently; among people who are sick and ignorant. Nor can we assume that poverty, ignorance and disease is always the fault of those who suffer from them. If a minority does suffer because of these disadvantages, we know immediately where the remedy lies, and what we are compelled to do if we want decency and justice in the world.

We know that colonies as centers of this frustration of democracy are the starting point of injustice and cruelty

toward all groups of people who form minority groups; and at the same time in a sense, who are the majority of the peoples of the world. And they are part of this majority even though unjustly treated minorities do not actually occupy colonial status. Often they occupy quasi-colonial status. Even though segregated in the slums of a large and prosperous nation which is leading civilization.

It is then this colonial status that forms an integral and fundamental part of modern civilization. We must not let words mislead us and think of the modern colony as the pioneer group of Grecian days or of European exploration, when people of one country went out in search of adventure or to earn a living in another through trade. This kind of colony in modern days changed. Either it became independent state with its own economic organization; or it became a part of the economic organization of the mother country. In this later case in our era it was that part of our economy which illustrated and carried out logically, the conception of labor as a commodity.

We know the growth of classical economics in England in the Nineteenth Century: of its conception of the self-regulating world-market; of labor and land as purchasable commodities and of gold as the only real money. But we do not remember nor try to learn that back of the industrial revolution, out of the experiences of which classical economics arose, lay African slavery and that it was through the purchase of slaves in open market where there

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were no floor to the price of labor, that the conception of labor as a commodity and not as the effort of human beings, arose and became an axium in modern industry.

Without this African slave trade it is doubtful if European labor or even the larger part of the labor of Asia or Africa which came under its sway could have been reduced to the commodity status. But once labor, paid at the lowest conceivable price, became the basis of prosperity in America and England under the capitalists system, than a pattern was laid which gripped the world.

It led to land seizure and land monopoly in colonial regions and in civilized lands as a method of further reducing the price of labor, and increasing the profits of investors.

Thus we must conceive of colonies in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, as not something far away from the centers of civilization; not as comprehending problems which are not our problems, - the local problems of London, Paris and New York. They are not something which we can consider at our leisure but rather a part of our own present local economic organization. Moreover while the center of the colonial system and its form and pattern is set in the localities which are called definitely colonies; and are owned politically and industrially by imperial countries; we must remember that also that in the organized and dominant states there are groups of people who occupy

the quasi-colonial status: laborers who are settled in the slums of large cities; groups like Negroes in the United States who are segregated physically and discriminated against spiritually in law and custom; groups like the South American Indians who are the laboring peons of large countries without rights or privileges; and whole laboring classes in Asia and the South Seas who are legally part of imperial countries and, as a matter of fact, have their labor treated as a commodity at the lowest wage, and the land monopolized. All these people occupy what is really a colonial status and make the kernel and substance of the problem of minorities.

The connection of these colonial and quasi-colonial conditions within our economy is so strong and intricate that we seldom realize or study it. Remember today that we depend upon colonial and quasi-colonial workers for coffee, tea and cocoa; for sugar, rubber and the increasingly valuable vegetable oils; for minerals like gold, diamonds, copper and tin; for fibres, like cotton, hemp and silk; for rice, spices, quinine and gum arabic. Indeed for a mass of material which are so inextricably part of our modern life that it would practically be impossible for us to get on without them. Yet all of these materials are raised by labor which does not receive in return enough income to keep it healthy trained or effective, or even physically to reproduce itself. In order to force this labor to work it is systematically deprived of ownership of land and of a share in the free bounty of nature. It is kept in ignorance, first because intelligence would bring active or passive revolt against these conditions; and

secondly because the cost of education would reduce the profits which are pouring into the coffers of the investors and into our mouths and on our backs.

This means that every civilized man is part and parcel of the colonial system and is depending for his welfare and convenience, not to mention his luxury, upon the degradation of the majority of men.

Not only this but policies of suppression and repression, common in colonies and in slums, easily transport themselves to treatment of other minorities, whose oppression is not due directly to economic causes. We have all seen how racial antiphathy evolves policies of religious intolerance; how economic exploitation is transmuted into color prejudice; how any refusal to submit to dominant cultural patterns, current at the particular time, tends to bring into use the whole machinery of suppression, which is born of economic exploitation. This is the basic reason for coupling in this series of lectures, religious, geographic, racial and other problems, which find their essential unity in the oppression of the poor and ignorant in segregated parts of the world known as colonies and slums; and result in widespread denial of human rights.

For this reason a more detailed study of colonial injustice may be here inserted. An excellent example is the cocoa crop. It would repay us to glance briefly at this tale of the cocoa crop as illustrating the methods of modern colonial exploitation and its results even under a liberal administration. The world consumption of cocoa has increased

from 77,000 tons in 1895 to 700,000 tons at present. Formerly three-fourths of the cocoa was raised in South America. Now two-thirds is raised in West Africa.

This development of a new industry has an interesting history. A black laborer, Tetteh Quarsie, in 1879 brought cocoa beans from Spanish Africa and distributed them among his friends on the Gold Coast, British West Africa. In 1891, eighty pounds of cocoa were raised by West African farmers. By 1936 this crop on the Gold Coast alone had been increased to 250,000 tons. It was purely an indigenous enterprise of black peasant farmers. The deeply laid plans to transfer the raising of cocoa from Spanish Africa to plantation in British West Africa, developed by the Cadbury-Instituted "Boycott," went astray, and the black peasants took over the job. On their own little farms, averaging about two and one-half acres, they increased crops and made the cocoa and chocolate in wide demand throughout the civilized world. Their fathers in Ashanti and Benin had fought Britain for centuries to retain ownership of this land.

For cocoa and chocolate today consumers pay annually at least five hundred million dollars. Out of each dollar of this, less than three cents goes to the cocoa farmer; this is another instance of the manufacture of poverty out of progress.

Since the cocoa in West Africa is not raised on plantations, as it is in the West Indies and South America, the problem of the traders and manufacturers is to make

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Finally in 1937 these firms came to a buying agreement. The cocoa farmers desperately resisted. They staged a boycott for eight months, reducing the sale of cocoa from 250,000 tons to 50,000 tons. The buyers resisted. They applied pressure on the colonial office in London, and without showing it the text of the "buying agreement," induced it to advise the natives that the proposal was for their benefit and to accept it. The colonial governor also without sight of the agreement, immediately followed this directive from London and strongly "advised" acquiescence by the natives. The natives still refused. Mr. Cadbury then went to the Gold Coast and talked to the chiefs and farmers. They demanded to see a copy of the agreement. He "regretted" that he had not brought a copy with him. Finally the British Government capitulated and sent a royal commission to the Coast. This

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commission secured a copy of the agreement, but made public only a part. After careful investigation, they recommended that the buying agreement be terminated and that co-operative enterprise be instituted with representation of the African farmers.

Before this plan could be implemented however, the war broke out and the government proposed to take charge of the cocoa crop, set prices, and sell it for the farmers. They promised to bear any losses and to distribute any profit among the farmers. This was satisfactory to the farmers, although they protested at the low price per ton which the government set in order to guard itself against loss.

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However, the whole picture changed in the minds of the Negro farmers when the labour party came to power and took over the colonial office. Perhaps they were overoptimistic, but they were certainly justified in some degree by the results of government operations during World War II. Instead of the anticipated losses, the government in five years of operation, netted the neat profit of $25,000,000. Indeed, if they had previously built proper storage facilities on the Gold Coast, instead of compelling farmers to sell and rush the crop immediately to Europe, regardless of prices or conditions of the market; and if they had ever encouraged simple processing operations, which would have saved freight and increased local employment; if such policies had been followed, much cocoa could have been saved from spoiling, and some 150,000 tons need not have been burned. The net profit might have been doubled.

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interests. In other words the whole industry is strongly weighted in favor of the merchants. Among the most powerful of these mercantile companies is the United Africa Company.

A member of parliament recently declared: "I can give the House two quotations in regard to the United Africa Company. The foreign secretary said at Blackpool that he was not prepared to leave the whole of Africa to the tender mercies of the United Africa Company, and the ... gentleman who was formerly Secretary of State for the colonies, once indicated in this House that he was really frightened at the extent of the power which these monopolistic companies had; that they had even more power than certain governments."

The results of these beliefs and practices, has been unrest and revolt in colonies, strikes in imperial countries and war and suspicion among the exploiting peoples.

This turmoil has reached today a tense and frightful foreboding of increasing horror, so that we have efforts, not toward democracy and freedom, but rather toward hysterical curtailing of thought or expression on the part of those who strive for the welfare of mankind, but do not agree with the dominant majority in this nation.

There is no question as to the path that ought to be followed and in the long run, will be followed. This path is a path of economic reorganization and reform. It means the definite refusal further to follow longer the dictates of

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classical economics; the definite rejection of the myth of a self-regulating world market; the refusal longer to regard labor as a commodity or land as a private monopoly. It means a definite rejection of the idea of any one commodity like gold must be the inevitable measure of exchange.

What then is the clear path of reform before us? It is not merely pity and philanthropy so much as the determination of men of good will who are cognizant of what social science has learned in the Twentieth Century to insist on four truths:

1. Poverty is unnecessary
2. Production of goods should be planned according to need and not for private profit.
3. Distribution of goods and services should be made according to reason and right and not by chance, birth or privilege.
4. Education and health should be free and compulsory.

I mean by this a denial of the old argument which I learned in high school, that you could not have rational distribution of wealth because there was simply not enough of the things that human beings need, to go around.

Under that belief, the world tried to distribute its bounty to certain preferred peoples; to certain persons who were superior or thought to be superior, or who called themselves superior. That myth has been definitely put on

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the shelf by science; and science today knows that there can be plenty in this world for the wants of its people; not enough of course for everybody to wear a mink coat, or to have two automobiles; not enough for everybody to have a town house and a country villa; but enough for everybody to have sufficient to eat and to wear, and comfortable sanitary housing. If there is any lack of these things for anybody at any time, we know perfectly well that it is because some people have more than they need or some are not contributing to the world's work as they should. It is difficult today to get people to admit that before anybody has cake, all human beings should have bread. Nevertheless that is the inevitable ideal to which we have got to come.

Secondly, production can be planned. Production must not depend upon the individual profit which any producer may get out of the production of anything that he makes or anything he does. Production must be carefully and scientifically planned, according to the rational needs of human beings. We are beginning to do this, but we are doing it with hesitation, and with a feeling that the whole program of planned industry is merely an emergency. It is not. It is a perpetual imperative. Third, the goods and services of the world should be distributed in accordance with a rational plan. It should not be a matter of birth, chance or of good luck. We have recently been regaled by the story of a bright young man who borrowed twenty-six thousand dollars made five million dollars and finally en-

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joyed himself circling the world. What we do not realize that this sort of thing makes it the legal right of anybody to take advantage of chance and monopoly, and secure for himself the services and produce of vast numbers of workers while they starve. This should be not only illegal but immoral. The moral ideal of distribution of goods and services according to need and desert must eventually prevail if civilization endures.

Next health should be compulsory; not something which has to be bought of private individuals or doled out by charity. Governments should establish regimes to which every individual has to submit in order to avoid so far as possible, sickness and death.

Finally education must not be a luxury for the few or propaganda for the privileged but a compulsory discipline for every human being at public cost. Illiteracy must become a crime.

It is perfectly clear that if we have people who live decently with a healthy and agreeable amount of work; and who know the world, past and present with the accumulated results of scientific research that then we can begin to have a real democracy.

One of the first results of such democracy will be greater areas of freedom and less compulsion. In basic natural law - the law of gravity, of atomic weights, of the movement of the stars and the rotation of seasons there can be no freedom, no argument only law. If a man will eat, he

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must work - that is law and this law cannot be transgressed because a man is white-skinned, or because his father worked, or because he bet on the winner of the derby. The attempt to flout this social law is disaster. On color and form, here is the freedom which is the true and inevitable child of democracy.

This is what real freedom means and with the doing away of poverty, needless sickness, premature death and investment in human degradation, we can have such freedom of expression as will let nobody tell any man whether he must believe in communism or capitalism, Christianity or Mohammedism, but only the right freely to choose and follow his own beliefs.

This is the democracy which is the solution and the only solution to the problems of minorities and to the question of human rights for all men.

[illegible] BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET REPUBLIC IN THE UNITED NATIONS

By, W. E. B. Du Bois

AS DELIVERED

Hotel Commodore, New York City, N.Y., June 17, 1947

We have been STUNNED BY TWO WARS OF SUCH BREADTH AND LENGTH THAT THEY LITERALLY THREATEN THE MODERN ORGANIZATION OF CIVILIZED LIFE. IN ORDER TO PREVENT ANY RECURRENCE OF THESE AWFUL WARS WE HAVE ORGANIZED THE UNITED NATIONS. THE BASIC IDEA OF THE UNITED NATIONS IS AGREEMENT WITHOUT FORCE. IT IS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO RESORT TO FORCE ON THE PART OF THE SMALLER NATIONS MAY BE CURBED BY THE FIVE GREAT POWERS. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS CLEAR THAT UNLESS THERE IS AGREEMENT AMONG THESE POWERS THERE CAN BE NO CERTAIN ERA OF PEACE. AGREEMENT THEN IS THE BASIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS: AND WHEN THERE IS NOT AGREEMENT, ANY ONE OF THE FIVE NATIONS MAY INTERPOSE A VETO. THE POWER OF VETO DOES NOT SAY THAT THE STATE USING THE VETO IS RIGHT. IT MERELY SAYS THAT THERE IS NO AGREEMENT. FAILURE OF THE LEADING NATIONS TO AGREE MEANS LONG, PATIENT EFFORT TO UNDERSTAND AND CONVINCE, WITHOUT THOUGHT OF RECOURSE TO ARMS. SUCH PATIENCE AND WILLINGNESS TO LABOR AND WAIT MUST BE BASED FIRST ON MUTUAL FAITH. IF AT THE OUTSET THE NATIONS DO NOT BELIEVE IN THE ESSENTIAL HONESTY AND GOOD WILL OF EACH OTHER THE CASE IS LOST BEFORE IT IS ARGUED AND THE UNITED NATIONS HAS ALREADY FAILED.

THE GREATEST PRESENT DANGER, THEREFORE, IS THE FACT THAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET REPUBLIC ARE BOTH EXPRESSING FUNDAMENTAL DISTRUST OF EACH OTHER. IN THIS COUNTRY I HAVE FOUND IN THE TWENTY-FOUR STATES WHICH I HAVE VISITED IN THE LAST FIVE MONTHS AN INCREASING TENDENCY, VIGOROUSLY SUPPORTED BY THE PRESS, TO REGARD COMMUNISTS AS CRIMINALS AND CONSPIRATORS SEEKING TO OVERTHROW THE UNITED STATES AND CONQUER THE WORLD BY UNDERGROUND METHODS. ON THE OTHER HAND, WHEN I WAS IN RUSSIA IN 1928 and 1936, I FOUND, ALONG WITH BOUNDLESS ADMIRATION OF OUR MASTERY OF INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUE, A FIRM BELIEF THAT OUR WHOLE ECONOMY WAS GEARED TO EXPLOIT LABOR NOT ONLY IN AMERICA, BUT ALL OVER THE WORLD AND AT ANY COST TO MANKIND.

IF THESE ARE THE FIRM BELIEFS OF THESE TWO NATIONS, AGREEMENT, COLLABORATION, UNDERSTANDING IS IMPOSSIBLE AND WORLD UNITY IS DOOMED UNTIL A CHANGE OF ATTITUDE COMES. THE REAL PROMISE OF THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH A CHANGE WAS EVIDENT DURING THE LAST WORLD WAR. AT VARIOUS TIMES DURING THAT STRUGGLE THERE CAME STRONG EVIDENCE OF MUTUAL FAITH: OF GRATITUDE AND DEEP RESPECT OF AMERICANS FOR THE COLOSSAL SACRIFICES OF RUSSIA TO WIN THE WAR: OF ASTONISHMENT AND PRAISE IN RUSSIA FOR THE GIGANTIC EFFORT OF THE UNITED STATES TO FURNISH THE MACHINES AND MATERIALS WHICH MADE VICTORY POSSIBLE. WHAT NOW HAS LED TO DETERIORATION IN THIS SITUATION SINCE THE PEACE? IT IS UNDOUBTEDLY FAILURE TO UNDERSTAND OR TO TRY TO UNDERSTAND THE REASONS BACK OF DISAGREEMENT IN THE EFFORT TO COOPERATE.

I CAN LIST ROUGHLY AND IN NO ATTEMPT AT LOGICAL ORDER SIX POINTS OF FRICTION WHICH MAKE COOPERATION BETWEEN THESE TWO COUNTRIES IN THE UNITED NATIONS NATURALLY DIFFICULT:

THESE ARE THE SIX MAIN POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION: THE FIRST HAS TO DO WITH THE PRESS. WE HAVE BUILT UP IN THE UNITED STATES AN EXTRAORDINARY INSTITUTION CALLED THE PRESS. IT IS AN INSTITUTION WITH WHICH WE OURSELVES ARE NOT SATISFIED: IN FACT, WE ARE OFTEN AFRAID OF IT. IF A REPORTER SHOULD COME TO THE HOME OF ANY ONE OF US TOMORROW, THE CHANCES ARE THAT OUR FIRST IMPULSE WOULD BE TO EXCLUDE HIM BY SAYING THAT THERE ARE PERSONAL MATTERS WHICH WE DO NOT WANT TO PUBLICIZE. BUT NO MATTER WHAT OUR FIRST IMPULSE WOULD BE, OUR NEXT WOULD BE TO WELCOME HIM AND TO TALK TO HIM AS FRANKLY AS WE DARE BECAUSE WE KNOW THAT UNLESS WE GIVE THAT REPORTER OUR VERSION HE WILL PUBLISH SOMETHING WHICH MAY BE ANYTHING FROM A MISINTERPRETATION TO A LIE. WE SUBMIT THEN TO INQUISITION, AND TO A DEGREE OF SELF-REVELATION FROM WHICH MOST NORMAL PEOPLE

naturally recoil. Not only that, but a new phase of journalism has come today. Formerly WHEN THE FACTS WERE PROVIDED THE OPINIONS EXPRESSED WERE BUILT UPON THESE FACTS AND REPRESENTED THE HONEST OR AT LEAST LOGICAL CONCLUSIONS FROM THE FACTS. BUT IN OUR DAY OPINIONS ARE DELIBERATELY BOUGHT AND SOLD; A MAN IS HIRED TO EXPRESS, NOT WHAT HE BELIEVES, BUT WHAT THE OWNER OF THE PERIODICAL TELLS HIM TO DEFEND.

I HAVE IN MY FILES A SIGNED LETTER FROM THE EDITOR OF ONE OF THE [redacted] WIDELY CIRCULATED MAGAZINES SAYING THAT THE ARTICLE WHICH I SENT ON PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND THE NRA WOULD BE USED IF I TURNED IT INTO AN ATTACK UPON ROOSEVELT. UNDER [redacted] SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES AND KNOWING THE PRACTICES OF AMERICAN JOURNALISM, MOST COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AND PARTICULARLY THE PEOPLES OF THE BALKANS AND RUSSIA, NOT TO MENTION ASIA AND AFRICA, ARE AFRAID OF AMERICAN JOURNALISTS. RUSSIA IN PARTICULAR HAS HAD IN OUR DAY A TERRIBLE EXPERIENCE WITH YELLOW JOURNALISM. THERE IS NOT A CRIME ON THE CALENDAR OF WHICH AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS OF REPUTATION HAVE NOT OPENLY ACCUSED RUSSIA: OF RECURRENT FAMINE AND CONTINUOUS STARVATION; OF PROSTITUTION OF WOMEN; OF DELIBERATE AND PLANNED MURDER; OF DEGRADATION OF CHILDREN; AND REGULAR DECEPTION

AS TO PRESENT CONDITIONS AND FUTURE PLANS.

WE IN AMERICA BELIEVE THAT IN THE LONG RUN WITH FREE FACILITIES TO REPORTERS THE REAL FACTS [redacted] WILL EMERGE; BUT CAN WE [redacted] WONDER THAT RUSSIA DOES NOT TRUST THIS [redacted] POSSIBILITY? AND THAT WHILE SHE HAS GIVEN IN MANY CASES WIDE FREEDOM FOR INVESTIGATION OF RUSSIAN CONDITIONS, SHE REFUSES TO LET AMERICAN REPORTERS RUN WILD IN RUSSIA.

SECONDLY, THERE IS THE PROBLEM OF THE REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES. RUSSIA IS IN A PECULIAR POSITION: BY VOLUNTARY MIGRATION AND BY FORCE [redacted] MORE THAN A MILLION OF RUSSIANS REPRESENTING THE OLD REGIME AND RESENTFUL OF THE NEW ORGANIZATION OF THE COUNTRY, [redacted] ESTABLISHED THEMSELVES IN FOREIGN LANDS AND BECOME CENTERS OF PERSISTENT PROPAGANDA AGAINST RUSSIA; AND EVEN OF MILITARY AGGRESSION. RUSSIA [redacted] SEEMS TO HAVE CHOSEN BETWEEN CONSPIRACY ABROAD AND CONSPIRACY UNDER HER OWN LAWS. IF FOREIGN COUNTRIES HAD ALWAYS [redacted] DISCOURAGED ATTACKS UPON RUSSIA, WITHIN THEIR OWN BORDERS, THE RUSSIAN FAITH WOULD BE STRONGER. AS IT IS, DESPITE OUR SYMPATHY, [redacted] UNDERSTANDING OF THOSE RUSSIANS WHO DISLIKE PRESENT RUSSIA CAN WE ASK RUSSIA TO HELP THEM SETTLE ABROAD AND ATTACK HER?

[redacted]

WE THINK OF REFUGEES AS WANDERING BEREFT OF HOME AND FORTUNE

REFUGEES AS ACTIVE IN WORLD-WIDE SLANDER AGAINST THE SOVIETS AND AS CENTERS OF [redacted] MILITARY PLOTS AND AGGRESSION. NEITHER ATTITUDE IS WHOLLY TRUE, BUT BOTH CALL FOR HONEST INVESTIGATION. THREE, THE DARDANELLES: RUSSIA SHOULD HAVE ACCESS TO THE SEVEN SEAS AND THIS THE WORLD ACKNOWLEDGES: WHY THEN ARE WE DEFENDING THEIR MONOPOLY BY TURKEY, ONE OF THE MOST REACTIONARY NATIONS WHICH FOUGHT AGAINST US IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR? MANIFESTLY FOR UNDERSTANDING HERE THE UNITED STATES IS CALLED UPON TO BE FRANK AND OPEN; IF SHE WANTS TO SHUT OUT RUSSIA FROM NORMAL WORLD COMMERCE, WHY IS THIS TRUE? THERE IS A MILITARY REASON, IN THE OIL OF THE MIDDLE EAST; BUT IF NEITHER COUNTRY WANTS WAR, CANNOT THE OIL RESOURCES BE EQUITABLY DIVIDED? CERTAINLY; BUT BOTH COUNTRIES SUSPECTS THE OTHER OF REALLY WANTING WAR.

FOUR, THERE ARE CERTAIN GREAT BASIC [redacted] MATERIALS, AND TODAY PARTICULARLY OIL, WHICH OUGHT TO HAVE FOR PURPOSES OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP, FREE EXCHANGE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. ENGLAND AND AMERICA HAVE MORE THAN THEIR SHARE OF THE GREAT OIL RESERVES OF THE MIDDLE EAST. THERE IS NO REASON WHY UNDERSTANDING SHOULD NOT BE EASY CONCERNING THE ALLOTTING OF SOME OF THESE STORES OF OIL TO RUSSIA. OPPOSITION TO THIS CAN ONLY COME FROM THOSE WHO WOULD USE THE OIL [redacted] FOR WAR.

FIVE, ABOVE ALL THESE MATTERS, COMES THE TERROR-INSPIRING CASE OF THE ATOM BOMB: HERE THE FACTS ARE ALL TOO CLEAR. WE MADE THE FIRST BOMB. WE HAVE THE ONLY KNOWN STOCKPILE OF BOMBS. WE DEMAND FOR INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THIS KNOWLEDGE AND ARMAMENT, A JOINT [redacted] CONTROL TO [redacted] WHICH NO [redacted] COUNTRY CAN ENTER ANY OBJECTION. WHY DOES THE SOVIET UNION HESITATE HERE? LOOKING BACK ON THE ALL TOO RECENT PAST, SHE FEARS THAT THIS POWER OF INSPECTING AND CONTROL OVER A NEW FORCE WHICH MAY BECOME OF VAST INDUSTRIAL IMPORTANCE MIGHT BE USED TO OVERTHROW [redacted] NOT BY ARGUMENT BUT BY FORCE. IF RUSSIA WERE THE PRESESN RUSSIAN ECONOMY CONVINCED THAT INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF ATOMIC ENERGY WOULD BE USED ONLY TO STOP WAR AND RELEASE ENERGY FOR INDUSTRY, SHE WOULD NOT HESITATE A MOMENT. WE AMERICANS WHO WANT THIS AND THIS ALONE AND HAVE BEEN FIGHTING DESPERATELY TO ACHIEVE IT, CANNOT UNDERSTAND RUSSIAN DISTRUST UNLESS WE RECALL THE SHAMEFUL DAYS OF 1918 TO [redacted] 1928, WHEN FOURTEEN WESTERN NATIONS, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN, WITHOUT DECLARATION OF WAR, INVADED RUSSIA AGAIN AND AGAIN TO OVERTHROW THE SOVIETS AND FOR THIS END MADE ALLIANCE WITH EVERY SCOUNDREL IN EUROPE WILLING TO LEAD THE REVOLT AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF RUSSIA.

THIS WITHOUT SHADOW OF DOUBT IS BACK OF RUSSIAN EXPANSION OF INFLUENCE IN EASTERN EUROPE. WE ONCE TRIED TO USE THESE STATES AS A JUMPING OFF PLACE TO CONQUER RUSSIA AND MAKE HER SATELITES TO THE WEST. WE HAVE GOT TO PROVE TO RUSSIA THAT THIS IS NO LONGER THE OBJECT OF AMERICA, FRANCE, NOR BRITAIN.

THIS OF COURSE BRINGS US TO THE SIXTH AND THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES, AND THAT IS COMMUNISM. IT IS NOT AS THOUGH THE UNITED STATES DID NOT KNOW, WHEN THE UNITED NATIONS WAS ESTABLISHED THAT RUSSIA WAS A COMMUNISTIC COUNTRY. IT IS NO NEW SITUATION THAT FACES US. WE WENT INTO THE UNITED NATIONS WITH THE FIRM IDEA THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR A COMMUNISTIC NATION AND A CAPITALISTIC NATION TO LIVE TOGETHER IN THIS WORLD IN PEACE. THIS WAS NOT ONLY OUR BELIEF, BUT OUR PROPAGANDA UNTIL AFTER THE WAR WAS FINISHED. LATELY WE HAVE HAD A DELIBERATE INCREASE IN PROPAGANDA TO PERSUADE US THAT COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM ARE MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE WAYS OF LIFE. IF THIS IS TRUE THEN THE ENDEAVOR TO COMPOSE DIFFERENCES IN THE UNITED NATIONS IS VAIN, AND A THIRD WORLD WAR OF FRIGHTENING PROPORTIONS FACES CIVILIZATION. THERE IS NO NEED FOR US TO ARGUE AS TO THE FACTS CONCERNING THESE TWO SYSTEMS OF ECONOMIC LIFE. WE MUST REMEMBER THAT IF IN THE UNITED STATES WE HAVE A COUNTRY WHICH IS PASSIONATELY RESISTING NOT SIMPLY COMMUNISM BUT EVERY STEP TOWARDS CURTAILING THE POWER OF UNRESTRAINED CAPITALISTIC ECONOMY, THEN IN THIS RESPECT WE STAND ALONE. GREAT BRITAIN IS SOCIALISTIC. THE WHOLE OF EASTERN EUROPE IS SOCIALISTIC: ITALY AND FRANCE HAVE SOCIALIST GOVERNMENTS. SOCIALISM IS INVADING ASIA AND WAS ALWAYS THE BASIC IDEA OF AFRICAN LIFE. IN FACT, SOCIALISM IS INVADING THE UNITED STATES.

IN AMERICA WE HAVE GOT TO FACE FRANKLY THIS QUESTION OF COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM. WE MUST DENY THAT THIS COUNTRY IS WEDDED TO THE OLD REACTIONARY CAPITALISM: WE HAVE GOT TO REMIND RUSSIA AND THE WORLD THAT UNDER THE FAR-SEEING LEADERSHIP OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT WE TOOK LONG STRIDES ON THE PATH OF SOCIALISM WHICH THE WHOLE CIVILIZED WORLD IS TREADING. WE HAVE GOT TO REPUDIATE THE FICTION THAT COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM ARE DEAD OPPOSITES IN THOUGHT AND ACTION. BOTH TO SURVIVE MUST SEEK THE ABOLITION OF POVERTY: THE EDUCATION OF THE MASSES, THE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY BY GOVERNMENT, THE ENTRANCE OF GOVERNMENT INTO INDUSTRY, AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE. THIS IS WHAT BOTH RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES WANT, ALONG WITH BRITAIN, FRANCE, ITALY, POLAND AND HUNGARY. ONCE FAITH IS ESTABLISHED ON THIS ROCK, AND THE UNITED NATIONS IS SAFE.

WHAT THE UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS MUST DO INCREASINGLY IS TO MAKE CLEAR TO AMERICANS WHAT IT IS ACCOMPLISHING, ITS SPLENDID WORK IN EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SERVICES AND ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF DEMOCRATIC METHODS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION IS WHAT IS THE FUNCTION OF GOVERNMENT? WE IN AMERICA CRY FOR FREEDOM. IT IS A CRY THAT ONE CAN UNDERSTAND. OUR ANCESTORS HAVE TASTED SLAVERY: THE CHATTEL SLAVERY WHICH OVERWHELMED AFRICA IN THE VERY DAYS OF THE RENAISSANCE AND ON WHICH AMERICA WAS FOUNDED. THE SLAVERY OF EXPLOITATION WHICH REDUCED ASIA TO ABJECT POVERTY: THE POLITICAL AND MASS SLAVERY WHICH MADE THE MAJORITY OF EUROPEANS UNDERPAID WORKERS IN THEIR OWN HOMELAND. HERE IN AMERICA BECAUSE OF AN EXTRAORDINARY GIFT OF NATURE AND LAND, AND RESOURCES BEYOND THOSE WHICH MOST COUNTRIES COULD COMMAND, AND A FREE INTERCHANGE OF COMMODITIES AND OF PERSONS BETWEEN DIFFERENT PARTS OF A LARGE COUNTRY, WE HAVE BEEN ABLE, THROUGH FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, POLITICAL FREEDOM AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM TO ACHIEVE A HIGH AVERAGE STANDARD OF LIVING. BUT WE HAVE COME TO A PLACE TODAY, WHERE WE HAVE GOT TO STOP AND REMEMBER THAT WITH THE EXHAUSTION OF OUR NATURAL RESOURCES, THE LOSS OF LAND FERTILITY AND THE INCREASE OF POPULATION, THE NECESSITY TO RESTRAIN ~~XXXXX~~ GREED AND ECONOMIC ANARCHY HAS COME. GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA HAS GOT TO PLAY A LARGER ROLE. WE MAY NOT BELIEVE THAT THIS IS GOING TO PUT THE GOVERNMENT IN COMPLETE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY, BUT WE CANNOT DOUBT BUT THAT THE FUNCTION OF GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO BE INCREASINGLY LARGER UNLESS THE ANARCHY OF FREE ENTERPRISE IS TO DESTROY OUR LIBERTIES.

THERE IS ~~I FIRMLY BELIEVE, NO~~ NECESSARY NOR ETERNAL ANTAGONISM BETWEEN WIDE FREEDOM IN AMERICAN ENTERPRISE AND THE COMMUNISTIC CONTROL OF RUSSIAN ECONOMY. I CAN WELL ~~[illegible] ENTERPRISE MOVE TOWARD SOCIALISM THAT RUSSIA IN WIDE AREAS MAY MOVE BACK~~ THAT NEITHER WAY CALLS FOR THAT ORA E WHAT WE HAVE GOT TO CONVINCE OURSELVES OF IS

HOTEL COMMODORE, NEW YORK CITY, JUNE 17, 1947

THERE IS, I FIRMLY BELIEVE, NO NECESSARY NOR ETERNAL ANTAGONISM BETWEEN WIDE FREEDOM IN AMERICAN ENTERPRISE AND THE COMMUNISTIC CONTROL OF RUSSIAN ECONOMY. I CAN WELL FORESEE THAT WHILE WE MOVE TOWA D SOCIALISM THAT RUSSIA IN WIDE AREAS MAY MOVE BAEK TOWARD FREE ENTERPRISE BUT IN ANY CASE WHAT WE HAVE GOT TO CONVINCE OURSELVES OF IS THAT NEITHER WAY CALLS FOR THAT ORGANIZED MURDER WHICH IS WORLD WAR.

MOREOVER, IN THE FACE OF THE APPARENT BELIEF THAT DISAGREEMENT IN THE UNITED NATIONS HAS BEEN ALREADY XXXXXXXXXXXX WIDE AND FATAL, A REVIEW OF THE FACTS, DOES NOT SUPPOR THIS THESIS. THE MAIN POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT SO FAR HAVE BEEN BUT FOUR: IRAN, SPAIN, THE ATOM, AND TRIESTE. THERE HAVE BEEN OTHER DIFFERENCES BUT NONE HAS REACHED AN IMPASSE THESE FOUR. IS THIS DISCOURAGING? HAS ANY NATION GOT A GLIB AND SURE ANSWER FOR ANY ONE OF THESE FOUR? COULD ANYONE POSSIBLY HOPE THAT THESE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS COULD BE SETTLED SOONER?

IN SUCH CONSIDERATION LIES THE HOPE OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Address of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois at 38th Annual Conference, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, afternoon of June 26, 1947, at John Wesley AME Zion Church, 14th & Corcoran Sts., N. W., Washington, D. C.

1947

THE UNITED NATIONS AND COLONIES

I wish to lay down and defend, three propositions:

1. Poverty is unnecessary.
2. Colonies and quasi-colonial regions are the most poverty-stricken portions of the earth and most human beings live in them.
3. Socialism is an attack on poverty.
4. The United Nations is the greatest hope of abolishing colonialism and thus abolishing poverty in all the world.

Poverty is unnecessary. Most intelligent people today, even in civilized parts of the earth believe that it is normal and necessary that most human beings should not have enough to eat and wear and insufficient shelter; and that because of this inevitable poverty most human beings must be ignorant, diseased and to a large extent criminal. The persons who believe this mythical witchcraft are ignorant of the plain teaching of science and industrial technique especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They still think and act in accord with the beliefs of primitive ages, when scarcity of food, difficulties of technique, ignorance of natural forces, made the world a desperate fight between human beings for survival, in which murder, war, cheating and stealing were the only paths to survival for most of the human species. Despite the fact that we have moved far beyond such a situation, we still talk and think and act as though war was inevitable, early death by disease natural, crime congenital, and lack of food and housing normal.

Yet we know better or could know better if we would use the brains with which even the most stupid are endowed. To be specific, we know that the present floods in the Missouri and Mississippi Valleys are due simply to carelessness and greed; we could dam these waters, store them in reservoirs, and use them for cheap irrigation and power production for a cost not one-tenth as great as the toll of dead farmers, lost crops and property; and ruined, rich soil which is annually taken from corn and wheat fields and deposited in the Gulf of Mexico to obstruct shipping.

We know that annually many times as many persons die of tuberculosis, cancer and heart disease, as need to if we would apply our present medical knowledge; and that the lost value of their work would pay to society much more than our present medical care costs us. We know that the money which we refuse for schools and teachers, does not amount to a tenth of what we are compelled to pay for police, jails, courts and insane asylums, to take wretched care of the crime of ignorant young people whom we neglect as children, l eave in ignorance during youth and imprison and hang before they are thirty.

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If we were really trying to relieve the wants of men, we would not have to destroy potatoes, burn corn, let food rot in warehouses or prevent men from buying wool where wool can be raised cheapest and best, in a land like this where most of our surface is empty unused space, and where wood, iron and coal are more plentiful than anywhere else on earth, it is simply a monument to our stupidity that we should have and continue to have a housing shortage.

To turn from the specific to the general; we tax the poor much more heavily than the rich; we can make endless masses of goods but we refuse to pay workers enough to buy them; we have unlimited natural power in water, electricity, steam and gas, and yet by monopoly and legal restrictions, we make the cost of these free gifts of nature so high that most men cannot reap the advantage of their use. Today on the threshold of the vastest gift of natural power production of which man ever dreamed, we refuse to develop atomic energy and talk wildly of bombs for murder in order to save the invested capital of corporations who fear competition.

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In fine, while it was true a thousand years ago, that human toil and energy was unable to feed, clothe and shelter all mankind, this has not been the case since the beginning of the Nineteenth Century; and today, with what we know of natural forces; with the land and labor at our disposal, with the known technique of processing materials and transport of goods, there is no adequate reason why a single human being on earth should not have sufficient food, clothing and shelter for healthy life.

Colonies and Quasi-Colonial Regions are the most Poverty-Stricken Portions of the Earth and Most Human Beings Live in Them.

We have grown into the habit of regarding colonial questions as comparatively unimportant and far removed from our immediate domestic interests. We can easily correct this tragic error, if we remember that we have spent thousands of million dollars and killed millions of human beings, and maimed and crazed tens of million more mainly, because of jealousy and greed arising primarily over the control of labor, land and materials of colonial peoples.

The basic reason for this is the fact that most of the goods and materials which we need for living in civilized lands, comes from the land and labor of colonial people. Colonial peoples are not simply those who live and work in lands called colonies, but all those who live under colonial conditions. This comprehends nearly all Asia and Africa, most of South America and vast areas in the islands of the sea.

Most human beings live in such lands, and here poverty reaches a level which men in Europe and North America simply cannot conceive. Four hundred million people in India live on an average income of twenty-five dollars a year per family; the millions of china average no more than 30 perhaps; the peoples of Africa probably do

not average twenty dollars a year, while South America and the Carribean area hardly average fifty. This spells poverty at its harshest and crudest; and I repeat it is unnecessary and largely deliberate on the part of the master nations of the world.

How can this happen? There is still in the minds of many men the explanation of laziness and congenital stupidity as the cause of the poverty of so-called backward peoples. In fact such people work harder than the people in culture lands. They furnish an astounding proportion of the necessary goods and materials of the world, although this is largely concealed by the price system, through which we measure value by the market price. These prices are set by those who manipulate markets for their own advantage. Consider, on the basis of human need, and not at the prices paid, what we get from colonies: sugar, rice, spices, rubber, fruit, coffee, tea, cocoa, vegetable oils, cotton, wool, flax, quinine, diamonds, gold, copper, tin, hides. Does it make these materials less basically valuable, because after the application to them of special techniques of manufacture, the manufacturers and financiers can put so high a price on the finished product, that no colonial can buy it? Of the dollar which you pay for a box of chocolates, the cocoa farmer in West Africa gets three cents; yet chocolate is cocoa boiled with sugar and sold with fancy forms and wrappings. We are part of colonial exploitation, whenever we buy a pound of coffee and pay the machine which grinds it three times as much as the man who raises it.

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<u>Socialism is an Attack on Poverty.</u>

We can by our knowledge, by the use of our democratic power, prevent the concentration of political and economic power in the hands of the monopolists who rule colonies and make them the cesspools that they are. These exploiters live in civilized lands and get their power by consent of the people living there. Many of these people are poor workers, but are deprived of their rightful democratic control by social forces and groups whose power comes from colonial exploitation.

Groups, nations of human beings, work together in vast cooperation to make goods for mankind: China raises tea and silk; Brazil raises coffee; Cuba raises sugar; Hawaii, pineapples; South Africa mines gold and diamonds; Russia and Canada raise wheat; the former slave states in our land and Egypt and Uganda in Africa raise cotton; England, France and America process, transport, manufacture and distribute these goods. Yet when this world cooperation is finished and the consumer goods distributed, most of the workers are starving, while the beautiful shops of Fifth Avenue, Bond Street, and the Rue de la Paix are filled with luxuries that only the rich and idle of New York, Paris and London can afford to buy.

Something is wrong in the world. What is it? It is primarily, because even intelligent people have no idea of economic processes; of what work and income really mean; of what can and ought to be done. They assume that the distribution of goods between groups of workers and between individuals is a matter of law - natural

physical law as well as social laws - just as inevitable and unchangeable as the law of gravitation. It is silly then they say to interfere with these laws or to permit government interference. This attitude of mind is the result of the economics taught in the 19th Century. The situation seemed simple: a man made a chair; the chair was his - to use, to give away - even to burn, his property right in that chair was absolute and sacred and not to be interfered with. If he sold the chair for money, the money was his to horde, to spend for bread or liquor or to throw away.

Probably most people today, most people in this audience, even educated persons everywhere agree in the main with this thesis; yet no more mischievous relic of ancient folklore exists and its results are false and criminal. Even in the ancient world this picture was but partially true: nobody made things alone by individual effort unsupported: the clan gave the worker home and security; the family furnished tools; the chief allotted land. Today social cooperation in furnishing of goods is the overwhelming pattern. Take a pair of shoes: their delivery to you involves the use of land in the Argentine; the labor of gauchos to herd cattle, labor to prepare the hides, ships and seamen to transport them; more skilled labor to tan the leather; inventors and mechanics to make machines to manufacture the shoes; miners and steelworkers to furnish material for the machine; skilled work to finish the shoes in factories built by carpenters and masons with money furnished by financiers; railroads to transport the finished shoes; commercial travelers to secure retail stores to take them; stores to be ready to receive the stock and clerks to wait on you in answer to advertisements to lure you. How now shall the $10.00 which you pay for the shoes be distributed among those who first and last helped to make them? As a matter of fact no one knows. The final price is determined by an organization of industry so intricate and concealed that we are not at all surprised when of the ten thousand persons engaged first and last in the making of shoes, there result four millionaires, ten well-paid managers, a thousand fairly paid mechanics and nine thousand paupers. Some persons regard this result as natural and in the main unchangeable. But not so the great thinkers and social leaders of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, not to mention the thinkers among the Grooks, the mediaeval churchmen, and the utopian writers. Among those who have criticized modern production and distribution bitterly and fought against poverty were Housseau, Babeuf, Tom Paine, William Godwin, Robert Owen; Saint-Simon, Fourier and Louis Blanc; Proudhon, Karl Marx, Henry George, Horace Greeley and Wendel Phillips, Indeed scarcely any of the great social leaders since 1800 have failed to protest against the current methods of production and distribution of wealth since/industrial the revolution which followed American slavery. Why then has it not been completely changed? In fact much has been done. The great labor movement has been founded and spread over the world. Democracy in political life has been established, but bitter opposition has arisen and is increasing today, against introduction of

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democracy in industry and also against allowing democratic political methods to interfere in industry in any way. Keep the government out of industry, cry those industrial kings who are determined to preserve their undisputed rule of work and income. The power of the state therefore is today still restricted in any attempt to right the great wrongs prevalent in the distribution of wealth. But advance has been made. In the United States the government carries mail and parcels; it conducts banking and restricts all banking; it irrigates land, preserves forest, controls railroads, inspects airplanes, regulates commerce between the states and abroad, supports education, inspects mines, distributes relief, protects agriculture, supports scientific research, encourages and controls labor unions, and protects health, in addition to all this, the government attempts to correct the unfair distribution of wealth by regulating wages by taxing the rich for the benefit of the poor and restricting gifts and heritages. All of this is socialism, in clear and avowed form. Its character has not changed when we call it the "New Deal" or social service. It remains the effort of society to curb injustice to the individual by unrestrained individual initiative and unlimited private enterprise. Much of this government work for social reform is ineffective because of the entrenched opposition of private interests. Our income tax law is designed to make the rich bear the wright of taxation and thuse to effect a redistribution of wealth. But bitter opposition has kept the main burden of taxation on the poor by means of sales taxes and other consumer taxes, while big business escapes taxation by dodges of the law and legal exemptions. Private business can hire the best men, while government is restricted in competition by low wage and insecurity. Nevertheless, the most important consideration in every country in the world is this matter of poverty and social control and the undue influence of wealth accumulated and monopolized by unfair methods. Every leading land on earth is moving toward some form of socialism, so as to restrict the power of wealth, introduce democratic methods in industry, and stop the persistence of poverty and its children, ignorance, disease and crime.

The United Nations is the greatest hope of abolishing colonialism and thus abolishing poverty in all the world. In this situation what now is the meaning of the organization of the United Nations? The United Nations was established to stop war. We wish to stop war because otherwise civilization will end. Wars are so destructive and costly today that social reform is impossible. If world wars are to continue. But the main and basic object of the United Nations is, of course, as everybody recognizes only preliminary. If and when we succeed in outlawing war then the question is what can the united wisdom and effort of the peoples of the world do to uplift civilization? The most distinct affirmation of what the world desires in this respect is the statement in the charter of the United Nations which touches upon colonies and non-self governing peoples. It says: "Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose

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peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognized the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end: A. To insure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protectiom against abuses; B. To develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions," according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement; bitter and protracted opposition from the reactionary element at San Francisco developed over the acceptance of this paragraph. Why was this? Because the United Nations in its basic charter promised to devote time and energy to the uplift politically, socially and educationally of the most poverty-striken portion of mankind. Whatever the United Nations does to implement this promise can and will be a precedent for attack on problems of poverty in the individual nations. It makes no difference how strong and stubborn a stand the various nations may take to prevent world knowledge of their internal conditions or criticisms and interference with these conditions, this kind of reform is bound to come and is illustrated by the formation of the Commission On Human Rights. It is here that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is making effort to do something toward the spread of justice and democracy in the world. We have written a book which will, when printed, extend to two hundred pages on the denial of human rights in the United States to persons of Negro descent. We have examined in that statemont tho curtailment of our rights in law, in social progress and in educations and we have asked the United Nations to move toward correction of these abuses in the interest of democracy and justice. This statement under my editorship has been written by Earl B. Dickerson, Milton R. Konvitz, William R. Ming, Jr., Leslie S. Perry and Rayford W. Logan. It has already been presented to the Commission on Human Rights and there so far suppressed. It is going to be presented again to this Commission and also to the economic and social council and finally to the General Assembly of the United Nations. We hope to have the whole world eventually able to read the grievances of American Negroes in printed and widely disseminated form: This is a beginning of methods by which we can help this parliament of man and federation of the world. But in the long run and fundamentally, we can only back this up by doing away with the economic illiteracy so prevelent among us. We must understand industrial profit; we must know what wealth is and what it means, we must stand back of democracy in industry and better methods of production and a more just distribution of wealth. We must not let ourselves be scared and intimidated by the fear of being called communist, by the smearing of Henry Wallace, by

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lies printed about Russia for the last thirty years or by the widespread attempt of a monopolized and privately owned press to keep the peoples of the world from knowing the truth about work and income. In order to support the United Nations and its wider objects and duties we must know the truth and the truth will make us free.

49-6-7

New York City

WOR BROADCAST
JULY 31, 1948

By

W. E. B. Du Bois

Most people are not willing to re-examine or re-arrange the facts which they have learned about history and especially history long past. Of course this reluctance is also true of other knowledge which we have laid aside and labeled. Indeed unless we do this with the mass of our knowledge we should go insane trying to learn and unlearn ordinary knowledge. Our fund of assumptions concerning what is true becomes the basis of our knowledge and even of our prejudices. We are nevertheless becoming used to examining our ideas concerning social organization and are beginning to look back into economic structure. But so far as history is concerned and especially the history of centuries or millenniums ago, we are rather more than willing to let that rest as we have learned it. Nevertheless it is undoubtedly true that we must today especially become increasingly aware of the past; it must become more common in our examination of present and future problems, for us to refer to the experience of mankind in the past.

35-1-90

Our reluctance to do this is undoubtedly the fact that the past has always been vaguely and inaccurately known. This however must not excuse us. There can be, for instance, no doubt but what the economic events of the marvelous eighteenth century are having their repercussions upon the twentieth century and conditioning everything that we do. Now the eighteenth century was the century of the African slave trade, when that extraordinary commerce was the most important trade in the world, both for the wealth it produced, and for the economic changes which it began, for the social reorganization, of which it was the cause.

For the clear reason that the slave trade was disgraceful and something of which we are ashamed of today, we try to forget it. I have attempted to restate the economic background of the twentieth century as based upon the African Slave Trade in the eighteenth century and because of this, I have had to call the attention of historians and readers to the fact that the whole history of Africa has been distorted and forgotten in order that we should not think of so unpleasant a thing as man-stealing.

New York City
New School
October 31, 1947

THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE

BY
W. E. B. Du Bois

The transfer of laborers within Africa and from Africa to Asia and America began on its modern scale in the 14th century and lasted through the 19th century, a period of five hundred years; which covers the expansion of Europe and the triumph of European culture throughout the world. During this time at least ten million laborers changed their dwelling places, with the result that the whole economy and culture of Africa itself was changed.

A new economy was built in America, strong influence was brought to bear upon Asia, and industrial and economic revolution took place in Europe. The mere mention of these facts shows what a tremendous phenomenon of series of phenomena the African Slave Trade was. Yet I have no doubt but that no university in New York City and few in the United States give a single semester course of study to the subject of the African slave trade.

35-1-60

It is not usually mentioned to any ext nt in text books or emphasized by lecturers in the minds of students. This is not an ususual thing in the study of history. The keeping of records and drawing of judgments as to human action has to be a matter of comparison and emphasis: and when certain actions and occurences are emphasized they become current history which few people question. When too there are certain omissions, they also contribute to a theory of history. There are other great movements and occurences in the history of mankind which have been forgotten, or not emphasized and which everyone regards accordingly.

The renaissance which was a matter of the fifteenth century or if we want to stretch the meaning of the name from the twlefth to the sixteenth; lasted a shorter period of time than the African slave trade and on the whole had no greater influence upon human beings. Yet the resaissance is widely studied: You could find no text book on modern history that did not devote a chapter or several chapters to the Renaissance. Insimilar way we study the protestant reformation, covering two or three centuries. No student is allowed to forget it, not text book omits it. That brings us of course to the question: is there any particular reason why the African slave trade should be, if not forgotten, at any rate played down to such an extent, that it means comparatively little even to intelligent people today?

I think there is. The African slave trade is an unpleasant subject; it is a period in the history of modern man, which runs counter to his professed moral precepts and his unduly advertised religion. In addition to that, it involves a question of race; not simply of the black race, but of the whole question of races and of race-contact in the world; and of the meaning of race in modern development; and be ond that it is part of the history of the rise and developemtn of capitalism, since modern democracy was developed through a new method of work and income, a new organization of industry, at the bottom of which the slave trade lay,

it is surely time today, that we get rid of this false reticence and question this case of emphasis.

A great deal is always said in history about the sale of goods, but no so much about the sale of labor; or at least we do not put it ~~xxxx~~ quite that way. In truth, laborers have been bought and sold over the world to an astonishing degree. It is an ancient and well-known method of getting the work of the world done. In ancient Greece not only Asiatics and Thracians became slaves in this way, but in the many wars between Greecian states, continental or colonial, Greeks were reduced to slavery by men of their own Race. Philip sold his Olythian captives, and, after ~~xx~~ Thebes was taken by Alexander, 30,000 women and children are said to have been sold.

All the different republics of Greece were at home almost always distracted by the most furious factions, and abroad involved in the most sanguinary war, in which each sought, not merely superiority or dominion, but either completely to ~~xxxx~~ extirpate all its enemies, or, what was not less cruel, to reduce them into the vilest of all states, that of domestic slavery, and to sell them, man, woman, and child, like so many herds of cattle, to the highest bidder in the market.

35-1-61

There was a systematic slave trade. Syria, Pontus, Phrygia, Lydia, Galatie, Paphlagonia, and above all Thrace, were sources of supply. Egypt and Ethiopia also furnished a certain number, and Italy a few. Of foreigners, The Asiatica bore the greatest value, as most amenable to command, and most versed in the arts of lucurious refinement. But Greeks were highest of all in esteem, and they were much sought for foreign sale. Greece proper and Ionia supplied the petty eastern princes with courtesans and female musicians and dancer. Athens was an important slave-market, and the state profited by a tax on the slaes ; but the principal marts were those of Cyprus, Samos, Ephesus, And especially Chios. In later times Delos became a gret cntes of the trade; aw are to d that sometimes as many as ten thoudand slaves were sold ther in a single day.

In Rome the slave trade flousished . In Epirus, after the victories of Aemilius Paullus, 150,000 captives were sold. The prisoners at Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae were 90,000 Tieutons and 60,000 Cimbri. Caesar sold on a single occasion in Gaul 63,000 Captives; Augustus made 44,000 prisoners in the country of Salassi. After immense numbers had perished by famine and hardship and in the combats of the arena, 97,000 slaves were acquired by the Jewish war.

The entire number of slaves in Italy would thus have been, in the reign of Claudius, 20,832,000; that of the free population being 6,944,000.

In Ancient Days, the transfer of slave labor was not as great in Africa as in Asia and Europe. The traffic was wide-spread and Through that traffic the fields of southern Europe, the work of Eastern and Western Southern Asia was carried on. The slaves were not usually transported for long distances but the aggregate numbers transferred was large.

The buying and selling of labor and soldiers on a large scale took place in Western Asia and the Nile Valley during the Middle Agew and explains much of the history of that peroid. But it was not until the 14th century that the trade with West Africa and Europe expanced and then Gradually began to include slave labor as a considerable part of that trade.

During the 15 and 16th centuries the African trade included gold and pep per and slaves and was carried on mainly between West Africa and Southern Europe and only occas ionally with America. This trade brought laborers to Portugal, Sapin Italy, and further east and accounts for much of the dark complexions of those parts of the world even today.

The slaves became a part of Iberian znd Sicillian economy and were graduaily abosrbed into the masses of the people. Meantime came the disvovery of America dn not simply its discovery, but the idea of its place in a new economic world, a place not simply for the export of Godl and silver but for the raising of certain importnat roaw materials , in increasing demand, on a large scale. It was not however, until the 17th and 18th centuries that Great Britain began to have a vision of what the African slave trade might mean z a new mehtod of building up an empire.

35-1-62

In the 18th century the backbone of the British Empire was the African slave trade. We have conveniently forgotten that today, but a few quotations will show what the trade in labor meant to British America and the new and extraordinary economy which it built in Europe. There were, of course, difficulties and one of the reatest was the matter of religious beliff. We had begun through the Renaissance and the Reformation to have a new respect for human beings as such, and to think of them not simply as commodities for the making of materials and the convenience of masters but also as individuals who were to some extent to to nto the making of a new modern stte byond that they were regarded by both protestants and catholica as a part of a larger scheme of things, in whichtheiri undying souls were going to be citizen of an everlasting world.

Now straight in the face of this came the dichotomy of the new need of ~~x~~ labor and the extraordinary value of that labor for Europe. The result was that religion had a pretty hard time for a while. it was first learnedly explained that the heathen of Africa could look forward to no better than fate than to be transported to the Christianity of Europe and America where they would become citizens of the Christian commonwealth. When this transporting of labor became more than the incoropration of a new laboring class in an ood country; becme the bssid of a world-wide economy, iciuding the raising of tobacco, sugar and cotton the trnsport of a new lucury, a cheap sweetining and desprertely needed cheap ciothing to the peoples of the world, when t is became clear there had to be new explanations of wh:t blck lavor menat.

Investment called for labor, and cheap lavor if the profit was to be high; but already labor was beginning to be cnscious and to revolt. This was the meaning of the peasant war in Germany in the 16th century, but there was revolt and revolutionary thoght hot only in Europe; indeed it may be insisted that the revolt of labor against its modern degradation began in America rather than in Europe. This was the meaning of five slave revolts before 1600 among the blacks in America and the be inning of the fateful dynasty of Maroons, or free Negroes, hiding in orgaized bebellion in the mountians of Cuba, Jamaica, and Haiti, in Mexico and Brazil. In the 17th century, with the increased importation of slaves, there were nine revolts leading to pitched war in Jamaica and Barbados and Haitia dnd to the independent state of Palmares in Brazil.

In the 18th century came 15 slave rebellions. Nevertheless, England had the bit in her teeth. "Royal adventurers trading to Afrida" in 1667 had among them members of the Royal family three dukes, eight earls,

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seven Lords, and twenty-seven kinghts. Wtith the end of the Civi War in England, British merchants crowede upon the landholding aristocracy for an increased share in the profits of the slave-trade industry while the british were fighting ostensibly for synastic disputes in Europe, they were really, in the war of Spanish succession and in the Seven Years War, fighting for profit through world trade and especially the slave trade. in 1713 they gained, by the coveted treaty of the Asiento, the right to monopolize the slave trade from Africa to the Spanish colonies. In that century thay beat Holland to ~~knex~~ her knees and started her economic decline. They overthrew the Portuguese in India, and finally by the middle of the century, overca e their last rival in India, the French. In the 18th century they raised the slave trade to the greateds single body of trade on earth.

The Royal African company transported an average of five thousand slaves a year between 1680 and 1686; but the newly rich Middle-Class merchants were clamoring for free trade in human flesh. Eventually the royal African compa y was powerless agains the comptetition of free merhcant traders, and a new organization was established in 1750 called The Company of Merchantstrading to Africa." In the first nine years of this "Free Trade", Bristol alone shipped 160,950 Negroes to the Sugar paintations. In 1760, 146 ships sailed from British ports to Africa with a capacity of 36,000 slaves. In 1771 there were 190 ships and 47,000 slaves. The British colonies between 1680 and 1786 imported over two million slaves.

The total number of slaves imported to America is not known. Dunbar estimates that nearly 900,000 came in the 16th cent ry, 2,750,00 in the 17th and 7,000000 in the eighteenth and over 4,000,000 in the nineteenth perhaps 15, 000,000 in all. Certainly it seems that at least 10,000,000 Negroes were expatriated. The Mohammedan slave trade meant the forcible migration in Africa and to Asia of millions more. Many other millions were left dead in the wake of the raiders. It would be conservative, then, to say that the slave trade cost Negro Africa from a fourth to a t ird of its population. And yet people ask today the cause of the stagnation of culture in that land since 1600!

It was Karl Marx who made the great and unanswerable charge of the sources of capitalism in African slavery: "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement, and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commericial hunting of black-skins, signalized the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief momenta of primitive accumulation. On their heels treads the commerical woar of the European nations, with the globe for a theatre. It begins with the revolt of the Netherlands from Spain, assumes giant dimensions in England's anti-jacobin war, and is still going on in the opium wars against China..."

"With the development of ca italist production during the manufacturing period, the public opinion of Europe had lost the last remnant of shame and conscience. The nations bragged cynically of every infamy that served them as a means of capitalistic accumulation. Read, e.g., The Naive Annals of Commerce of the Worthy A. Anderson. Here it is trumpeted forth as a triumph of English Statecraft that at the peace of Utrecht, England extorted from the Spaniards by the Asiento Treaty the pribilege of being allowed to ply the Negro trade,(until then only carried on between Africa and the English West Indies.)

Between Africa and Spanish America as well. England thereby acquired the right of supplying Spanish America until 1743 with four thousand eight hundred Negroes yearly. This threw, at the same time an official cloak over British smuggling.

35-1-64

Liverpool waxed fat on the slave trade. This was its method of primitive accumulation. And, even to the present day, Liverpool 'respectability' is the pindar of the slave trade which...'has coincided with that Spirit of bold adventure which has characterised the trade of Liverpool and rapidly carried it to its present state of prosperity; has occasioned vast employment for shipping and sailors and greatly ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ augumented the demand for the manufactures of the country.' Liverpool employed in the slave trade, in 1730, fifteen ships; in 1751, fifty-three; in 1760, seventy four; in 1770 ninety-six; and in 1792, one hundred and thirty two."

"Tantae Molis Erat, to establish the 'eternal laws of nature' of the capitalist mode of production, to complete the process of separation between labourers and conditions of labour, to transform at one pole the social means of production and subsistence into capital, at the opposite pole, the mass of the population into wage-laborers, into "Free Labouring poor', that artificial prodict of modern society. If money, according to Augier, 'comes into the world with congenital blood-stain on one cheek,' capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore with blood and dirt."

By 1750 there was hardly a manufacturing town in England which was not connected with the colonial trade. The profits provided one of the main streams of that capital which financed the industrial revolution. The West Indian Islands became the center of the British Empire and of immense importance to the grandeur of England. It was the Negro slaves who made these sugar colonies the most precious colonies ever recorded in the annals of imperialism. Experts called them "The fundamental prop and support" of the empire. The British Empire was regarded as a "Magnificent super-structure of American commerce and naval power on an African foundation."

William Wood said that the slave trade was the "Spring and Parent whence the others flow." Postlethwayt describe the slave trade as "The first principle and foundation of all the rest, the ~~xxx~~ mainspring of the machine which sets every wheel in motion. "

The triangular trade made an enormous contribution to Britain's industrial development. The profits fertilized the productive system of the country. The slate industry in Wales was revolutionized by a plantation owner. The British West Indies interest was back of the vast railway development. Cotton responded to new inventions. Between 1709 and ~~xxxx~~ 1787 the tonnage of British shipping in Foreign trade increased fourfold. The British nobility benefited largely from the West Indian trade.

The Lascelles were from Barbados, and one to their descendants is now brother-in-law of the King of England. The Earl of Chatham considered the sugar colonies as "The landed interest of this kingdom."

West Indian investors bought seats in parliament. The poetry of both Browning and Barret with all its depth and beauty grew straight out of West Indian Slavery. Sir Dalby Thomas declared that every person employed on the sugar plantation was a hundred and thirty times

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more valuabele to ngland than one at home. Professor Pitman has estimated that in 1775 British West Indies plantations represented a valuation of fifty million pounds sterling and the sugar planters themselves put the figure at seventy millions in 1788. In 1798 Pitt assessed the annual income from West Indian Plantations at four million pounds as compared with one million from the rest of the world. As Adam Smith wrote in WEALTH AND NATIONS: "The profits of a sugar plantation in any of our West Indian colonies are generally much greater than those of any other cultivation that is known either in Europe or merica."

Justification for this extraordinary founding of democracy and industry on African slavery was frantically sought. It was easily found in a line of thought already begun and disseminated by Gobinuau who had attempted to explain why it was that disaster was continually overcoming the efforts of civilized man to permanently to establish himself; and emphasis was placed upon the fact that there were different kinds of men, some of whom could carry on civilization, and some of whom could not.

Gobineau, himself had no thought of putting the African as a man in a catagory where his contribution to civilization would be impossibe or his place in the cultural scheme, a completely subordinate one. But addition to Gobinism was furnished by ngland and merica, and resulted in one of the greatest efforts in modern thought to rationalize a line of conduct so as to justify upon grounds of religion, a conduct which in morals and decency was unjustifiable.

The theory of the perfect adaptation of the African Negro to the role of slave in America was developed to an extraordinary degree, until it became an axiom of social philosophy; but early in the nineteenth century it ran into disaster, not by the rise of abolitionism, but with the revolt of the Haitians under Toussaint. This again has been too often represented as a matter of personal leadership, a little insurrection in a tiny island in the Sea. It was much more than that. Haiti at the end of the eighteenth century had represented the culmination of the African slave labor idea.

It was rich and prosperous and the foundation stone of the nation of France. The attempt of French people to free themselves from the hereditary privilege of the nobility brought France immediately fact to face with the question of slave labor; practically France was asked to cut from under her economy one of its strongest supports in order to justify liberty, equality, and fraternity.

This aplit French thought and when a new rationalization was tryign to prove that after all these blacks of Haiti and the West Indies had no heritage in new French freedom. Toussaint L'Ouverture proved that they did by taking the island away from the French despite the strong effort of Napoleaon.

Immediately the English tried to fall heir to this center of Agriculture which they had long desired and Spain too tried to add Haiti to its Empire; but both were unsuccessful and Haiti became independent. It was this that became the foundation of the new colonial imperialism. The transport of slaves from Africa or elsewhere for long distances across the world was becomming impracticable; it not only was facing the kind of revolt which became its disaster in Haiti, but it was also facing a new rise of conscientious revolt among thinkers and dreamers of the modern world, whose minds Toussaint freed.

35-1-66

They were not only impressed by what the Haitian slaves had done, they were depressed by what the [redacted] new industry had brought to Europe because of the results of slave labor and with the help which science had prepared in a new technique for processing sl ve goods. The slave idea of labor, the idea of labor as a commodity had transferred itself to France and England and was spreading to Germany and elsewhere. It was building up a new wage slavery in Europe.

The revolt then against this by labor and philanthropy was an attempt to renew the failing philosophy of the early French revolution and to say that labor is not a commodity, but that laborers are men and are the object of that industry built on the African Slave Trade.

New School, New York City
Nov. 7, 1947

COLONIAL IMPERIALISM

W.E.B. DuBois

THE REVOLT OF MAROONS IN JAMAICA AND CUBA AND THE BUSH NEGROES IN SOUTH AMERICA AND THE REPEATED ATTEMPTS IN HAITI FRIGHTENED THE SLAVEHOLDERS AND THREATENED THE STABILITY OF THE WHOLE SYSTEM. IN JAMAICA THE MAROONS "CONTINUED TO DISTRESS THE ISLAND FOR UPWARDS OF FORTY YEARS, DURING WHICH TIME FORTY-FOUR ACTS OF ASSEMBLY WERE PASSED, AND AT LEAST £240,000 pounds EXPENDED FOR THEIR SUPPRESSION." THE GOVERNOR OF BARBADOS WROTE: "THE PUBLIC MIND IS EVER TREMBLINGLY AWARE TO THE DANGERS OF INSURRECTION," AND THE STATUTE BOOKS ALL OVER THE SLAVE TERRITORY TESTIFIED TO THIS FACT.

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THE NEXT EVENT THAT OPPOSED THE SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY WAS THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. NOT ONLY DID THE COLONISTS ACHIEVE THEIR INDEPENDENCE THROUGH THE HELP OF SLAVES AND THE PROMISE OF THEIR FREEDOM, AND WITH THE CO-OPERATION IN MONEY AND MEN FROM HAITI, BUT THEY REPRESENTED ACTUAL WORKING CLASSES RATHER THAN EXPLOITERS OF LABOR. FINALLY, THE FRENCH

REVOLUTION BURST FORTHA AS A ROAR AGAINST PRIVILEGE BASED ON BIRTH AND DEMANDED FREEDOM, ESPECIALLY ECONOMIC FREEDOM TO TRADE AND TO ENTER INDUSTRY WITHOUT COERCION.

THE RESULT WAS THAT THE SLAVE TRADE MET DISTINCT OPPOSITION BASED ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS; BUT THIS OPPOSITION WOULD HAVE BEEN POWERLESS TO STOP THE TRADE IF IT HAD NOT BEEN EVIDENT THAT THE TRADE ITSELF AS A SOURCE OF PROFIT WAS THREATENED. THE REVOLT OF AMERICA CONFIRMED THE SUPERIORITY OF THE FRENCH SUGAR COLONIES. BETWEEN 1783 AND1789 THE PROGRESS OF SAN DOMINGO HAD BEEN AMAZING. AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY THE BRITISH SUGAR PLANTERS LOST THEIR SUPREMACY TO THE FRENCH COLONIES. FRENCH COLONIAL EXPORTS AMOUNTED TO EIGHT MILLIONS POUNDS WHILE BRITISH COLONIAL EXPORTS AMOUNTED TO FIVE MILLION POUNDS.

WHEN THE AMERICAN COLONIES WON THEIR INDEPENDENCE? THE CARIBBEAN CEASED TO BE A BRITISH SEA AND INVESTMENTS BEGAN TO BE TRANSFERRED FROM

THE WEST TO THE EAST INDIES. IN 1783 PRIME MINISTER WILLIAM PITT SHOWED INCREASED INTEREST IN INDIA AND ENCOURAGED WILBERFORCE TO PROPOSE THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

THEN CAME THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND EVENTUALLY THE REVOLT OF HAITI. THE BRITISH MADE EVERY EFFORT TO SEIZE CONTROL OF THIS FAMOUS FRENCH SUGAR COLONY. THEY TRIED BOTH FORCE OF ARMS AND BRIBERY, BUT AT LAST WERE COMPELLED TO RECOGNIZE THE INDEPENDENCE OF TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE, WHOM THEY TRIED TO DIVORCE FROM ALLEGIANCE TO THE FRENCH.

35-1-27

NEVERTHELESS, WITH HAITI OUT OF THE WORLD MARKER, THE BRITISH COULD HAVE RETAINED THEIR HOLD UPON THE SUGAR INDUSTRY HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE CONTINUED CULTIVATION OF SUGAR IN SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE COLONIES. SO LONG AS THESE COLONIES COULD OBTAIN CHEAP SLAVES, THEY THREATENED AND EVEN DESTROYED THE INVESTMENT IN SLAVE LABOR ALREADY MADE BY BRITISH CAPITAL. LOOKED UPON AS MACHINES OR " REAL ESTATE," AS SLAVES LEGALLY WERE, THE

INVESTMENT IN NEGRO LABOR WAS BEING UNDERMINED SO LONG AS CHEAPER NEGRO LABOR VOULD BE HAD FROM AFRICA.

TO KEEP THE PRICES OF SLAVES FROM FALLING, THE SLAVE TRADE HAD TO BE LIMITED OR STOPPED. OTHERWISE THE WHOLE SLAVERY INVESTMENT WOULD TOTTER AND THAT IS WHAT ENGLAND FACED AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF TOUSSAINT. EARLY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THEREFORE, SHE BEGAN TO CHANGE, AND BACK OF PHILANTHROPISTS LIKE SHARPE AND WILBERFORCE CAME THE UNEXPECTED SUPPORT OF OPPORTUNIST POLITICIANS LIKE PITT.

MOREOVER, CAPITALISM WAS FAR ENOUGH DEVELOPED TO PRODUCE SUFFICIENT FREE FINANCE CAPITAL TO EFFECT A TRANSFER OF INVESTMENT FROM ONE FIELD TO ANOTHER WITHOUT SUCH LOSSES AS WOULD CRIPPLE THE SYSTEM. LOSSES THERE HAD TO BE, BUT THEY WERE PART OF THE ANARCHY OF BUSINESS METHODS, WHICH BY LARGE-SCALE GAMBLING AND PERIODIC CRISIS RUSHED BLINDLY TO NEWER AND LARGER FIELDS OF PROFIT. EVENTUALLY NEGRO SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE

WERE ALL

WERE ABANDONED IN FAVOR OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, AND THE ENGLAND WHICH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ESTABLISHED MODERN SLAVERY IN AMERICA ON A VAST SCALE, APPEARED IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AS THE OFFICIAL EMANCIPATOR OF SLAVES AND FOUNDER OF A METHOD OF CONTROL OF HUMAN LABOR AND MATERIAL WHICH PROVED MORE PROFITABLE THAN SLAVERY.

35-1-28

THE SLAVE TRADE WAS ABOLISHED BY ENGLAND IN 1807, AND ENGLAND UNDERTOOK TO MAKE THE REST OF THE WORLD OUTLAW IT TOO. THE UNITED STATES, PORTUGAL, AND SPAIN GAVE ONLY LIP SERVICE TO THIS PROGRAM, AND THE SLAVE TRADE CONTINUED UP TO THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY ALTHOUGH TO A LESSENING EXTENT.

WITH THE STOPPING OF THE SLAVE TRADE IT WAS EVIDENT THAT INVESTMENT IN LABOR WAS DIFFERENT FROM INVESTMENT IN LAND, MATERIAL, AND MACHINES; THAT LABOR, NO MATTER HOW MUCH IT WAS DEGRADED, HAD INITIATIVE AND MADE DEMANDS. REVOLT OF THE WORKING CLASSES, FOLLOWING THE INCENTIVE OF HAITI, SPREAD. THE SPECTACULAR AND ASTONISHING RRIUMPH OF REVOLUTION IN HAITI THREATENED THE WHOLE SLAVE SYSTEM OF THE WEST INDIES AND EVEN OF

CONTINENTAL AMERICA. IT WAS THIS REVOLT MORE THAN ANY OTHER SINGLE THING THAT SPELLED DOOM NOT ONLY OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE BUT OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA AS A BASIS OF AN INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM. THE REVOLT ENCOURAGED THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN BRAZIL; IT FLAMED IN PRACTICALLY EVERY ISLAND OF THE WEST INDIES. UNLESS THE SLAVE WORKER COULD BE PACIFIED, INCOME BASED ON SLAVE LABOR WOULD BE DESTROYED. THE RESULT WAS THAT IN 1833 ENGLAND ABOLISHED SLAVERY. SIMILAR ABOLITION FOLLOWED IN THE UNITED STATES AFTER CIVIL WAR.

THE NAPOLEONIC WARS DID NOT RUIN ENGLAND; TOGETHER WITH THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, NEGRO SLAVERY, AND THE LOOT OF INDIA, THEY MADE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT THE MOST POWERFUL IN THE WORLD; THEY RUINED ENGLAND'S INDUSTRIAL RIVALS; THEY LEFT HER IN CONTROL OF THE CHIEF SOURCES OF RAW MATERIALS BY COLONIAL OWNERSHIP AND WITH THE READY CASH TO OUTBID RIVALS;

HER VAST STORE OF FINANCE CAPITAL ENAVLED HER TO MANUFACTURE MACHINERY AND WAIT A GENERATION FOR REPAYMENT; BRITISH KNOWLEDGE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNIQUE ENABLED THE COUNTRY TO MAKE THE BEST MACHINES AND TOOLS AND RENDER THE WHOLE WORLD CREDITOR FOR THEIR PURCHASE ; BRITAIN RULED THE SEAS AND THUS MONOPOLIZED TRANSPORT. EVEN WHEN IN THE EARLIER MAD RUSH FOR PROFIT ON THE NEW CAPITALISM, SHE REDUCED HER OWN LAVOR TO SLAVERY IN THE FACTORY SYSTEM AND FACED REVOLUTION, SHE PROVED THE ONLY LAND TO BE ABLE TO RAISE WAGES AND YET MAINTAIN HIGH PROFIT BY SHIFTING THE BURDEN OF PAUPERIZED TOIL TO THE COLONIES AND DOMINATED PEOPLES; AND AT THE SAME TIME, ALTHOUGH AUTHOR AND CHIEF SUPPORTER OF MODERN SLAVERY, GREAT BRITAIN COULD HOLD UP HER HEAD AND, BY SUPPRESSING A SLAVERY NOW BECOMING UNPROFITABLE, LEAD WORLD PHILANTHROPY AS THE GREAT EMANCIPATOR OF THE SLAVE.

35-1-29

BUT EVEN AS THIS ROLE REJOICED HER GREATER SOULS, THE BRITISH EMPIRE BECAME THE VICTIM OF THE WORST LEGACY OF NEGRO SLAVERY: THE DOCTRINE OF

RACE SUPERIORITY AND THE COLOR LINE, WHICH IN A LATER CENTURY MADE CIVILIZED MAN COMMIT SUICIDE IN A MAD ATTEMPT TO HOLD THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE EARTH'S PEOPLES IN THRALL TO THE WHITE RACE--A GOAL TO WHICH THEY STILL CLING TODAY, HIDDEN AWAY BEHIND NATIONALISM AND POWER POLITICS.

THIS WAS NOT A RAKE'S PROGRESS OF MALEVOLENCE; IT WAS A BITTER STRUGGLE BETWEEN GOOD AND EVIL---BETWEEN FINE AND NOBLE SOULS AND CONSCIENCELESS DESIRE FOR LUXURY, POWER, AND INDULGENCE. THE FORCES OF EVIL WERE CONTINUALLY REINFORCED BY THE VAST POWER WHICH SLAVERY AND THE EXPOLITATION OF MEN PUT INTO THE HANDS OF THE BETRAYERS OF LABOR, MAKING THEM THE ENVIED OF THE EARTH, UNTIL NATIONS BECAME WILLING TO DESTROY THE EARTH IN ORDER TO GAIN IT. SUPPOSE THAT AT ANY POINT IN THIS DESCENT TO HELL, RIGHT HAD RECEIVED HELP AND REINFORCEMENT? SUPPOSE THAT A FREE AMERICA HAD WELCOMED A FREE HAITI INTO A WORLD THAT INSISTED ON FREEDOM FOR AFRICA AND ASIA? BUT NO; SLAVERY DOMINATED THE "FREE" REPUBLIC OF THE WEST FOR

HALF A CENTURY, WITH THE SLAVE COTTON KINGDOM AS FOUNDATION STONE FOR BRITISH MANUFACTURES, WHILE GREAT BRITAIN SEIZED LAND AND LABOR IN ALL THE DARK WORLD. SUPPOSE THAT ENGLAND HAD FREED AND EDUCATED AFRICA, EMANCIPATED INDIA, AND JOINED HANDS WITH JAPAN TO UPLIFT CHINA, INSTEAD OF MAKING IGNORANCE COMPULSORY FOR THE MAJORITY OF MEN EVEN IN ENGLAND, IN ORDER TO BUILD UP THE MOST "COMFORTABLE" AND ENVIED ARISTOCRACY ON EARTH? SUPPOSE THE TECHNIQUE AND SCIENCE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY HAD BEEN USED TO RAISE THE MANY INSTEAD OF TO ENRICH THE FEW?

35-1-30

THE NEW ERA OF CAPITALISM DAWNED, SPRINGING FROM CALVINISM: THRIFT, INDUSTRY, HONESTY AS THE BEST POLICY, ALONG WITH INTEREST AND PROFIT. CAPITALISM PASSED INTO HIGH CAPITALISM AT DIFFERENT PERIODS IN DIFFERENT NATIONS: IN ENGLAND IN 1846, WHEN ENGLISH CAPITALISM NEEDED NO PROTECTED TARIFF, IT SMASHED THE AGRICULTURISTS IN PARLIAMENT AND FORCED THE ADOPTION OF FREE TRADE; IN THE UNITED STATES INVESTED CAPITAL PASSED THE

VALUE OF THE LAND ABOUT 1850. THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN FRANCE REVEALED THE POWER OF ORGANIZED LABOR AS WELL AS THE POWER OF CAPITALISM, WHICH LATER TRIUMPHED. IN GERMANY CAPITALISM BEGAN ITS FULL SWAY AFTER WORLD WAR I.

IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT, AFTER THE PASSAGE OF THE REFORM BILL IN 1832, CAPITALISM WAS PARAMOUNT. THE PLANTATION TRADE HAD FORMERLY MEANT EVERYTHING; BUT IN THE NEW CAPITALIST SYSTEM, PLANTATION SLAVERY HAD LITTLE PLACE. BRITAIN'S MECHANIZED MIGHT WAS STILL, HOWEVER, MAKING THE WHOLE WORLD HER FOOTSTOOL. SHE WAS CLOTHING THE WORLD, EXPORTING MEN AND MACHINES, AND HAD BECOME THE WORLD'S BANKER. BRITISH CAPITAL, LIKE BRITISH PRODUCTION, WAS THINKING IN WORLD TERMS. "BETWEEN 1815 AND 1830 AT LEAST FIFTY MILLION POUNDS HAD BEEN INVESTED MORE OR LESS PERMANENTLY IN THE SECURITIES OF THE MOST STABLE EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS, MORE THAN TWENTY MILLION HAD BEEN INVESTED IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER IN LATIN AMERIC

AND FIVE OR SIX MILLIONS HAD VERY QUIETLY FOUND THEIR WAY TO THE UNITED STATES." BUT NO NEW CAPITAL WENT TO THE WEST INDIES.

IN AFRICA A NEW AND SUPPLEMENTARY MEANS OF CONTROL, DEVELOPED BY MEANS OF THE ARAB TRADE IN IVORY, LED TO EXPLORATION AND EVENTUAL ANNEXATION UNDER THE PRETENSE OF ATTACKING SLAVERY. IN THIS WHOLE STORY OF THE SO-CALLED "ARAB SLAVE TRADE" THE TRUTH HAS BEEN STRANGELY TWISTED. ARAB SLAVE RAIDING WAS IN THE BEGINNING, AND LARGELY TO THE END, A SECONDARY RESULT OF THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN SLAVERY AND SLAVE TRADE AND SPECIFICALLY WAS BASED ON AMERICAN DEMAND FOR IVORY. THE ARABS HAD BY THE NINETEENTH CENTURY DRIVEN BACK THE PORTUGUESE OPPOSITE ZANZIBAR AND HAD DEVELOPED TWO PROFITABLE PRODUCTS OF TRADE: IVORY AND SLAVES.

IVORY FROM ABOUT 1840 BECAME INCREASINGLY VALUABLE. ITS GATHERING CALLED FOR FIRE-ARMS AND TRANSPORT. EUROPE AND AMERICA FURNISHED THE ARMS IN VAST QUANTITY. NEGRO PORTERS BORE THE WHITE GOLD OVER VAST DISTANCES

ON THEIR HEADS, AND THE TRADERS DOUBLED THEIR PROFIT BY SELLING THESE NEGROES INTO SLAVERY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AMERICA. THE RESULT WAS AN INDUSTRY WITH HUGE PROFITS, WHICH CALLED TO SERVICE THE MOST VICIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE NILE VALLEY WITH ITS SOCIAL DISINTEGRATION OF CENTURIES, AIDED BY THE EFFORTS OF MOHAMMED ALI, THE ALLY OF WHITE COLONIAL AGGRESSION.

IT ALSO CALLED WHITE SOLDIERS OF FORTUNE LIKE SELOUS AND LUGARD, WHO SLAUGHTERED THE HERDS OF HALF-HUMAN ELEPHANTS IN COLD BLOOD. IT CALLED THE EXPLORERS WHO FOLLOWED THE HUNTERS AND SLAVE TRADERS. AFTER THE EXPLORERS CAME THE MISSIONARIES. BOTH POINTED OUT THAT THE IVORY-SLAVE BUSINESS WAS KILLING THE GOOSE T AT MIGHT LAY EVEN MORE GOLDEN EGGS, IF INSTEAD OF KILLING VALUABLE LABOR, THIS LABOR AND MATERIALS WERE SUBJECT TO POLITICAL CONTROL OF EUROPE AND THE ABUNDANT CAPIT L SEEKING INVEST-MENT. THE MISSIONARIES LIKE LIVINGSTONE SAW IN THIS NOT ONLY A MEANS OF

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SAVING BODIES AND SOULD OF HUMAN BEINGS, BUT ALSO THRIFT AND GOOD BUSINESS, WHICH IN THE FOLKLORE OF EARLY CAPITALISM WERE THE INEVITABLE ELEMENTS DIVINELY CONJOINED FOR MODERN CIVILIZATION.

THE RISING DEMAND IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE IN EAST AFRICA WAS NOT PURE PHILANTHROPY. IT WAS THAT "PHILANTHROPY AND 5 PER CENT" WHICH WAS THE TRANSITION FROM THE CENTURY OF HUMAN SLAVERY IN AMERICA TO THE CENTURY OF THE TRANSFER OF CAPITAL FROM SUGAR PLANTATIONS TO COLONIAL IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA AND ASIA. THE MAIN END OF BOTH ENTERPRISED WAS PROFIT TO THE OWNER AND EXPLOITER MAINLY AT THE EXPENSE OF POVERTY, IGNORANCE , AND PAIN FOR THE SLAVE AND NATIVE SUBJECT.

35-1-32

ABOUT THE MIDDLE THIRD OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THE SITUATION CHANGED ABRUPTLY. THE DEMAND FOR IVORY INCREASED. IN AMERICA, IVORY WORKING WAS AN EARLY INDUSTRY, ESPECIALLY IN NEW ENGLAND ON THE BANKS OF THE CONNECTICUT, WHERE IVORY HAS BEEN CUT SINCE 1820. IT WAS PROCESSED FOR CARVING, FOR CUTLERY, BILLARD BALLS, AND MINIATURES, AND FOR PIANO

KEYS. AT DEEP RIVER AND IVORYTOWN AND BUFFALO THE KEYBOARDS FOR ALL THE PIANOS IN AMERICA, CANADA, AND AUSTRALIA WERE MADE. BECAUSE OF INCREASED DEMAND? EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN TRADERS SET UP ESTABLISHMENTS FOR BUYING IVORY IN ZANZIBAR; IN THE THIRTIES AND FORTIES PRICES INCREASED. ARABS BEGAN TO ASK FOR ARMS IN ORDER TO SHOOT ELEPHANTS AND COERCE THE NATIVE. INCREASED EXPORTS OF IVORY TO EUROPE AND AMERICA AND OF SLAVES TO ARABIA AND THE PERSAIN GULF, CALLED FOR INCREASED IMPORTS OF WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION. THE GERMANS SENT THIRTEEN THOUSAND MUSKETS IN ONE YEAR. THE BRITISH AND PORTUGUESE SENT THOUSANDS OF THE OLD SEPOY GUNS FROM INDIA. THE FRENCH SUPPLIED A SINGLE-BARREL LIGHT WEAPON. AMERICAN BLASTING POWDER CAME IN TEN AND TWENTY-FIVE POUND KEGS. GERMAN CAVALRY SAVERS CAME AND CASES OF PERCUSSION CAPS. ARABS BORROWED FROM INDIAN USURERS AT 60 TO 80 PER CENT, AND SET OUT FOR THE HAUNTS OF ELEPHANTS.

CURIOUSLY ENOUGH IT WAS THIS IVORY TRADE THAT STIMULATED AND GUIDED TRAVEL AND DISCOVERY IN CENTRAL AFRICA. EXPLORERS FOLLOWED THE IVORY TRADERS, WHO WERE THE TRUE DISCOVERERS. BURTON, SPEKE, LIVINGSTONE, STANLEY, AND CAMERON STARTED FROM THE ARAB CAPITAL OF ZANZIBAR. THEY FOLLOWED THE LINES OF TRAFFIC SET BY THE ARAB IVORY TRADERS. PETHERICK, THE BRITISH IVORY TRADER, PRECEDED SCHWEINFURTH, AND THE COUNTRIES HE EXPLORED WERE OPENED UP BY THE IVORY TRADE. LIVINGSTONE FOUND THE IVORY TRADERS ON THE UPPER CONGO. CAMERON LEFT ZANZIBAR IN 1873 AND WAS THE FIRST EUROPEAN TO CROSS AFRICA FROM EAST TO WEST ALONG THE IVORY TRADERS' ROUTES. STANLEY MADE HIS SECOND EXPEDITION, 1874--1877, AND WAS HELPED BY TIPPOO-TIB, THE GREAT NEGRO SLAVE TRADER WHO HAD ALSO HELPED LIVINGSTONE. THE LAST OF THE GREAT EXPEDITIONS WAS STANLEY'S, IN 1887-1889, WHEN HE RESCUED EMIN PASHA AND HIS NEGRO WIFE.

35-1-33

IT WAS IN THIS WAY THAT KNOWLEDGE OF THE TECHNIQUE OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND ITS MEANING CAME TO EUROPE AT A TIME WHEN THE SLAVE TRADE FROM AFRICA

TO AMERICA HADBEEN LARGELY SUPPRESSED. WE HAD A SERIES OF FIRST-HAND DESCRIPTIONS OF THIS TRADE.

IVORY BECAME IN THE LAST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THE SCOURGE OF CENTRAL AFRICA. THE COMPLETE STORY OF BLOODSHED AND CRUELTY WILL NEVER BE KNOWN. THOUSANDS OF MILES OF FERTILE COUNTRY WERE TURNED INTO WILDERNESS AND RUIN. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF ELEPHANTS WERE SLAIN AND THOUSANDS OF HUMAN BEINGS. IT HAS BEEN ESTIMATED THAT NOT MORE THAN ONE IN FIVE OF THE CAPTIVES BEARING THE IVORY EVER REACHED THE OCEAN. STARVED AND WEAKENED BY DISEASE AND THE STRAIN OF MARCHING, THEY LINED THE LONG PATHS WITH THEIR DEAD.

"PICTURE, IF YOU CAN, A TERRITORY NEARLY AS LARGE AS THE WHOLE OF OUR UNITED STATES EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER AND ILLINOIS, TERRORIZED AND OVERRUN IN ALL DIRECTIONS WITH HUNDREDS OF ROVING BANDS OF PLUNDERING

MURDERERS ARMED WITH INVINCIBLE WEAPONS OF OPPRESSION, A LAND OF BLOOD AND MIGHT, THE MIGHTS FILLED WITH FLAME AND DESTRUCTION, THE DAYS WEARY WITH THE MARCHING OF THE COFFLES AND THE BLOOD OF THE DESPAIRING, HOPELESS SLAVES. AND THIS FOR YEARS, FOR DECADES."

HENRY M. STANLEY WROTE: "EVERY TUSK, PIECE, AND SCRAP IN THE POSSESSION OF AN ARAB TRADER HAS BEEN STEEPED AND DYED IN BLOOD. EVERY POUND WEIGHT HAS COST THE LIFE OF A MAN, WOMAN, OR CHILD, FOR EVERY FIVE POUNDS A HUT HAS BEEN BURNED, FOR EVERY TWO TUSKS A WHOLE VILLAGE HAS BEEN DESTROYED, EVERY TWENTY TUSKS HAVE BEEN OBTAINED AT THE PRICE OF A DISTRICT WITH ALL ITS PEOPLE, VILLAGES, AND PLANTATIONS. IT IS SIMPLY INCREDIBLE THAT, BECAUSE IVORY IS REQUIRED...POPULATIONS, TRIBES, AND NATIONS SHOULD BE UTTERLY DESTROYED."

35-1-34

HAMED bin MUHAMMED, A NEGRO, BETTER KNOWN AS TIPPOO-TIB, WAS ONE OF THE GREATEST OF SLAVE TRADERS. HE EVENTUALLY BECAME SULTAN AND OVERLORD OF THE COUNTRY OF KASSONGO IN THE VERY MIDDLE OF CENTRAL AFRICA,

WHICH HE MADE A CENTER OF IVORY COLLECTING AND SLAVE HUNTING. HE HAD A THOUSAND MUZZLE-LOADING GUNS. AND IT WAS NOT UNTIL 1905 THAT HE DIED.

THE CREDIT FOR SUPPRESSING THE SLAVE-IVORY TRADE MUST GO TO LIVINGSTONE WHO INSPIRED IT, TO KIRK OF EAST AFRICA WHO HELPED CARRY IT THROUGH, AND TO BARGARSH, THE NEGROID ARAB, WHO ACTUALLY SUPPRESSED THE ZANZIBAR TRADE. BUT THESE THREE MEN REPRESENT THE CURIOUS INTERESTS INVOLVED: LIVINGSTONE WAS A HUMANITARIAN WHO THOUGHT THAT TRADE AND COMMERCE WAS THE BEST AND NATURAL WAY TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF MAN. HE WOULD BE HORRIFIED TO SEE SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA TODAY AND REALIZE THE PLIGHT INTO WHICH THE NATIVES HAVE BEEN FORCED BY EUROPEAN TRADE AND INDUSTRIALISM. KIRK WAS A BRITISH IMPERIALIST WHO FORSAW THE COLONIAL ERA. HE WAS NO PHILANTHROPIST DESIROUS OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND RISE OF OF THE BLACKS. WHAT HE WANTED WAS TO EXPAND THE POWER OF ENGLAND, AND

HE BELIEVED THAT COULD BE DONE BEST BY SUPPRESSING THE SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVE LABOR UNDER THE ARABS AND INCREASING COLONIAL OWNERSHIP AND SERF LABOR UNDER GREAT BRITAIN. THE ARAB SULTAN BARGARSH WAS PERSUADED THAT COLONIAL ALLIANCE WITH GREAT BRITAIN WOULD PROTECT HIS FUTURE POWER AND INCOME.

THE EFFECT UPON EUROPE WAS CURIOUS. EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN COMMERCE WAS STIMULATED. THE MISSIONARIES, STILL BELIEVING IN THE EXPANDING TRADE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, COUPLED COMMERCE WITH MISSIONARY EFFORT AND DID NOT SEE THE INHERENT CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THEM. THE RESULT WAS THAT THE MISSIONARY AND THE MERCHANT WORKED SIDE BY SIDE AND HAND IN HAND. IT WAS LIVINGSTONE WHO DECLARED THAT HE WAS BRINGING COMMERCE AND MISSIONARY EFFORT TO THE NATIVES.

35-1-35

COMMERCIAL COMPANIES, LIKE THE AFRICAN LAKES COMPANY, EXPLOITED AND ADMINISTERED TERRITORIES AND EQUIPPED THE ELEPHANT HUNTERS. THEY SUPPLIED THE RIFLES AND SENT THE HUNTERS, RESERVING THE RIGHT TO BUY THE IVORY AT

A SET PRICE. IT WAS THUS THAT SIR ALFRED SHARP AND LORD LUGARD BEGAN LIFE AS PROFESSIONAL IVORY HUNTERS. THE COMING OF AMERICAN, BRITISH, FRENCH, GERMAN AND PORTUGUESE TRADERS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY FURNISHED THE ARTILLERY FOR THE WORST PERIOD IN THIS IVORY-SLAVE TRADE UNDER THE ARABS. AT ITS HEIGHT THIRTY THOUSAND SLAVES WERE EXPORTED ANNUALLY THROUGH ZANZIBAR, LEAVING MORE THAN A HUNDRED THOUSAND WHO HAD DIED ON THE WAY TO THE SEA.

THEN THAT EXTRAORDINARY TRANSFORMATION TOOK PLACE IN BRITISH PUBLIC POLICY. THE STOPPING OF THE EXPANSION OF THE ARAB SLAVE TRADE IN EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA BECAME A MEANS OF BUILDING UP THE BRITISH EMPIRE. ALL THAT BRITAIN HAD DONE IN ESTABLISHING THE NEW MODERN SLAVERY IN AMERICA WAS FORGOTTEN IN HER EFFORT TO SUPPRESS THE IVORY-SLAVE TRADE IN AFRICA, AND THAT EFFORT WAS ONLY THE OTHER SIDE OF HER BUILDING UP OF A GREAT AFRICAN COLONIAL TERRITORY WHICH SHE PROPOSED TO EXPLOIT BY THE USE OF

CHEAP NATIVE LABOR, THE SALE OF AFRICAN RAW MATERIALS, AND THE OPENING OF MARKETS FOR HER MERCHANDISE. SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE BECAME TRANSFORMED INTO ANTI-SLAVERY AND COLONIALISM, AND ALL WITH THE SAME DETERMINATION AND DEMAND TO INCREASE THE PROFIT OF INVESTMENT.

IT ALL BECAME A CHARACTERISTIC DRAMA OF CAPITALISTIC EXPLOITATION, WHERE THE RIGHT HAND KNEW NOTHING OF WHAT THE LEFT HAND DID, YET RHYMED ITS GRIP WITH UNCANNY TIMELINESS; WHERE THE INVESTOR NEITHER KNEW, NOR REQUIRED, NOR GREATLY CARED ABOUT THE SOURCES OF HIS PROFITS; WHERE THE INSLAVED OR DEAD OR HALF-PAID WORKER NEVER SAW NOR DREAMED OF THE VALUE OF HIS WORK (NOW OWNED BY OTHERS); WHERE NEITHER THE SOCIETY DARLING NOR THE GREAT ARTIST SAW BLOOD ON THE PIANO KEYS; WHERE THE CLUBMAN, BOASTING OF GREAT GAME HUNTING, HEARD ABOVE THE CLICK OF HIS SMOOTH, LOVELY, RESILIENT BILLIARD BALLS NO ECHO OF THE WILD SHRIEKS OF PAIN FROM KINDLY HALF-HUMAN BEASTS AS FIFTY TO SEVENTY-FIVE THOUSAND EACH YEAR WERE SLAUGHTERED IN COLD, CRUEL, LINGERING HORROR OF LIVING DEATH; SENDING THEIR

35-1-36

TEETH TO ADORN CIVILIZATION ON THE BOWED HEADS AND CHAINED FEET OF THIRTY THOUSAND BLACK SLAVES, LEAVING BEHIND MORE THAN A HUNDRED THOUSAND CORPSES IN BROKEN, FLAMING HOMES.

GRADUALLY THE PICTURE CHANGED; THE CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY SAW THAT THEY COULD REPLACE WASTEFUL SLAVERY WITH LOCAL BLACK LABOR PAID AT WAGES FROM ONE-HALF TO NINE-TENTHS CHEAPER THAN WHITE LABOR IN EUROPE AND AMERICA AND MAKE WHITE LABOR LIKE IT BECAUSE ALL THIS COULD BE DONE TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND THE SUPERIORITY OF THE WHITE RACE. AND IT WAS DONE.

SO COLONIAL IMPERIALISM WAS BORN. AND SO SOME OF ITS LEADERS ILLUSTRATED IN THEIR OWN INDIVIDUAL LIVES ITS DEVELOPMENT; THERE WAS FREDERICK C. SELOUS, WHO BEGAN AS AN ELEPHANT HUNTER AND THEN ANNEXED THE PEOPLES AND MINERALS OF MASHONALAND TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE; THERE WAS FREDERICK D. LUGARD, WHO FIRST FOUGHT IN INDIA, BURMA, AND THE SUDAN; THEN AS A BIG GAME HUNTER IN EAST AFRICA, WHERE, ARMED BY THE AFRICAN LAKES

COMPANY, HE MURDERED ELEPHANTS IN GREAT NUMBERS AND BECAME A PART OF THE IVORY-SLAVE TRADE COMPLEX. NEXT HE APPEARED IN EAST AFRICA AS A FREE-LANCE FIGHTER AGAINST ARABS AND MOHAMMEDANS AND IN DEFENSE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS; HE REAPPEARED AS AGENT OF THE BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY AND ANNEXED UGANDA TO BRITAIN.

THEREUPON HE WAS RECOGNIZED AS A GREAT CHAMPION OF IMPERIAL ENGLAND AND WENT TO WEST AFRICA TO HELP SUBDUE THE FALLING REMNANTS OF SUDANESE CULTURE. HERE HE SHREWDLY REALIZED TH T CONQUEST OF THESE PEOPLES COULD MOST EASILY BE ACCOMPLISHED IF THEIR TRIBAL GOVERNMENT WERE LEFT UNDISTURBED, WHILE BRITAIN CONTROLLED TRADE AND FOREIGN RELATIONS. HAVING THUS INVENTED "INDIRECT RULE", HE BECAME A BRITISH GOVERNOR IN WEST AFRICA.

35-1-37

EVENTUALLY HE RETIRED, LIVED IN ENGLAND ON A PENSION PAID BY BLACK WEST AFRICA, WAS REGARED AS THE GREATEST AUTHORITY ON AFRICA, AND DIED IN HONOR AS A NOBLE BRITISH LORD.

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WHAT EFFECT DID ALL THIS HAVE UPON THE DARK NATIVES OF AFRICA? IN THE PAST WE HAVE DWELT UPON PHYSICAL SUFFERING, THE LOSS OF LIVES, AN D THE DEVASTATION OF THE LAND, BUT WE HAVE NOT THOUGHT OF THE LARGER AND DEEPER SOCIAL DISINTEGRATION. FIRST OF ALL, NOT ONLY WAS THE WAY OPENED FROM THE SAHARA TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE FOR MARAUDING MASSES OF BANTU WARRIORS, BUT T IS GREAT AND LONG-CONTINUED MOVEMENT BECAME ORGANIZED FOR AGGRESSION AND CONQUEST. WE HEAR OF THE FIERCE ONSLAUGHTS OF WILD TRIBES LIKE THE YAGGAS, BUT WE MUST ALSO REMEMBER THAT THERE CAME A NEW SORT OF ORGANIZATION. NEGRO LIFE COULD NOT SETTLE DOWN FOR POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND EMPIRE BUILDING. IT COULD NOT WAIT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF HERDSMEN AND AGRICULTURE. IT MUST HURRY ON TO SAFER PLACES AND SHELTERED LAND AND LOOT.

"IT WAS SORROWFULLY RECOGNIZED THAT THE DEGRADATION OF THE NEGRO PEOPLES OF THE NEARER AFRICAN INTERIOR WAS THE DIRECT RESULT OF EUROPEAN

SLAVE-DEALING. THE SAVAGERY OF DAHOMEY AND BENIN WAS THE SURVIVAL OF THE FEROCITY BY WHICH NATIVE CHIEFS, A CENTURY EARLIER, HAD SUPPLIED THE DEMANDS OF ENGLISH AND DUTCH TRADERS FOR VICTIMS FOR THE PLANTATIONS."

THIS MOVEMENT CULMINATED IN THE MAGNIFICENT AND UTTERLY RUTHLESS ARMY OF A CHAKA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, WHICH ALMOST SUCCESSFULLY BATTLED MACHINE GUNS WITH ASSAGAIS. THEN TOO ON THE WEST COAST CAME TRANSFORMATION: THE CITY-STATES WITH THEIR INTRICATE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND CAREFULLY PLANNED INDUSTRY AND BEAUTIFUL ART WERE PUSHED BACK AND OVERWHELMED BY NEWER, STRONGER MILITARY STATES, LIKE THAT OF DAHOMEY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY; AND THE ASHANTI EARLIER HAD NEVER GAINED IN THE LINE OF PEACEFUL INDUSTRY AND ART AS MUCH AS THE NEW GAINS WHICH THEY MADE AS INTERMEDIARIES OF THE SLAVE TRADERS.

35-1-38

THE EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE UNDER NEGROES LIKE TIPPOO-TIB BECAME ORGANIZED. THE COMMERCIAL ENDS AND PROFITS SOUGHT BY EUROPE WERE SUBTLY INTRODUCED INTO AND SHARED BY AN AFRICA THAT HAD BEEN FOREIGN TO THIS

KIND OF LIFE. THE MILD DOMESTIC SLAVERY OF THE AFRICAN TRIBES AND OF THE ARABS AND PERSIANS, WHICH DID NOT PRECLUDE THE SON OF A SLAVE BECOMING A KING, A STATESMAN, OR A POET, WAS CHANGED INTO CHATTEL SLAVERY WITH HARD LABOR AND CRUEL TASKS. THE CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN CIVILIZATION, FORECAST IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES BY THAT IN THE SUDAN, WAS PREVENTED AND TURNED BACKWARD INTO CHAOS, FLIGHT, AND DEATH.

DECADENCE COULD BE SEEN ON THE WEST COAST, IN THE SHADOW OF FABLED ATLANTIS, WHER THERE EMERGED IN CURIOUS JUXTAPOSITION THE BLOOD SACRIFICE OF THE BENIN JUJU TOGETHER WITH THE BEAUTIFUL BRONZES OF THE BENIN SCULPTORS. THE GREAT KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES OF THE SUDAN WHICH FELL AT THE BATTLE OF TENKADIBOU NOT ONLY SUFFERED THE INCUBUS OF A HORDE OF BERBER INVADERS AS THEY MOVED EAST AND BECAME THE SUDANESE KINGDOMS OF KANEM AND BORNU AND THE REALM OF THE FUNG; THEY APPROACHED THE VALLEY OF THE NILE AND CAME INTO FIERCE COMBAT WITH SOME OF THE WORST MANIFESTATIONS OF MOHAMMEDANISM.

PUSHING FARTHER SOUTH, THE BANTU HERDSMEN THREW THEMSELVES UPON THE CONGO AND ZIMBADWE. THERE CAME TO AFRICA AN END OF INDUSTRY, ESPECIALLY ENDUSTRY GUIDED BY TASTE AND ART. CHEAP EUROPEAN GOODS PUSHED IN AND THREW THE NATIVE PRODUCTS OUT OF COMPETITION. RUM AND GIN DISPLACED THE MILDER NATIVE DRINKS. THE BEAUTIFUL PATTERNED CLOTH, BROCADES, AND VELVETS DISAPPEARED FOR THEIR CHEAP IMITATIONS IN MANCHESTER CALICOS. METHODS OF WORK WERE LOST AND FORGOTTEN.

WITH ALL THIS WENT THE FALL AND DISRUPTION OF THE F MILY, THE DELIBERATE ATTACK UPON THE ANCIENT AFRICAN CLAN BY MISSIONARIES. THE INVADING INVESTORS WHO WANTED CHEAP LABOR AT THE GOLD MINES, THE DIAMOND MINES, THE COPPER AND TIN MINES, THE OIL FORESTS AND COCOA FIELDS, FOLLOWED THE MISSIONARIES. THE AUTHORITY OF THE FAMILY WAS BROKEN UP; THE AUTHORITY AND TRADITION OF THE CLAN DISAPPEARED; THE POWER OF THE CHIEF WAS TRANSMUTED INTO THE RULE OF THE WHITE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER. THE OLD RELIGION WAS HELD UP TO RIDICULE, THE OLD CULTURE AND ETHICAL STANDARDS WERE DEGRADED OR

35-1-39

DISAPPEARED, AND GRADUALLY ALL OVER AFRICA SPREAD THE INFERIORITY COMPLEX THE FEAR OF COLOR, THE WORSHIP OF WHITE SKIN, THE IMITATION OF WHITE WAYS OF DOING AND THINKING, WHETHER GOOD, BAD, OR INDIFFERENT. BY THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THE DEGRADATION OF AFRICA WAS AS COMPLETE AS ORGANIZED HUMAN MEANS COULD MAKE IT. CHIEFTAINS, REPRESENTING A THOUSAND YEARS OF STRIVING HUMAN CULTURE, WERE DECKED OUT IN SECOND-HAND LONDON TOP-HATS, WHILE EUROPE SNICKERED.

I HAVE DWELT ON AFRICA PARTICULARLY IN THIS EFFORT TO TRACE COLONIAL IMPERIALISM. WE MUST REMEMBER HOWEVER, THAT THIS METHOD OF RULE CHANGED IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO BELT THE WORLD. IT WAS AN AXIOUM THAT THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF MANKIND MEANT THE RULE OF WHITE EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA OVER THE REST OF THE WORLD.

THIS WAS TO BE DONE FOR THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE OTHER PEOPLES IN THE WORLD AND BECAUSE THEY HAD SHOWN NO APPITUDE FOR GOVERNMENT AND PARTICULARLY NONE FOR DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT; THAT THEREFORE, THE CONTROL OF ASIA AND AFRICA, THE ISLANDS OF THE SEAS, AND TO SOME EXTENT OF SOUTH AMERICA WAS IN THE FUTURE TO BE PUT in THE HANDS OF THE IMPERIAL COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AND THAT THEY WERE TO DEVELOP THESE COUNTRIES THROUGH INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE AND MISSIONARY EFFORT, UNTIL THE TIME CAME WHEN THEY MIGHT BE GRANTED SOME RIGHTS OF SELF RULE BECAUSE OF THIS LONG TUTELAGE. IN THIS WAY IN 1945 THE COLONIAL WORLD COULD BE DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS:

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GREAT BRITAIN CONTROLLED SOUTHERN RHODESIA, AFRICA , NORTHERN RHODESIA, WEST AFRICA AND A NUMBER OF ISLANDS IN THE CARIBBEAN, TWO COLONIES IN SOUTH AMERICA AND TWO IN EUROPE. IN ASIA SHE CONTROLLED INDIA, BRITISH MALAYA, NORTH BORNEO, BURMA, AUSTRALIA AND HER POSSESSIONS MAKING IN THE BRITISH SPHERE FOUR HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIVE BILLIONS OF PEOPLE. FRANCE HAS IN HER COLONIES SEVENTY-TWO MILLION, THE DUTCH SIXTY-ONE, PORTUGAL ELEVEN MILLION, BELGIUM FOURTEEN MILLION, SPAIN ONE AND A THIRD MILLION, AND THE UNITED STATES THREE MILLION NOT COUNTING THE PHILIPPINES.

SINCE 1945 INDIA HAS BEEN FREED OF HER BRITISH OWNERSHIP, BUT WE HAVE STILL TO ACCOUNT IN THE WORLD FOR THE QUASI-COLONIALISM WHICH HAS LONG DOMINATED CHINA AND LARGE PARTS OF SOUTH AMERICA.

IN OTHER WORDS THE WORLD HAS BEEN RE-CAST ON THE IMPERIALISTS-COLONIAL IDEA. THIS CRISIS OF THIS ORGANIZATION CAME WITH THE TWO WORLD WARS. WARS PRIMARILY OF JEALOUSY BETWEEN IMPERIAL NATIONS AND EFFORTS TO

REALLOCATE THE MASTERSHIP OF THE WORLD. WE ARE NOW FACED WITH THE PROBLEM OF LIQUIDATION AND REBUILDING. WE HAVE THE BEGINNING OF COLONIAL EMANCIPATION IN INDIA, DESPARATE EFFORTS IN BURMA AND INDONESIA AND NATIONALISTIC MOVEMENTS IN WEST AFRICA AND THE CARIBBEAN. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE HAVE THE DETERMINATION ON THE PART OF AMERICAN CAPITALISTS TO MAINTAIN AND TO STRENGTHEN THE HOLD WHICH INVESTING CAPITAL HAS LONG HAD OVER THE WORLD UNTIL IT HAS BECOME THE REAL IMPLEMENT OF IMPERIALISTS. THIS IS THE GRAVEST QUESTION WHICH NOW FACES THE WORLD.

35-1-41

COLONIAL IMPERIALISM

by
W. E. B. Du Bois

The collapse of the American slave system was foreshadowed in the early 18th century. The revolt of Maroons in Jamaica and Cuba and the Bush Negroes in South America and the repeated attempts in Haiti frightened the slave-holders and threatened the stability of the whole system. In Jamaica the Maroons "continued to distress the island for upwards of forty years, during which time forty-four acts of assembly were passed, and at least 240,000 pounds expended for thier suppression." The governor of Barbados wrote: "The public mind is ever tremblingly aware to the dangers of insurrection," and the statute books all over the slave territory testified to this fact.

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The next event that opposed the slave trade and slavery was the American Revolution. Not only did the colonists achieve their independence through the help of slaves and the pro ise of their freedom, and with the cooperation in money and men from Haiti, but they represented actual working classes rather than exploiters of labor. Finally, the French Revolution burst forth as a war against privilege based on birth and a demand for freedom, especially economic freedom to trade and to enter industry without coercion.

In addition that slave-trade met distinct opposition based on humanitarian grounds; but this op osition would have been powerless to stop the trade if it had not been evident that the trade itself as a source of profit was threat-ened. The revolt of America confirmed the superiority of the French sugar colo ies. Between 1783 and 1789 the progress of San Domingo had been amazing. At the end of the 18th century the British sugar planters lost their supremacy to the French colonies. French colonial exports amounted to eight millions pounds while British colonial exports amounted to five million pounds.

When the American colonies won their independence, the Caribbean ceased to be a British Sea and investments began so be transferred from the West to the East Indies. In 1783 Prime Minister William Pitt showed increased interest in India and encouraged Wilberforce to propose the abolition of the slave trade.

Then came the final revolt of Haiti. The British made every effort to seize control of this famous French sugar colony. They tried both force of arms and bribery, but at last were compelled to recognize the independence of Toussaint L'Ouverture, whom they tried to divorce from allegiance to the French.

Nevertheless, with Haiti out of the world market, the British could have retained their hold upon the sugar industry had it not been for the continued cultivation of sugar in Spanish and Portuguese colonies. So long as these colonies could obtain cheap slaves, they threatened and even destroyed the investment in slave labor already made by British capital. Looked upon as machines or "real estate," as slaves legally were, the investment in Negro labor was being underminded so long as cheaper Negro labor could be had from Africa.

To keep the prices of slaves from falling, the slave trade had to be limited or stopped. Otherwise the whole slavery investment would totter, and that is what England faced after the revolution of Toussaint. Early in the 19th century, therefore, She began to change, and back of philanthropists like Sharpe and Wilberforce came the unexpected suport of opportunist politicians like Pitt.

Moreover, capitalism was far enough developed to produce sufficient free finance capital to effect a transfer of investment from one field to another

without such losses as would cripple the system. Losses there had to be, but they were part of the Anarchy of business methods, which by large-scale gambling and periodic crises rushed blindly to newer and larger fields of profit. Eventually Negro slavery and the slave trade were abondoned in favor of colonial imperialism, and the England which in the 18th century established modern slavery in America on a vast scale, appeared in the 19th century as the official emancipator of slaves and founder of a met od of control of human labor and metherial which proved more profitable than slavery.

The slave trade was abolished by England in 1807, and England undertook to make the rest of the world outlaw it too. The United States, Portugal, and Spain gave only lip service to this program, and the slave trade continued to the middle of the 19th century althought to a lessening extant.

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With the stopping of the slave trade it was evident that investment in labor was different from investment in land, material, and machines; that labor, no matter how much it was degraded, had initiative and made demands, . Revolt of the working classes, following the incentive of Haiti, spread. The spectacular and astonishing triumph of revolution in Haiti threatened the whole slave system of the West Indies and even of continental America. It was this revolt more than any other single thing that spelled doom not only of the African slave trade but of slavery in America as a basis of an industrial system. The revolt encouraged the abolition movement in the United State s and Brazil; it flamed in practically very island of the West Indies. Unless the slave worker could be pacified, income based on slave labor would be destroyed. The result was that in 1833 England abolished slavery. Similar abolit on followed in 1863 in the United States after Civil War.

The Napoleonic Wars did not ruin England; together with the African slave trade, Negro slavery, and the loot of India, they made the British Government the most powerful in the world; they ruined England's industrial rivals; they left her in control of the c ief suources of raw materials by colonial ownership and with the ready cash to outbid rivals; her vast store of finance capital enabled her to manufacture machinery and wait a generation for repayment; British knowledge of science and Technique enabled the country to make the best machines and tools and render the whole world creditor for their purchase; Britain ruled the seas and thus monopolized transport. Even when in the earilier mad ruch for profit on the new capitalism, she reduced her own labor to slavery in the factory system and faced revoltuion, she proved the only land to be able to raise wages and yet maintain high profit by shifting the burden of pauperized toil to the colonies and dominated peoples; and at the same time, although author and chief supporter of modern slavery, Great Britain could hold up her head and, by suppressing a slavery now becoming unprofitable, lead world philanthropy as the great emancipator of the slave.

But even as this role rejoiced her greater souls, the British Empire became the victim of the worst legacy of Negro slavery: the Doctrine of race superiority and the color line, which in a later century made civilized man commit suicide in a mad attempt to hold the vast majority of the earth's peoples in thrall to the white race--a goal to which they still cling today, hidden away behind nationalism and power politics.

This was not a rake's progress of malevolence; it was a bitter struggle between good and evil--between fine and noble souls and conscienceless desire for luxury and power and indulgence. The forces of evil were continually reinforced by the vast power which slavery and the exploitation of men put into the hands of the betrayers of labor, making them the envied of the earth, until nations became willing to destroy the earth in order to gain it. Suppose that at any point in this descent to hell, right had received help and reinforcement, suppose that a free America had welcomed a free Haiti into a world

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that insisted on freedom for Africa and Asia? But no; slavery dominated the "Free" Republic of the West for half a century, with the slave cotton kingdom as foundation stone for British manufacturers, while Great Britain seized land and labor in all the Dark World. Suppose that England had freed and educated Africa, emancipated India, and joined hands with Japan to uplift China, instead of making ignorance compulsory for the majority of men even in England, in order to build up the most "comfortable" and envied aristocracy on earth? Suppose the technique and science of the 19th century had been used to raise the many instead of to enrich the few?

The new era of capitalism dawned, springing from calvinism: thrift, industry, honesty as the best-policy, along with interest and profit. Capitalism passed into high capitalism at different periods in different nations: In England in 1846, when English capitalism needed no protective tariff, it smashed the agriculturists in Parliament and forced the adoption of free trade; in the United States invested capital passed the value of alnd about 1850. The Revolution of 1848 in France revealed the power of organized labor as well as the power of capitalism, which later triumphed. In Germany capitalism began its full sway after World War I.

In the British Parliament, after the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832, capitalism was paramount. The plantation trade had formerly meant everything; but in the new capitalist system, plantation slavery had little place. Britain's mechanized might was making the whole world her footstool. She was clothing the world, exporting men and machines, and had become the world's banker. British capital, like British production, was thinking in world terms. "Between 1815 and 1830 at least 50 million pounds had been invested more or less permanently in the secruities of the most stable European governments, more than twenty million had been invested in one form or another in Latin America, and five or six millions had very quietly found their way to the United States." But no new capital went to the West Indies.

In Africa a new and supplementary means of control, developed by means of the Arab trade in ivory, led to exploration and eventual annexation under the pretense of attacking slavery. In this whole story of the so-called "Arab slave trade" the truch has been strangely twisted. Arab slave raiding was in the beginning, and largely to the end, a secondary result of the British and American slavery and slave trade and specifically was based on American demand for ivory. Arabs had traded in slaves from 1000 A.D. to 1800 but the trade was incidental until Mehemel Ali in 1820. The Arabs had by the 19th century driven back the Portuguese opposite Zanzibar and had developed two profitable products of trade: Ivory and Slaves.

Ivory from about 1840 became increasingly valuable. It gathering called for fire-arms and transport. Europe and America furnished the arms in large quantity. Negro porters bore the white gold over vast distances on their heads, and the traders doubled their profit by selling these Negroes into slavery in the Middle East and America. The result was an industry with huge profits, whcih called to service the most vicious elements of the Nile valley with its social disintegration of centuries, aided by the efforts of Mohammed Ali, the ally of ~~xhixix~~ white colonial aggression.

It also called white soldiers of fortune like Selous and Lugard, who slaughtered the herds of elephants in cold blood. It called the explorers who followed the hunters and slave traders. After the explorers came the missionaries. Both pointed out that the ivory-slave business was killing the goose that might lay even more golden eggs, if instead of killing valuable labor, this labor and materials were subject to political control of Europe and the abundant capital

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seeking investment. The missionaries like Livingstone saw in this not only a means of saving bodies and souls of human beings, but also thrift and good business, which in the folklore of early capitalism were the inevitable elements divinely conjoined for modern civilization.

The rising demand in England and America for the suppression of the slave trade in East Africa was not pure philanthropy. It was that "Philanthropy and 5 per cent" which was the transition from the century of human slavery in America to the century of the transfer of capital from sugar plantations to colonial imperialism in Africa and Asia. The main end of both enterprises was profit to the owner and exploiter, mainly at the expense of poverty, ignorance, and pain for the slave and native subject.

About the middle third of the 19th century the situation changed abruptly The demand for ivory increased. In America, ivory wacking was an early industry, especially in New England, on the banks of the Connecticut where Ivory has been cut sinse 1820. It was processed for carving, for cutlery, billard balls, and miniatures, and for piano keys. At Deep River and Ivorytown and Buffalo the keyboards for all the pianos in America, Canada, and Australia were made. Because of increased demand, European and American traders set up establishments for buying ivory in Zanzibar; in the thirties and forties prices increased. Arabs began to ask for arms in order to shoot elephants and coerce the natives. Increased exports of ivory to Europe and America and of slaves to Arabia and the Persain Gulf, called for increased imports of weapons and ammunition. The Germans sent thirteen thousand muskets in one year. The British and portuguese sent thousands of the old sepoy guns from India. The French supplied a single-barrel light weapon. American blasting powder came in ten and twenty-five pound kegs. German cavalry sabers came and cases of percussion caps. Arabs borrowed from Indian usurers at 60 to 80 per cent, and set out for the haunts of elephants.

Curiously enough it was this ivory trade that stimulated and guided travel and discovery in Central Africa. Explorers followed the ivory traders, ho were the true discoverers. Burton, Speke, Livingstone, Stanley, and Cameron started from the Arab capital of Zanzibar. They followed the lines of traffic set by the Arab ivory traders. Petherick, the British ivory trader, preceded Schwienfurth, the scientist and the countries he explored were open up by the ivory trade. Livingstone found the ivory traders on the upper congo Cameron left Zanzibar in 1873 and was the first European to cross Africa from East to West along the ivory traders routes. Stanley made his second expedition, 1874--1877, and was helped by Tippoo-Tib, the great Negro slave trader who had also helped Livingstone. The last of the great expeditions was Stanley's, in 1887-1889, when he rescued Emin Pasha and his Negro wife.

It was in this way that knowledge of the techinque of the slave trade and it meaning came to Europe at a time when the slave trade from Africa to Ameirica had been largely suppressed. We had a series of first-hand descriptions of this trade in Africa.

Ivory became in the last half of the 19th century the scourge of Central Africa. The complete story of bloodshed and curelty will never be known. Thousands of miles of fertile country were turned into wilderness and ruin. Hundreds of thousands of elephants were slain and thousands of human beings. It has been estimated that not more than one in five of the captives bearing the ivory ever reached the ocean. Starved and weakened by disease and the strain of marching, they lined the long paths with their dead.

"Picture, if you can, a territyry nearly as large as the whole of our United States east of the Mississippi River and Illinois, terrorized and over-

-run in all directions with hundreds of roving bands of plundering murders armed with invincible weapons of oppression, a land of blood and might, the nights filled with flame and destruction, the days weary with the marching of the coffles and the blood of the despairing, hopeless slaves. And this for years, for decaded."

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Henry M. Stanley wrote: "Every tusk, piece, and scrap in the possession of an Arab trader has been steeped and dyed in blood. Every pound weight has cost the life of a man, woman, or child, for every five pounds a hut has been burned, for every two tusks a whole village has been destroyed, every twenty tusks have been obtained at the price of a district with all its people, villages and plantations. It is simply incredible that, because ivory is required, tribes and nations should be utterly destroyed."

The credit for suppressing the slave-ivory trade must go to Livingstone who inspired it, to Kirk of East Africa who helped carry it through, and to Bargarsh, the Negroid Arab, who actually suppressed the Zanzibar trade. But these three men represent the curious interests involved: Livingstone was a humanitarian who thought that trade and commerce was the best and natural way to improve the condition of man. He would be horrified to see South Africa and Rhodesia toda and realize the plight into which the natives have been forced by European trade and industrialism. Kirk was a British imperialist who foresaw the colonial era. He was no philanthropist desirous of the development and rise of the blacks. What he wanted was to expand the power of England, and he believed that could be done best by suppressing the slave trade and slave labor under the Arabs and increasing colonial ownership and serf labor under Great Britain. The Arabl Sultan Bargarsh was persuaded that colonial alliance with Great Britain would protect his future power and income.

The effect upon Europe was curious. European and American commerce was stimulated. The missionaries, still believing in the expanding trade of the eighteenth century, coupled commerce with missionary effort and did not see the inherent contradiction between them. The result was that the missionary and the merchant worked side by side and hand in hand. It was Livingstone who declared that he was bringing commerce and missionary effort to the natives.

Then that extraordinary transformation took place in British public policy. The stop ing of the expansion of the Arab slave trade in East and central Africa became a means of building up the British empire. All that Britain had done in establishing the new modern slavery in America was forgotten in her effort to suppress the ivory-slave trade in Africa, and that effort was only the other side of her building up of a great African colonial trerritory which she proposed to exploit by the use of cheap native labor, the sale of African raw materials, and the opening of markets for her merchandise Slavery and the ~~xx~~ slave trade became transformed into anti-slavery and colonialism, and all with the same determination and demand to increase the profit of investment.

It all became a characteristic drama of capitalistic exploitation, where the right hand knew nothing of what the left hand did, yet rhymed its grip with uncanny timeliness; where the investor neither knew, nor inquired, nor greatly cared about the sources of his profits; where the inslaved or dead or half-paid worker never saw nor dreamed of the value of his work (now owned by others); where neither the society darling nor the great artist saw blood on the piane keys; where the clubman, heard above the click of his smooth resilient billiard balls no echo of the wild shrieks of pain from kindly half-human beasts as fifty to seventy-five thousand each year where slaughtered in cold, cruel, lingering horror of living death; sending their teeth to adorn civilization on the bowed heads and chained feet of thirty thousand black slaves, leaving behind more than a hundred thousand corpses in broken, flaming homes.

Gradually the picture changed; the capta ns of industry saw that they could replace wasteful slavery with local Black labor paid at wages from on-half to nine-tenths cheaper than white labor in Europe and America and make white labor like it because all this could be done to the Glory of God and superiority of the white race. And it was done. ~~Sxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ So Colonial Imperialism was born.

I have dwelt on Africa particularly in this effort to trace colonial imperialism. We must remember however, that this method of rule changed in the 19th century to belt the world. It was an axiom that the future development of mankind meant the rule of white Europe and North America over the rest of the world.

This was to be done for the best interests of the other peoples in the world and because they had shown no appitudefor government and particularly none for democratic development; that therefore, the control of Asia and Africa, the islands of the Seas, and to some extent of South America was in the future to be put in the hands of imperial countries of Europe and that they were to develop these countries through industrial enterprise and missionary effort, until the time came when they m ght be granted some rights of self rule because of this long tutelage. In this way in 1945 the colonial world could be described as follows: Great Britain controlled four hundred and eighty-five billions of people. France has in hercolonies seventy-two million, the Dutch sixty-one Portugal eleven million, Belgium Fourteen million, Spain one and a third million, and the United St tes 18 million counting the Philippines.

35-1-25

Since 1945 India has been freed of her British polit cal ownership, but we have still to account in the world for the quasi-colonialism which has long dominated China and large parts of South America.

In other words the world has been re-cast on the imperialist colonial idea. This crisis of this organization came with the two world wars. Wars primarily of jealousy between imperial nations and efforts to reallocate the mastership of the world , followed by a partial collapse of the capitalistic system, because of the failure of three of its main postulates: The self-Regulating world market, the treatment of labor as a commodity; and the Postulate of gold as the only real measure of value.

Now comes the day of rebuilding: First some colonies attain political freedom. Like India, Burma and the Phillippines. Others like Indonesia and French Indo China are struggling toward Autonomy. Nationalistic ovements have appeared and grown in West Africa, the West Indies and the Middle East. But continued control or planned control of vast regions of the earth not only remain in the emancipated and struggling colonies but in quasi-colonial nations like China, Japan, South America, The Near East, and even in Europe. //There is evident determination on the part of American capital to continue colonial imperialism in the post war world and even to expand it. Can this be accomplished without political control and military domination?

W E B DuBois

ECONOMIC ILLITERACY

THIS IS A DAY WHEN AS NEVER BEFORE OUR OPINIONS TO BE OF ANY VALUE MUST BE BASED ON CLEAR KNOWLEDGE OF THE FACTS. AND AT THE SAME TIME THE NUMBER OF FACTS, THE BREADTH OF THE WORLD WHICH WE ARE ASKED TO AID IN GUIDING, IS SO VAST TODAY, THAT FEW PEOPLE HAVE ANY EDUCATION OR EXPERIENCE WHICH ENABLES THEM TOACT WITH REASON AND AUTHORITY. I REMEMBER DISTINCTLY THE LITTLE TOWN MEETING WHICH REPRESENTED THE DEMOCRACY UNDER WHICH I WAS BORN AND GREW UP IN THE ~~FIFTIES OF~~ last THIRD OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THERE ASSEMBLED ANNUALLY IN THE TOWN HALL, A GROUP OF PERHAPS 200 MEN. THEY COULD ALL READ AND WRITE. SOME OF THEM HAD ATTENDED HIGH SCHOOL, BUT I DOUBT IF ANY HAD BEEN TO COLLEGE, YET THEY WERE MEN OF EXPERIENCE, OF ESSENTIAL HONESTY AND THEY KENW THE TOWN AND THE PEOPLE IN THE TOWN. AND THEREFORE WHEN THEY WERE ASKED TO LEGISLATE FOR THE TOWN AND ELECT PERSONS TO CARRY OUT THEIR DIRECTIONS, THEY COULD ACT AND VOTE WITH KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE.

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HOW DIFFERENT IT IS FOR US TODAY, WHEN WE ARE ASKED TO TAKE INTELLIGENT ACTION WITH REGARD TO THE RESTORATION OF EUROPE, THE FUTURE OF INDONESIA AND KOREA AND OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD RUSSIA. WE ARE ALMOST ENTIRELY DEPENDENT FOR GUIDANCE NOT UPON THE FACTS, BUT UPON OPINIONS WHICH OTHERS HAVE COME TO ON THE BASIS OF WHAT THEY THINK ARE FACTS.

THIS IS A SITUATION CALCULATED TO DRIVE MEN CRAZY, OR AT BEST TO MAKE ALL OF US DEEPLY UNEASY AND RESENTFUL OF THE SITUATION IN WHICH WE FIND OURSELVES. BUT IF THAT IS TRUE WITH REGARD TO THE WHOLE FIELD OF KNOWLEDGE? IT IS EVEN MORE TRUE WITH REGARD TO ECONOMICS; THAT IS WITH REGARD TO EVERYDAY MATTERS OF WORK AND WAGES, OF EARNING A LIVING, OF MONEY AND WEALTH, OF PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION, OF CAPITAL, OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, OF FREE INIATIVE, AND OF WHAT SOME PEOPLE CALL "THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE."

MY LIFE HAS BEEN DIVIDED ALMOST EXACTLY INTO TWO PERIODS OF

ACTIVITY. EACH OF WHICH DIFFERED DISTINCTLY FROM THE OTHER. THE FIRST, AND PROBABLY THE MORE FUNDAMENTAL PART, OF MY LIFE WAS SPENT IN TEACHING AND TEACHING IN THE FIELD WHICH IS LOOSELY CALLED SOCIOLOGY, BUT WHICH HAD TO DO WITH QUESTIONS OF WORK AND WAGES OF INDUSTRY AND CAPITAL OF MONEY AND WEALTH AND THEN THE HISTORY OF THE WAY IN WHICH HUMAN BEINGS REACTED TO THESE IDEAS AND HOW THEY UNDERSTOOD THEM.

I WAS IN THIS CASE TALKING TO YOUNG AND INEXPERIENCED PEOPLE FOR THE MOST PART. THE OTHER PART OF MY LIFE HAS BEEN SPENT IN WHAT WOULD BE CALLED LOOSELY " ROPAGANDA," THAT IS IN TRYING TO CONVINCE PEOPLE THAT THE CONCLUSIONS WHICH I HAD REACHED IN STUDYING AND TEACHING WERE THE RIGHT CONCLUSIONS AND THAT THEY OUGHT TO FOLLOW THEM AND ACT ACCORDINGLY.

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IN THIS WAY I HAVE BROUGHT TO EMPHASIZE THE NEED ON THE PART OF THE PUBLIC, BOTH FOR CAREFUL UNDERSTANDING AND PURPOSEFUL ACTION. AND WHENEVER I SEE ACTION ON A LARGE SCALE, I AM ALWAYS CURIOUS TO SEE IF

ITS LOGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF SOME OF THE SIMPLE PRINCIPLES WHICH IT IS FOLLOWING, IS SUCH THAT IT HAS A FAIR CHANCE TO REACH THE RIGHT CONCLUSIONS AND WORK TOWARD THE PROPER IDEALS; AND DURING MY CONSIDERABLE SPAN OF LIFE I HAVE KNOWN NO TIME WHEN I WAS MORE ALARMED AT THE MISUNDERSTANDING OF COMPARATIVELY SIMPLE THINGS THAT HAD TO DO WITH OUR ECONOMIC LIFE.

I MEAN THAT HAVE TO DO WITH THE THINGS WHICH AFTER ALL ARE NEAREST TO MOST MEN, FOR MOST OF THE TIME. WE ARE CITIZENS OF THE GREATEST INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION THAT THE WORLD HAS EVER SEEN OR DREAMED OF -- THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. THIS COUNTRY GRADUALLY HAS BEEN PUT IN STRATEGIC POSITION WHERE IT IS THE MOST INFLUENCIAL ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION IN THE WORLD; AND IF THERE IS ONE THING ON WHICH ITS CITIZENS MUST BE INTELLIGENT, IT IS IN UNDERSTANDING THE A. B. C. OF INDUSTRY. YET I SUPPOSE THERE IS TODAY NO SUBJECT UPON WHICH THERE IS GREATER ILLITERACY,

THAN THIS. AND WHAT I MEAN BY ECONOMIC ILLITERACY IS THE AMOUNT OF IGNORANCE AMONG INTELLIGENT PEOPLE CONCERNING CERTAIN BASIC FACTS IN THE WORK AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION OF HUMAN BEINGS, ESPECIALLY IN AMERICA, WITHOUT WHICH IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ACT INTELLIGNETLY.

THIS ECONOMIC ILLITERACY IS ALL THE MORE DANGEROUS BECAUSE IT IS NOT USUALLY RECOGNIZED, IT IS ASSUMED THAT PEOPLE KNOW THE MEANING OF BASIC TERMS AND UNDERSTAND THE BASIC ACTION WHICH UNDERLIES THE WORK OF THE WORLD. NOT ONLY IS THERE THIS ASSUMPTION CONCERNING THE ORDINARY CITIZEN, BUT BECAUSE OF THE WAY IN WHICH ANY CHANGE IN OUR ECONOMIC LIFE WOULD AFFECT EVERYONE, WE HAVE ALMOST STOPPED CAREFUL STUDY OF ECONOMICS.

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ECONOMICS IS NOT TAUGHT IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS TODAY AS PHYSIOLOGY IS TAUGHT. THE SO-CALLED NATURAL SCIENCES RECEIVES A GREAT DEAL MORE ATTENTION THAN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, WITH THE RESULT THAT WHILE LIFE IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY A MATTER OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION, EDUCATION IS DECREASING ITS ATTENTION TO THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF ECONOMIC LIFE.

IT WOULD THEREFORE SEEM TO ME THAT I MIGHT UNDERTAKE IN LECTURES WHICH I AM GIVING THIS SEASON SOME TALKS ON ECONOMIC ILLITERACY. I SHALL NOT PRETEND TO BE EXPERT ON ECONOMICS IN GENERAL, BUT I DO KNOW SOMETHING OF THE WAY IN WHICH WORK IS CARRIED ON AND ORGANIZED. I AM NOT SO MUCH INTERESTED IN THIS CONTEMPLATION, AND INDEED IN THIS LECTURE AS TO JUST WHAT CONCLUSIONS PEOPLE ARE COMING TO, AS OF THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTS ON WHICH THESE CONCLUSIONS ARE BASED, BECAUSE I SEE IN SIMPLE AND ELEMENTARY IDEAS OF ECONOMICS A CERTAIN CURIOUS AND DANGEROUS ILLITERACY.

FIRST THERE IS FOLKLORE: I MEAN THE IDEAS WHICH WE HAVE OF THINGS HANDED DOWN, WITHOUT ANY PARTICULAR INVESTIGATION ON OUR PART, WITHOUT ANY CAREFUL LINE OF LOGIC. IT IS WHAT WE HAVE BEEN TOLD CONCERNING CERTAIN FACTS AND IDEAS, AND WE HAVE THUS RECEIVED CONCEPTIONS WHICH WE HAVE USED IN OUR LIVES.

BUT THE DIFFICULTY SO OFTEN IS, THAT WITH MOST OF THESE SIMPLE IDEAS, WHERE WE EXAMINE THEM WE ARE AWARE OF FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTIONS. TOO OFTEN AND TOO DANGEROUSLY, WE DO NOT TRY TO RESOLVE THESE CONTRADICTIONS. FOR INSTANCE: WE HAVE LEARNED AND BELIEVED WITHOUT ANY QUESTION THE APHORISM THAT <u>WE WORK TO LIVE</u>. OF COURSE! AND THEB IMMEDIATELY THERE COMES, WHAT IS AFTER ALL A CONTRADICTION, <u>WE LIVE TO WORK</u>. NOW WE CANNOT EASILY AND WITHOUT THOUGHT SIMPLY SAY THAT HERE ARE TWO WAYS OF SAYING THE SAME THING. IT IS NOT: IT IS SAYING TWO DIFFERENT THINGS.

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IT IS SAYING, IN THE FIRST PLACE, THAT THERE IS EFFORT WHICH HUMAN BEINGS MUST GO THROUGH, EFFORT AND SACRIFICE AND EVEN PAIN IN ORDER THAT THEY MAY LIVE; AND THEN WE CONTRADICE THAT BY SAYING THAT THE OBJECT OF LIVING IS WORK. NO! BY THE FIRST STATEMENT THE OBJECT OF LIVING EVIDENTLY IS TO REDUCE WORK TO A MINIMUN OR GET RID OF IT ALTOGETHER. BY THE SECOND

STATEMENT, THE WORK IS REGARDED AS IN SOME WAY THE OBJECT OF LIFE, THE REASON AND END OF LIVING. NOW SOMETIME AND SOMEHOW WE HAVE GOT TO MAKE RECONCILIATION OF THESE ELEMENTAL AND YET FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS ABOUT OUR ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION.

I AM GOING TO TRY TO TAKE TWELVE DIFFERENT STATEMENTS OF THIS SORT AND EXAMINE THEM AND PUT THEM BEFORE YOU, WITH THE IDEA OF EMPHASIZING THE FACT THAT THE GREAT AND DISTURBING PROBLEMS WHICH ARE BEFORE YOU AND THE NATION AND THE WORLD TODAY, ARE GOING TO BE SETTLED, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, BY A CAREFUL AND THOUGHTFUL UNDERSTANDING OF THESE FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS.

THE IDEAS WHICH I HAVE CHOSEN ARE: WORK, WAGES, PROFIT, MONEY, WEALTH, POVERTY, PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION, CAPITAL, IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, FREE INIATIVE AND RACE. I HAVE REFERRED TO WORK AND TURN NEXT TO WAGES.

WAGES IN CURRENT FOLKLORE, IS THE REWARD FOR LABOR; IT IS WHAT A MAN GETS FOR HIS WORK. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF YOU FOLLOW THE DISCUSSION OF

WAGES, YOU FIND THAT WHAT MEN ARE TALKING ABOUT IS NOT THE REWARD FOR WORK, BUT THE AMOUNT WHICH THE EMPLOYER CAN AFFORD TO GIVE HIM FOR HIS WORK. HERE AGAIN THESE TWO CONSIDERATIONS MAY AMOUNT TO VERY DIFFERENT T INGS. WHAT A MAN CAN AFFORD TO PAY ME MAY NOT BE AT ALL WHAT I OUGHT TO HAVE FOR MY EFFORT.

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SUPPOSE IT WERE TRUE, IN A PARTICULAR CASE, THAT NO MATTER HOW MUCH A MAN WORKED HE COULD NOT EARN ENOUGH TO SUPPORT HIM. YOU CANNOT ASSUME THAT WHEN HE MAKES COMPLAINT, HE IS SIMPLY A TROUBLE-MAKER. OR SUPPOSE THAT HERE IS A BUSINESS MAN WHO SAYS, " THE GOODS WHICH I PRODUCE WILL NOT BRING ME SUFFICIENT INCOME TO PAY EXPENSES AND LIVING WAGES TO MY EMPLOYEES." IF THIS IS TRUE, THEN HE IS NOT NECESSARILY A TYRANT. HE ALSO IS FACED BY A FACT. HERE NOW BY THOUGHT, WE REACH A CLEAR PROSPECTIVE: FIRST JUST WHAT ARE THE FACTS? THEY MUST BE TRULY ASCERTAINED BEFORE ANOTHER STEP IS TAKEN. ONCE KNOWN, SUPPOSE IT IS CLEAR THAT THIS INDUSTRY DOES

YIELD ENOUGHT TO ENABLE ITS WORKERS TO LIVE DECENTLY. IN THAT CASE EITHER THE BUSINESS OUGHT TO BE CLOSED, OR ITS METHODS IMPROVED. IF NEITHER IS POSSIBLE AND THE WORK MUST CONTINUE FOR THE COMMON GOOD, THEN THE STATE, THE PUBLIC, YOU AND I, MUST DEVISE SOME EQUITABLE WAY TO SEE THAT THE WORKERS LIVE DECENTLY ON THEIR PAY. THIS IS CLEAR THINKING AND THE BASIS FOR REASONABLE ACTION. YET HOW SELDOM IT IS FOLLOWED.

I WAS ONCE A STUDENT IN THE CLASS OF FRANK TAUSSIG, A TEACHER OF ECONOMICS AT HARVARD IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY; ONE OF THAT GALAXY OF DISTINGUISHED MEN, INCLUDING WILLIAM JAMES, GEORGE SANTAYANA, JOSIAH ROYCE AND NATHANIEL SHALER, UNDER WHOSE VOICES IT WAS A SINGULAR PRIVILEGE TO SIT.

THE COURSE WHICH MR. TAUSSIG GAVE WAS CALLED "THE WAGES-FUND", AND IT WAS DESIGNED TO PROVE A THEORY OF WAGES CURRENT IN ENGLAND DURNIG THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, AND STILL A POWERFUL, ALTHOUGH NOT SO CLEARLY RECOGNIZED IDEAL OF TODAY.

35-1-176

THE THEORY OF THE WAGES-FUND WAS THAT THE AMOUNT OF PRODUCTION WHICH COULD BE DISTRIBUTED AS WAGES WAS LIMITED. IT WAS LIMITED BY THE DEMAND OF THE INVESTOR FOR PROFITS, BY THE COST OF MATERIALS, AND BY THE GENERAL CONDITIONS OF THE MARKET. THEREFORE A FIXED FUND WAS LEFT TO BE DIVIDED AMONG THE LABORERS. IF THERE WERE FEW LABORERS THEY WOULD GET HIGHER WAGE; BUT IF THE LABORERS WERE THOUGHTLESS, MARRIED EARLY, HAD A LARGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN, THEY WOULD GET INCREASINGLY LESS BECAUSE THERE WERE MORE MOUTHS TO FEED.

THIS WAS THE CELEBRATED "IRON LAW OF WAGES" THE WAGES -FUND THEORY WENT ON TO SAY, STRIKES ARE SILLY, EDUCATION USELESS, THE WAGES FUND IS FIXED: THAT IS WHAT THE LABORER CAN GET AND HE WILL GET NO MORE.

I REMEMBER BEING PUZZLED AND NOT AT ALL SATISFIED BY THIS COURSE. TODAY WE HEAR LITTLE ABOUT THE WAGES FUND BECAUSE WE HAVE OTHER IDEAS AS TO WHAT CAN INFLUENCE THE AMOUNT OF WAGES.

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THE AMOUNT OF INCOME AND PROFIT WHICH THE EMPLOYER TAKES OUT OF THE PRODUCT IS NOT SET AND INVARIABLE, NOR DOES IT DEPEND SOLELY ON HIS DECISION. THE WELFARE OF THE WAGE-WORKER; THE INTERESTS OF THE PUBLIC AND THE IDEALS OF SOCIETY MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT BEFORE THE RATES OF WAGES AND PROFIT CAN BE FINALLY DECIDED. BUT A SUBTLE METHOD OF SETTLING THIS CONTROVERSY WITHOUT REDUCING PROFIT AND AT THE SAME TIME RAISING WAGES HAS BEEN WIDELY PRACTISED. USUALLY IN DISCUSSING RACE AND RACE PROBLEMS WE ARE NOT PRIMARILY THINKING OF WAGES, PROFITS AND INCOME. YET MOST RACE PROBLEMS ARE REALLY AT BOTTOM, PROBLEMS OF INCOME. SUPPOSE THAT HERE IS A GREAT INDUSTRY WHOSE INCOME GOES TO PROFITS, SALARIES, WAGES AND MATERIALS. IT CAN PAY HIGH PROFITS, AND HIGH WAGES IF IT CAN BUY ITS MATERIALS CHEAP. LOW WAGES AND LAND MONOPOLY IN COLONIES CAN FURNISH MATERIALS AT VERY LOW COST IN COLONIES INHABITED BY COLORED PEOPLE; THERE WILL BE NO UNIONS , STRIKES NOR PROTESTS THERE.

BECAUSE THE COLONIALS HAVE NO VOTE AND BECAUSE THEIR MASTERS LIVE IN LANDS FAR AWAY WHERE THE WHITE VOTERS BELIEVE THAT COLONIAL PEOPLES WHO ARE WRETCHEDLY POOR, IGNORANT AND DISEASED ARE DESERVING OF SUCH CONDITIONS AND WORTH NOTHING BETTER. THUS HIGH WAGES IN EUROPE AND AMERICA DEPEND IN PART ON STARVATION WAGE IN ASIA AND AFRICA.

BUT THE MATTER COMES NEARER: FOR MANY YEARS THE MANUFACTURE OF COTTON WAS CONCENTRATED IN NEW ENGLAND: THE EMPLOYEES ROSE FROM THE CONDITION OF POOR DIRTY SLUM-DWELLERS SUCH AS I SAW IN MY HOME IN MY YOUTH, TO EDUCATED WELL-PAID, SELF-RESPECTING MEN AND WOMEN UNITED IN STRONG, INTELLIGENT TRADE UNIONS. TODAY, MANUFACTURERS ARE SLOWLY BUT SURELY REMOVING THEIR FACTORIES TO THE SOUTH. THE WAGES ARE MUCH LOWER THERE AND THEY WILL PROBABLY STAY LOW A LONG WHILE, BECAUSE THE POOR MOUNTAIN WHITE WORKERS ARE DESPERATELY AFRAID OF BEING REPLACED BY EVEN MORE POORLY PAID NEGROES.

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THE WORKERS HESITATE TO JOIN UNIONS, THEIR SCHOOLS REMAIN FEW AND

BAD, THERE IS MUCH CHILD LABOR AND DISEASE. HERE CURIOUSLY ENOUGH IS RACE PREJUDICE AT THE BOTTOM OF WHAT PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT CALLED OUR "NUMBER ONE" ECONOMIC PROBLEM.

SUCH ARE THE CONTRADICTIONS WHICH FACE THE MODERN VOTER AND THINKER: IS WAGE TO BE A REWARD FOR WORK OR IS IT TO BE THE RESULT OF CERTAIN FORCES WHICH MAY LEAD TO STARVATION OR UNDERNOURISHMENT ON THE PART OF THE WORKER? THIS IS SO FUNDAMENTAL A THING THAT UNLESS IT IS CLEARLY THOUGHT OUT, NO VALID CONCLUSIONS CAN BE REACHED.

NOW CONSIDER THE ANALOGUS MATTER OF PROFIT. IT MAY BE SAID AND OFTEN IS, THAT THE OBJECT OF BUSINESS IS PROFIT; IF A BUSINESS IS PROFITABLE IT IS A GOOD BUSINESS; IF IT IS NOT PROFITABLE, IT'S BAD. THIS SEEMS LIKE AN OBVIOUS STATEMENT UNTIL YOU BEGIN TO EXAMINE IT. IS THE OBJECT OF BUSINESS PROFIT? NO, THE OBJECT OF BUSINESS IS TO C

CARRY OUT CERTAIN HUMAN SERVICES. THE RETAIL GROCER PLACES WITHIN THE REACH OF THE HOUSEHOLDER GOODS RAISED IN NEW JERSEY, OR CAROLINA, OR FLORIDA; THEY HAVE BEEN RAISED, TRANSPORTED, DISTRIBUTED AND SOLD TO THE GROCER AND PUT ON EXHIBIT. THAT SERVICE IS OF VERY GREAT IMPORTANCE AND THIS IS THE REASON FOR THE EXISTENCE OF THE RETAILER. IF THE SERVICE IS WELL DONE THE GROCER IS DOING A WORK WHICH IS NOT ONLY CONVENIENT BUT SOCIALLY VALUABLE AND IMPORTANT. IF THE SERVICE IS NOT WELL DONE, IT MAY BE A SOCIAL MENANCE.

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NOW WE CAN VERY EASILY SEE TH T A MAN MIGHT MAKE A PROFIT OUT OF RETAILING AND DO A VERY BAD SERVICE TO HIS CUSTOMERS; HE COULD SELL GOODS FOR PRICES MUCH HIGHER THAN HE NEED; HE MIGHT SELL GOODS WHICH ARE SPOILED OR ADULTERATED. HE MIGHT IN VARIOUS WAYS SERVE HIS PUBLIC BADLY, AND AT THE SAME TIME IT MIGHT ALSO HAPPEN TH T THE WORSE THE SERVICE HE GIVES

WOULD BE MOST PROFITABLE TO HIM. NO MATTER THEN WHAT THE PARTICULAR BUSINESS MAY BE, WE CANNOT FORGET THAT THE OBJECT OF TH T BUSINESS IS SERVICE AND NOT PROFIT.

IF IT IS SAID ON THE OTHER HAND, THAT WITHOUT PROFIT, THE BUSINESS CANNOT AND OUGHT NOT TO GO ON, THERE AGAIN COMES A QUERY. THERE ARE CERTAIN ESSENTIAL SERVICES CARRIED ON IN THE HOME AND IN THE NATION, WHICH WE RECOGNIZE CLEARLY AS NOT PROFITABLE AND YET THEY MUST BE CARRIED ON. T ERE IS THE SERVICE WHICH THE MOTHER RENDERS THE CHILDR N; THERE IS THE SERVICE WHICH THE G VERNMENT DOES TO PREVENT EPIDEMICS; THERE IS THE SERVICE OF THE RED CROSS AND OF THE HOSPITALS. MANIFESTLY A CONSIDERABLE SECTION OF WORK, BUSINESS AND EVEN INDUSTRY IS CARRIED OUT WITHOUT PROFIT. THER COMES THEREFORE THE U STION, WHICH REQUIRES STUDY, AS TO JUST WHAT PART PROFIT OUGHT TO PLAY IN GENERAL INDUSTRY.

MUST THE VALUE OF AN INDUSTRY TO A CITY OR A COUNTRY BE MEASURED BY THE PROFIT IT BRINGS TO ITS OWNERS OR ITS VALUE TO THE MASS OF PEOPLE? OF TWO GREAT INDUSTRIES, IS THAT SOCIALLY MOST VALUABLE WHICH IS MOST PROFITABLE? IN THE LONG RUN, MUST NOT THE VOTERS OF A NATION DECIDE ON THE BASIS OF NATIONAL NEED AND IDEAL, WHAT WORK ITS CITIZENS ENGAGE IN, RATHER THAN LETTING THE DECISION REST ON THE PROFIT THAT CAN BE MADE FROM ANY BUSINESS?

THIS OF COURSE BRINGS US FACE TO FACE WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS OF MONEY WEALTH AND POVERTY. NOWHERE IS FOLKLORE, OLD UNQUESTIONED ASSUMPTIONS AND PROVERBS, MORE PREVALENT AND THE CAUSE OF MORE WRONG THINKING AND MUSSY THINKING. I REMEMBER ONCE SPEAKING AT A CELEBRATION OF A BANKERS' BIRTHDAY. HE WAS A WORTHY MAN WITH A SMALL BANK. ONE YOUNG AND ENTHUSIASTIC SPEAKER CRIED "OUR FRIEND HAS A MILLION DOLLARS OF YOUR MONEY IN HIS BANK." I COULD NOT HELP REMARKING "IF HE HAD, HE'D DROP DEAD". AND THE YOUNG MAN SCOWLED. YET I WAS SIMPLY SAYING THAT BECAUSE THE

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BANKER OWED HIS DEPOSITORS A MILLION, IT DID NOT MEAN THAT HE HAD THIS MONEY IN CASH. ON THE CONTRARY, UNLESS MOST OF IT WAS CIRCULATION IN THE FORM OF GOODS AND SERVICES, BANKRUPTCY STARED HIM IN THE FACE. BUT THAT BRINGS US TO THE WHOLE QUESTION OF MONEY, RICHES AND POVERTY. TAKE FOR INSTANCE THE MATTER OF MONEY, THE FOLKLORE OF THAT IS STILL ANCIENT AND MISLEADING MONEY IS WEALTH, WE CALL MONEY WEALTH AND WEALTH, MONEY.

MY NEIGHBOR ON THE STREET CAR ASKED, "WHO IN THE FAMILY BROUGHT THE MONEY, THE HUSBAND, OR THE WIFE?" "HOW MUCH MONEY HAVE THEY?" SUCH AND SUCH A MAN HAS "A GREAT DEAL OF MONEY". IN FACT THERE ISN'T VERY MUCH MONEY IN THE WORLD, AS COMPARED WITH THE WEALTH OF THE WORLD. THE WEALTH CONSISTS ONLY IN SMALL PART OF MONEY. THIS RAISES CONTINUAL CONTRADICTIONS WHICH ARE CLEAR IN THE WORLD TODAY: THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF WEALTH IN EUROPE, BUT PEOPLE ARE STARVING BECAUSE MOST OF THIS WEALTH IS NOT FOOD. A DISTINCT NEED IS ALWAYS FOR EXCHANGE OF ONE SORT OF WEALTH FOR ANOTHER.

MONEY IS THE CHIEF MEDIUM OF THAT EXCHANGE. BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, MONEY ITSELF IS UNUSUALLY NOT A THING WHICH SATISFIES WANT, OR IN OTHER WORDS IS NOT WEALTH. NEVERTHELESS IT IS OF EXTRAORDINARY VALUE AS COMPARED WITH ALL KINDS OF WEALTH. SO THAT NEARLY EVERYBODY WANTS HIS WEALTH SO FAR AS POSSIBLE EASILY CONVERTIBLE INTO MONEY, WHICH MEANS THAT MONEY HAS CERTAIN POWER OVER THE EXCHANGE OF GOODS. BUT JUST WHAT IS THAT POWER AND WHO CONTROLS IT, AND WHO SHOULD CONTROL IT? THAT IS A MATTER FOR VERY CAREFUL AND TECHNICAL STUDY. IN GENERAL WE FIND OURSELVES TALKING OF MONEY WHEN WE MEAN FOOD AND CLOTHING AND SHELTER: AND TALKING OF GOODS AND MATERIALS WHEN WE MEAN THE POWER TO EXCHANGE SUCH MATERIALS.

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THIS BRINGS US TO TWO CONCEPTIONS RICHES AND POVERTY. I SUPPOSE NO TWO WORDS AND THEIR CORRESPONDING IDEAS ARE MORE DOMINANT IN THE MINDS OF MEN. IN GENERAL WE MEAN BY RICHES, AN INCOME NOT ONLY SUFFICIENT FOR ONES NEEDS, BUT AN INCOME MORE THAN SUFFICIENT. IN ADDITION WE USUALLY MEAN

AN INCOME WHOSE SIZE DOES NOT DEPEND UPON WORK AND, THEREFORE, HERE OF COURSE OUR IDEA STANDS IN CONTRADICTION TO OUR FIRST AND MORE FUNDAMENTAL IDEA, THAT IN ORDER TO LIVE WE MUST WORK.

IT IS IMMEDIATELY REJOINED THAT RICHES IS THE RESULT OF WORK ACCUMULATED AND SAVED, AND THEREFORE CAN BE USED NOW WITHOUT WORK. BUT THERE THEN FOLLOWS THE OTHER QUESTION, WHO ACCUMULATED IT? WHO WORKED FOR IT? WHO SAVED AND SACRIFICED? IS IT THE PERSON NOW ENJOYING THE RICHES, OR IS IT SOMEONE ELSE? AND HOW FAR IS IT FAIR TO TRANSFER THE RESULT OF ONE PERSONS WORK TO ANOTHER PERSONS' ENJOYMENT? WE CANNOT SAY, OF COURSE, THAT IT IS ALWAYS UNFAIR BUT THE QUESTION OF ITS FAIRNESS IN EVERY CASE IS A QUESTION FOR DECISION. INEVITABLY THE ACCUMULATION OF RICHES TENDS TO BECOME MORE OR LESS A PUBLIC FUNCTION; AND IN EVERY MODERN STATE, THE STATE ITSELF HAS SOME VOICE IN THIS MATTER OF ACCUMULATED RICHES, NOT ONLY

BECAUSE OF THE LOGIC OF ITS SPENDING, BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF THE FACT, THAT THE STATE ITSELF HELPED IN THE ACCUMULATION.

NOW WITH THE OTHER, A CORRESPONDING IDEA OF POVERTY, THERE IS EVEN GREATER DIFFICULTY OF UNDERSTANDING. POVERTY IS A CONDITION WHERE A PERSONS INCOME IS NOT ENOUGH FOR HIS NECESSARY NEEDS. MOST OF US HAVE LEARNED IN CHILDHOOD THAT POVERTY IS THE LOT OF MOST PEOPLE ON EARTH. THAT MOST PEOPLE CAN NEVER HOPE FOR AN INCOME WHICH WILL COVER EVEN THEIR ESSENTIAL NEEDS.

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IS THAT NECESSARY? IS WEALTH THE REWARD OF VIRTUE AND POVERTY THE PUNISHMENT OF SIN? WE CANNOT QUITE BELIEVE THIS AND YET OUR WHOLE THEORY OF RACE INFERIORITY HAS LONG BEEN UPON SOME SUCH ASSUMPTIONS. IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA, WE LONG PUNISHED THE "SHIFTLESS POOR" AND IGNORED MISFORTUNE, CHEATING, EXPLOITATION AND DISEASE AS EVIDENT CAUSES OF POVERTY. MOREOVER TODAY WE HAVE A NEW VISION: WE CAN PRODUCE ENOUGH FOR ALL, SAY THE SCIENTISTS SO THE WATCHWORD OF OUR DAY IS PRODUCTION.

CERTAIN FACTS WHICH ARE NOT SO MUCH MATTERS OF LONG AND INTENSE STUDY AS OF CLEAR AND FRANK RECOGNITION OF THE ARGUMENT THAT THE OBJECT OF INDUSTRIAL LIFE IS PRODUCTION. THE MAKING OF GOODS AND FURNISHING OF SERVICES THE PROSPERITY OF A NATION CAN BE MEASURED BY THE NUMBER AND AMOUNT OF GOODS WHICH IT RAISES , PROCESSES AND MANUFACTURS. WE DWELL WITH GREAT PRIDE UPON THE VOLUME OF PRODUCTION. YET ON THE OTHER HAND IT NEEDS BUT LITTLE ATTENTION ON OUR PART TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE REALLY IMPORTANT AND PRIMARY THING IN THE INDUSTRIAL PROCESS IS NOT PRODUCTION BUT CONSUMPTION: THAT IS THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE AND THE WAY IN WHICH THEY CAN BE SATISFIED.

THAT, OF COURSE, THE OBJECT OF THE WHOLE PRODUCTIVE PROCESS, THAT IS WHAT DETERMINES WHAT SHALL BE PRODUCED AND IN WHAT QUANITIES. IF WE WERE TO TURN OUR WHOLE ATTENTION TO PRODUCTION AND IF PRODUCTION IS GUIDED BY THE AMOUNT OF PROFIT, THE WHOLE THEORY AND OBJECT OF CONSUMPTION MAY BE ENTIRELY MISDIRECTED AND SPOILED. THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT BUT WHAT A LARGE PART OF OUR

INDUSTRIAL DIFFICULTIES, OUR RECURRENT CRISES STEM FROM THE FACT THAT PRODUCTION IS NOT GEARED TO CONSUMPTION: IS NOT GUIDED BY WHAT WE WANT OR NEED, BUT RATHER BY WHAT PROFIT C N BE MADE. MOREOVER BY THIS CONFUSION IN THINKING, THE EFFORTS OF MANKIND ARE VERY OFTEN DIRECTED IN THE WRONG WAY.

WE GIVE GREAT THOUGHT AND CAREFUL TRAINING TO WAYS IN WHICH PEOPLE MAY BE INDUCED TO BUY THINGS. WE DO NOT GIVE NEAR AS MUCH THOUGHT AND EFFORT TO UNDERSTANDING THE WANTS WHICH OUGHT TO BE SATISFIED: TO THE NEEDS THAT MUST BE CATERED TO IF YOU ARE GOING TO HAVE A HEALTHY PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL BODY.

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IF THEREFORE WE ARE GOING TO TALK INTELLIGENTLY ABOUT THE INDUSTRIAL MACHINE IN THE UNITED STATES WE HAVE GOT TO GIVE MORE ATTENTION TO THE CONSUMER, TO HIS EDUCATION, TO HIS ORGANIZATION. IT IS THE ESSENTIAL LACK OF COORDINATION BET EEN CONSUMPTION AND PRODUCTION WHICH IS THE BASIC CAUSE OF THOSE INDUSTRIAL CRISES WHICH HAS SHAKEN THE UNITED STATES PRACTICALLY EVERY

TEN YEARS SINCE ITS FOUNDING.

FOR CONSUMPTION AND PRODUCTION CAPITAL IS NEEDED. THE BASIC IDEA OF CAPITAL AS IT WAS BORN IN ITS MODERN FORM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, WAS GOODS AND MATERIALS SAVED AND DEVOTED TO MAKING OTHER GOODS INSTEAD OF BEING CONSUMED. AND THE ARGUMENT WAS AND IT WAS A JUST ARGUMENT: THAT FOR SACRIFICE THE OWNER SHOULD BE PAID FOR THE USE OF HIS CAPITAL. SOMETHING OF THAT OLD IDEA STILL PERSISTS. BUT OF COURSE THIS IS NOT A PICTURE OF CAPITAL WHICH THE WORLD SEES TODAY.

TODAY THERE ARE SO MANY GOODS MADE THAT THEY COULD NOT BE CONSUMED BY THE PERSON WHO OWNS THEM. IT IS NOT SACRIFICE ON HIS PART TO USE THEM FOR THE MAKING OF OTHER GOODS, THERE'S NOTHING ELSE THAT HE CAN DO WITH THEM. HIS SERVICE THEN IS NOT ALL A MATTER OF SACRIFICE AND HIS INCOME RESTS LOGICALLY AND MORALLY ON ENTIRELY OTHER BASES THAN THE CAPITALISTS OF THE EARLY NINEENTH CENTURY.

IF THE INDUSTRIAL MACHINE IS PROPERLY GEARED, THIS CONSUMPTION GUIDES IT, AND ORGANIZED CONSUMERS MAKE CONSUMPTION A REASONABLE THING FOR THE REAL BENEFIT FOR THE MASS OF MEN. THEN CAPITAL PRACTICALLY FURNISHES ITSELF AND REQUIRES VERY LITTLE INDUCEMENT. IT IS THERE AND THERE IN ABUNDANCE. THIS IS THE SITUATION WHICH WE SEE TODAY., THE REAL PROBLEM OF BANKING AND FINANCE IS WHAT TO DO WITH EXISTENT CAPITAL AND NOT HOW TO GET HOLD OF MORE. THE PROBLEM OF THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL IS NOT ONE OF SACRIFICE, IT IS ONE OF THE MOST EFFICIENT USE, AND THE RETURNS OF INDUSTRY ARE LOGICALLY TODAY TO BE DIVIDED BETWEEN DIFFERENT CLASSES OF WORKERS AND NOT BETWEEN A CLASS OF WORKERS AND THE CLASS OF PEOPLE WHO SIMPLY FURNISH CAPITAL. THE WORK GIVEN IS OF ALL SORTS, THE WORK OF PLANNING AND FORCASTING, THE WORK OF MANAGING THE WORK OF ENGINEERING AS WELL AS THE MANUAL LABOR. THIS IS OF COURSE, AS IT SHOULD BE, IT IS THE TYPE OF COOPERATION IN HUMAN EFFORT WHICH THE WHOLE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION FORESHADOWS AND PRESUMES.

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THEN AG IN WE HAVE CURIOUS DICHOTOMY AND CONTRADICTION IN THE MATTER OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS AS PART OF CONSUMPTION AND PRODUCTION. THERE IS A GENERAL IMPRESSION THAT OUR INTEREST IS IN THE GOODS THAT WE SELL FOREIGNERS AND NOT IN THE GOODS WHICH WE IMPORT: THAT IF WE COULD SO ARRANGE IT AS TO IMPORT VERY LITTLE AND SELL A GREAT DEAL WE WOULD BECOME RICH AND PROSPEROUS.

THIS OF COURSE IS A FANTASTIC ERROR. IF WE DO NOT IMPORT THINGS WE CANNOT EXPORT OTHERS BECAUSE THERE IS NO INTERNATIONAL MONEY AND EXPORTS AND IMPORTS IN THE LONG RUN MUST PAY FOR EACH OTHER, MOREOVER, IF WE IMPORT GOODS AND IF OUR CONSUMPTION IS RATIONALLY ORGANIZED THEN WE ARE IMPORTING SOMETHING THAT WE NEED AND CANNOT EASILY FURNISH OURSELVES: AND ON THE OTHER HAND THE THINGS WHICH WE EXPORT ARE THE THINGS WHICH WE DO NOT NEED OURSELVES BUT WHICH WE CAN EASILY MAKE AND WHICH ARE DEMANDED ELSEWHERE.

FINALLY LET US COME TO A SET OF PHRASES VERY MUCH IN USE IN OUR DAY RATHER VAGUE IN THEIR IMPLICATIONS AND FOR THAT REASON PERHAPS, THE MOST

DANGEROUS SET OF PHRASES IN USE FOR COMMON UNDERSTANDING. THEY MAY BE SUMMED UP IN THESE THREE STATEMENTS: THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE, FREE INITIATIVE, AND INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE. THERE IS A SENSE IN WHICH ALL OF THESE THINGS MAKE LOGICAL MEANING. IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE UNITED STATES A MAN WAS FREE TO WORK AT ALMOST ANYTHING HE WANTED TO WORK AT, ONCE HE COULD MAKE A LIVING AND IN SOME IF NOT IN ALL CASES HE COULD SAVE ENOUGH FOR HIS OLD AGE. OF COURSE AT NO TIME WAS THERE ANYTHING LIKE PERFECT FREEDOM AND INEVITABLE SUCCESS HERE BUT THE FIELD OF CHOICE WAS WIDE. THE AVERAGE AMERICAN HAD A CHANCE FOR INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE FOR DOING SOMETHING DIFFERENT FROM WHAT OTHER PEOPLE HAD DONE AND DOING IT A NEW WAY.

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WE CALLED THIS YANKEE THRIFT AND WROTE HORATIO ALGER STORIES ON THE SUCCESS THAT CAME TO MANY PEOPLE IN THIS WAY. THIS SPELLED WHAT FOR A LONG TIME WE CONCEIVED AS THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE. A BOY STARTING WITH LITTLE GETTING HIS OWN EDUCATION, CHOOSING HIS WORK FOR A LIVIHOOD, GAINING SUFFICIENT FOR LIVIHOOD AND EVEN WEALTH AND DISTINCTION.

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE HAS CHANGED. ITS CHANGED BECAUSE THE PIONEER HAS CAUGHT UP WITH THE FRONTIER. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TODAY FOR EVERYBODY TO OWN GOOD FARMING LAND. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR EVERYBODY TO ENTER THE KIND OF WORK WHICH HE MAY CHOOSE. LET ME ILLUSTRATE THIS BY ONE EXAMPLE: RECENTLY THERE HAS BEEN A SCARCITY OF LOW PRICED WOMENS' HOSIERY. ONE WOULD THINK UNDER ORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES THAT THIS GAP WOULD BE IMMEDIATELY FILLED BY ENTERPRISING YOUNG PERSONS WHO WOULD START INTO THE BUSINESS OF MAKING HOSIERY: BUT NO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN A SUIT WHICH IT HAS RECENTLY BROUGHT SAYS; THAT THE REASON THAT THIS HOSIERY IS NOT BEING MADE IS NOT BECAUSE THERE ARE NOT PEOPLE WILLING TO MAKE IT AND EVEN TO FURNISH CAPITAL BUT BECAUSE TWO LARGE ORGANIZATIONS DOMINATE THE FIELD AND SINCE 1940 HAVE GOTTEN POSSESSION OF THE MACHINERY FOR MAKING HOSIERY AND DELIBERATELY DESTROYED IT IN ORDER TO KEEP DOWN COMPETITION. THE EFFECT OF THIS

ALLEGED CONSPIRACY THE UNITED STATES SAYS HAS BEEN TO SUPPRESS COMPETITION IN THE MANUFACTURE OF FULL FASHIONED HOSIERY MACHINERY, TO PERMIT THE CHARGING OF ARBITRARY PRICES AND TO GIVE ONE COMPANY SUCH A DOMINANT POSITION AS TO CURTAIL THE PRODUCTION.

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NOW THIS IS SIMPLY ONE EXAMPLY OF MONOPOLY AND CONCENTRATION IN LARGE AREAS OF BUSINESS. I AM NOT DISCUSSING NOW THE QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THIS IS RIGHT OR WRONG: AS TO WHETHER OR NOT IS IS A GOOD THING FOR INDUSTRY AND CIVILIZATION: I AM SIMPLY SAYING THAT THIS HAS OCCURRED AND FOR US TO KEEP ON TALKING AS THOUGH THE FIELD WERE STILL FREE FOR INFIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE IS NOT TO TALK ACCORDING TO THE FACTS. THE WAY IS NOT FREE, SO THAT WE MUST FACE HTHE FACT TODAY THAT THE WORK WHICH IS OPEN TO THE HYOUNG MAN, THAT THE WORK IN WHICH NEW CAPITAL CAN BE ENGAGED, THAT THE GENERAL FIELD OF INDUSTRY WHILE NOT ENTIRELY CLOSED, IS A MUCH NARROWER FIELD THAN THE AMERICAN WORLD HAS EVER SEEN BEFORE. AND WE MUST ARRANGE OUR THINKING AND

OUR PLANNING IN ACCORDANCE WITH THIS FACT.

NEVER BEFORE IN THE HISTORY OF INDUSTRY HAS THERE BEEN SUCH CONCENTRATION OF WIDSPREAD CONTROL OVER ALL SORTS OF ENTERPRISE, ALL SORTS OF WORK, ALL SORTS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION. IT LEAVES THE FIELD BEFORE THE INDIVIDUAL PIONEER AND THE INDIVIDAUL YOUNG MAN EXTREMELY NARROW TODAY AND HE SHOULD BE TAUGHT THIS: THIS SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD BY THE MASS OF PEOPLE WHO ARE TALKING ABOUT INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION.

WHAT NOW IS THE END AND MORALE OF WHAT I HAVE SAID? IT IS THIS! THAT THE SIMPLE IDEAS OF WORK AND INCOME, OF CAPITAL, OF RICHES AND POVERTY OF PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION, OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, OF FREE INIATIVE AND THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE MUST BE MODIFIED TODAY BY BASIC CHANGE IN THE FACTS AND CONDITIONS WITH WHICH THEY HAVE TO DO: AND THAT UNLESS WE REALIZE THIS CHANGE AND MASTER ITS BASIC TRUTHS WE CAN NEITHER TALK OR VOTE INTELLIGENTly.

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THAT MEANS TH T IF WE GO INTO A METHOD OF ACTION OR PUT MEN INTO OFFICE WHO REPRESENT CERTAIN POINTS OF VIEW: AND IF THE REASONS FOR OUR DOING THIS ARE BASED UPON AN ASSUMPTION OF FACT WHICH IS NOT TRUE, AND INDEED WHICH SOMETIMES WE KNOW IS NOT TRUE BUT NEVERTHELESS IGNORE, THAT THIS PATH IS BOUND TO LEAD TO DISASTER. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF WE ARE AWARE OF THE FACTS AND OF THE IDEAS BACK OF THE WORDS WHICH WE ARE DAILY USING ESPECIALLY THE COMMON EVERYDAY WORDS THAT HAVE TO DO WITH OUR ECONOMIC LIFE. THEN WE CAN BASE OUR ARGUMENTS UPON KNOWLEDGE AND NOT UPON ASSUMPTION, OR ON DETERMINED IGNORING OF WHAT IS THE TRUTH. IN THE LONG RUN ANY DECISION BASED UPON FACT AND FOLLOWED THROUGH WITH SEVERE LOGIC IS GOING TO BE LISTENED TO AND IS GOING TO HAVE ITS WEIGHT.

ON THE OTHER HAND, A WAY OF LIFE BAS D UPON DELIBERATE MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE BASIC FACTS OR UPON A DETERMINATION TO IGNORE THEM, OR UPON DECISIONS TAKEN BECAUSE OF OUR BIAS OR WISH AND IN DEFIANCE OF WHAT WE KNOW

IS THE TRUTH, THAT SORT OF THING IS GOING TO RUIN ANY OUNTRY AND ANY CIVILIZATION.

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Schnectady, NY. "Geo. W. Carver Society"
Nov. 20, 1947

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY

IT HAS BEEN THE USAGE IN SCHOOLS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD DURING THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS TO LOOK UPON DEMOCRACY AS SOMETHING WHICH COULD BE PRACTISED BY THE WHITE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD BUT WAS UNSUITABLE FOR THE COLORED PEOPLES.

IT THEREFORE BECAME AXIOMATIC DURING THE LAST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THAT THE WHITE RACE WAS GOING TO RULE THE WORLD, AND THAT THE COLORED PEOPLES, ESPECIALLY THE BROWN AND BLACK WERE TO BE UNDER THE CONTROL OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA; NOT BECAUSE OF STUDIED INHUMANITY BUT BECAUSE OF THE SCIENTIFIC FACT THAT COLORED PEOPLES DID NOT HAVE THE ABILITY TO SHARE IN MODERN CIVILIZATION AND PARTICULARLY IN MODERN POLITICAL DEMOCRACY.

THIS WAS A GREAT CHANGE IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD

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TOWARD COLOR AS COMPARED WITH ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL TIMES. THE GREEKS NOT NOLY RECOGNIZED NO COLOR LINE, BUT LAUDED ETHIOPIA AS THE GREATEST OF COUNTRIES AND BLACK MEMENON WAS IN THE CATALOGUE OF HOMERS' HEROES.

"OF ALL THE CLASSICAL COUNTRIES ETHIOPIA WAS THE MOST ROMANTIC AND THE MOST REMOTE. IT WAS SITUATED, ACCORDING TO THE GREEKS, ON THE EXTREME LIMITS OF THE WORLD; ITS INHABITANTS WERE THE MOST JUST OF MEN, AND JUPITER DINED WITH THEM TWICE A YEAR. THEY BATHED IN THE WATERS OF A VIOLET-SCENTED SPRING, WHICH ENDOWED THEM WITH LONG LIFE, NOBLE BODIES, AND GLOSSY SKINS. THEY CHAINED THEIR PRISONERS WITH GOLDEN FETTERS; THEY HAD BOWS WHICH NONE BUT THEMSELVES COULD BEND. IT IS CERTAIN THAT ETHIOPIA TOOK ITS PLACE AMONG THE POWERS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD. IT IS MENTIONED IN THE JEWISH RECORDS AND IN THE ASSYRIAN CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS."

EVEN IN THE MEDIEVAL WORLD THERE WAS NO COLOR BAR. "THROUGH THIS

DEVELOPMENT IN EGYPT AND IN THE SUDAN THERE HAD GONE ON IN THE THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH, AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES A SIGNIFICANT INTERCHANGE OF CULTURE BETWEEN THE EAST AND WEST THROUGH AFRICA. GREEK SCIENTISTS MADE PILGRIMAGES TO EGYPT AND ASSYRIA AND CARRIED HOME THE LORE OF YELLOW AND BLACK SAGES. AS THE GREEK-ROMAN CULTURE DECLINED, THE ARABS SEIZED INTELLECTUAL LEADERSHIP AND DEVELOPED IT IN AFRICA, MARCHING TO WESTERN ASIA AND SOUTHERN EUROPE. WITH THE CRUSADES CAME A NEW PERIOD OF INTERCOURSE BETWEEN NEGROID AFRICA AND OTHER AREAS OF CIVILIZATION.

BECAUSE OF THIS, BY THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY THE EUROPEAN WORLD LOOKED UPON THE BLACK WORLD WITH ROMANTIC RESPECT. AS EARLY AS THE FIFTH CENTURY THE LEGEND OF SAINT MOOR OCCURS: THE LEGEND OF A SAINT OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH WHO WAS A BLACK MAN AND WAS REPUTED TO HAVE BEEN A PRINCE IN EGYPT. IN THE TENTH CENTURY OTTO OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE CHOSE SAINT MAURITIUS AS THE PATRON SAINT OF GERMANY, AND FROM 1000 to 1500 HIS STATUES AND HIS WORSHIP WERE DOMINANT IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

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A EUROPEAN KNIGHT MARRIES A BLACK QUEEN IN AFRICA AND LATER A WHITE QUEEN IN EUROPE. HE HAS SONS BY BOTH, THE COLORED, FEIREFIZ AND THE WHITE, PARSIFAL. THIS STORY OF THE CROSSING OF THE PATHS OF PARSIFAL AND FEIREFIZ IS MORE THAN A SIDE ISSUE TO THE MAIN STORY OF THE HOLY GRAIL. IT POINTS TOWARD THE BRIDGING OF THE GAPS BETWEEN CREEDS AND RACES AND IS OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE IN REVEALING THE THOUGHT OF ENLIGHTENED AND CIVILIZED SOCIETY OF EUROPE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE AGES, IN GERMAN AND IN LATIN EUROPE, STATUES OF THE "BLACK VIRGIN MARY" AND PORTRAITS OF NEGRO SAINTS OF THE CHURCH WERE WIDLY EXHIBITED. THE STAINED GLASS OF THE CATHEDRAL AT CHARTRES ESPECIALLY ILLUSTRATES THIS.

SHAKESPEARE, WRITING TO ENTERTAIN ENGLAND IN THE LATE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES PORTRAYED A BLACK MAN NOT ONLY AS A COURAGEOUS SOLDIER BUT ALSO A GREAT GENTLEMAN WHO SUED SUCCESSFULLY FOR THE HAND OF THE DAUGHTER OF A SENATOR OF THE RICHEST ITALIAN STATE: AND IN

THE MERCHANT OF VENICE, TOO, A BLACK SUITOR FOR A WHITE PRINCESS IS PORTRAYED AS NATURAL AND EQUAL.

IN THE SAME FOURTEENTH CENTURY WE SEE GROWING IN THE SUDAN THE EXPANSION OF IMPERIALISM IN BLACK AFRICA. THE MOVEMENT OF ISLAM UP THE NILE CONTINUED FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE THIRTEENTH TO THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURIES. AS A RESULT, THE BANTU TRIBES , WHICH PROBABLY HAD ORIGINALLY MOVED NORTH FROM THE GREAT LAKES TOWARD THE MEDITERRANEAN, BEGAN A COUNTERMOVEMENT PERHAPS LONG BEFORE THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

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THEY MOVED TOWARD THE WEST COAST AND THE KINGDOM OF THE CONGO, WHICH DOMINATED THE VALLEY AND FORESTS OF THE GREAT CONGO SYSTEM: THEY PRESSED UPON THE GREAT LAKES, THREATENING THE NEGROIDS AND MULATTOES ON THE EAST COAST: AND THEY FELL UPON THE CIVILIZATION OF THE MONOMOTAPA CENTERING AT ZIMBABWE. THEY OVERTHREW AND CHANGED THE CULTURE WHILE AT THE SAME TIME CONTINUING IT. THEY MARCHED ON IN A SERIES OF STOPS AND FORAYS UNTIL THEY REACHED SOUTH AFRICA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH

CENTURY. WHY NOW HAD THERE COME IN THE MODERN WORLD THIS MONENTEOUS CHANGE OF ATTITUDE BASED ON COLOR AND RACE. ONE OF THE CHIEF CAUSES WHICH THUS DISTORTED THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPE WAS THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, AND WE HAVE TRIED TO REWRITE ITS HISTORY AND MEANING AND TO MAKE IT OCCUPY A MUSH LESS IMPORTANT PLACE IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY THAN IT DESERVES.

THE RESULT OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY ON THE EUROPEAN MIND AND CULTURE WAS TO DEGRADE THE POSITION OF LABOR AND THE RESPECT FOR HUMANITY AS SUCH. NOT, GOD KNOWS THAT THE ANCIENT WORLD HONORED LABOR. WITH EXCEPTIONS HERE AND THERE, IT DESPISED , ENSLAVED, AND CRUCIFIED HUMAN TOIL.

BUT THERE WERE COUNTER CURRENTS, AND WITH THE RENAISSANCE IN EUROPE--THAT NEW LIGHT WITH WHICH ASIA AND AFRICA ILLUMED THE DARK AGES OF EUROPE--CAME NEW HOPE FOR MANKIND. A NEW RELIGION OF PERSONAL

SACRIFICE HAD BEEN BUILDING ON FIVE HUNDRED YEARS OF THE SELF-EFFACEMENT OF BUDDA BEFORE THE BIRTH OF CHRIST, AND THE EQUALITARIANISM OF MOHAMMED WHICH FOLLOWED SIX HUNDRED YEARS AFTER CHRIST'S BIRTH. A NEW WORLD, SEEKING BIRTH IN EUROPE, WAS ALSO BEING DISCOVERED BEYOND THE SUNSET.

WITH THIS NEW WORLD CAME F TALLY THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE AND NEGRO SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS. THERE WERE NEW CRUELTIES, NEW HATREDS OF HUMAN BEINGS, AND NEW DEGRADATIONS OF HUMAN LABOR. THE TEMPTATION TO DEGRADE HUMAN LABOR WAS MADE VASTER AND DEEPER BY THE INCREDIBLE ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH BASED ON SLAVE LABOR, BY THE BOUNDLESS GROWTH OF GREED, AND BY WORLD-WIDE ORGANIZATION FOR NEW AGRICULTURAL CROPS, NEW TECHNIQUES IN INDUSTRY, AND WORLD -WIDE TRADE.

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JUST AS EUROPE LURCHED FORWARD TOA NEW REALIZATION OF BEAUTY, A NEW FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND RELIGIOUS BELIEF, A NEW DEMAND BY LABORERS TO CHOOSE THEIR WORK AND ENJOY ITS FRUIT, UNCURBED GREED ROSE TO SEIZE AND MONOPOLIZE THE UNCOUNTED TREASURE OF THE FRUIT OF LABOR.

LABOR WAS DEGRADED, HUMANITY WAS DESPISED, THE THEORY OF "RACE" AROSE. THERE CAME A NEW DOCTRINE OF UNIVERSAL LABOR: MANKIND WERE OF TWO SORTS--THE SUPERIOR AND THE INFERIOR: THE INFERIOR TOILED FOR THE SUPERIOR: AND THE SUPERIOR WERE THE REAL MEN, THE INFERIOR HALF MEN OR LESS. AMONG THE WHITE LORDS OF CREATION THERE WERE "LOWER CALSSES" RESEMBLING THE INFERIOR DARKER FOLK. WHERE POSSIBLE THEY WERE TO BE RAISED TO EQUALITY WITH THE MASTER CLASS. BUT NO EQUALITY WAS POSSIBLE OR DESIRABLE FOR "DARKIES." IN LINE WITH THIS CONVICTION, THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT, AT FIRST DAMNED THE HEATHEN BLACKS WITH THE "CURSE OF CANAAN" THEN HELD OUT HOPE OF FREEDOM THROUGH "CONVERSION" AND FINALLY ACQUIESCED IN A PERMANENT STATUS OF HUMAN SLAVERY.

DESPITE THE FACT TH T THE NINETEENTH CENTURY SAW AN UPSURGE IN THE POWER OF LABORING CLASSES AND A FIGHT TOWARD ECONOMIC EQUALITY AND

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY, THIS MOVEMENT AND BATTLE WAS MADE FIERCER AND LESS SUCCESSFUL AND LAGGED FAR BEHIND THE ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH, BECAUSE IN POPULAR OPINION LABOR WAS FUNDAMENTALLY DEGRADING AND THE JUST BURDEN OF INFERIOR PEOPLES. LUXURY AND PLENTY FOR THE FEW AND POVERTY FOR THE MANY WAS LOOKED UPON AS INEVITABLE IN THE COURSE OF NATURE. IN ADDITION TO THIS, IT WENT WITHOUT SAYING THAT THE WHITE PEOPLE OF EUROPE HAD A RIGHT TO LIVE UPON THE LABOR AND PROPERTY OF THE COLORED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

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IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THIS POINT OF VIEW, science and religion, GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY, WERE WHE LED INTO LINE. THE WORD "NEGRO" WAS USED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY TO TIE COLOR TO RACE AND BLACKNESS TO SLAVERY AND DEGRADATION. THE WHITE RACE WAS PICTURED AS "PURE" AND SUPERIOR: THE BLACK RACE AS DIRTY, STUPID, AND INEVITABLY INFERIOR: THE YELLOW RACE AS SHARING IN DECEPTION AND COWARDICE, MUCH OF THIS COLOR INFERIORITY: WHILE MIXTURE OF RACES WAS CONSIDERED THE

PRIME CAUSE OF DEGRADATION AND FAILURE IN CIVILIZATION. EVERYTHING GREAT, EVERYTHING FINE, EVERYTHING REALLY SUCCESSFUL IN HUMAN CULTURE? WAS WHITE.

IN ORDER TO PROVE THIS, EVEN BLACK PEOPLE IN INDIA AND AFRICA WERE LABELED AS "WHITE" IF THEY SHOWED ANY TRACE OF PROGRESS: AND ON THE OTHER HAND, ANY PROGRESS BY COLORED PEOPLE WAS ATTRIBUTED TO SOME INTER-MIXTURE ANCIENT OR MODERN, OF WHITE BLOOD OR SOME INFLUENCE OF WHITE CIVILIZATION.

THIS LOGICAL CONTRADICTION INFLUENCED AND MISLED SCIENCE. THE SAME PERSON DECLARED THAT MULATTOES WERE INFERIOR AND WARNED AGAINST MISCEGENATION AND YET ATTRIBUTED THE PRE-EMINENCE OF A DUMAS, A FREDERICK DOUGLAS, A BOOKER WASHINGTON TO THEIR WHITE BLOOD.

A SYSTEM AT FIRST CONSCIOUS AND THEN UNCONSCIOUS OF LYING ABOUT HISTORY AND DISTORTING IT TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF THE NEGROIDS BECAME SO WIDESPREAD THAT THE HISTORY OF AFRICA CEASED TO BE TAUGHT, THE COLOR OF

MEMNON WAS FORGOTTEN, AND EVERY EFFORT WAS MADE IN ARCHEOLOGY, HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, IN BIOLOGY, PSYCHOLOGY, AND SOCIOLOGY, TO PROVE THE ALL BUT UNIVERSAL ASSUMPTION THAT THE COLOR LINE HAD A SCIENTIFIC BASIS.

WITHOUT THE WINKING OF AN EYE, PRINTING, GUNPOWDER, THE SMELTING OF IRON, THE BEGINNING OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, NOT TO MENTION POLITICAL LIFE AND DEMOCRACY, WERE ATTRUBUTED EXCLUSIVELY TO THE WHITE RACE AND TO NORDIC EUROPE. RELIGION SIGNED WITH RELIEF WHEN IT COULD BASE ITS DENIAL OF THE ETHICS OF CHRIST AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF MEN UPON THE SCIENCE OF DARWIN, GOBINEAU, AND REISNER.

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IT WAS BAD ENOUGH IN ALL CONSCIENCE TO HAVE THE CONSEQUENCES OF THIS THOUGHT, THESE SCIENTIFIC CONCLUSIONS AND ETHICAL SANCTIONS, FALL UPON COLORED PEOPLE THE WORLD OVER: BUT IN THE END IT WAS EVEN WORSE WHEN ONE CONSIDERS WHAT THIS ATTITUDE DID TO THE EUROPEAN WORKER. HIS AIM AND IDEAL WAS DISTORTED. HE DID NOT WISH TO BECOME EFFICIENT BUT RICH. HE BEGAN TO WANT NOT COMFORT FOR ALL MEN, BUT POWER OVER OTHER MEN FOR HIMSELF. HE

DID NOT LOVE HUMANITY AND HE HATED "NIGGERS". WHEN OUR HIGH COMMISSIONER AFTER THE SPANISH WAR APPEALED TO AMERICA ON BEHALF OF "OUR LITTLE BROWN BROTHER," THE WHITE WORKERS REPLIED,

"HE MAY BE A BROTHER OF WILLIAM H. TAFT,
BUT HE AIN'T NO BROTHER OF MINE."

FOLLOWING THE EARLY CHRISTIAN COMMUNISM AND SENSE OF HUMAN BROTHERHOOD WHICH BEGAN TO GROW IN THE DARK AGES AND TO BLOSSOM IN THE RENAISSANCE THERE CAME TO WHITE WORKERS IN ENGLAND, FRANCE , AND GERMANY THE IRON LAW OF WAGES, THE POPULATION DOCTRINES OF MALTHUS, AND THE BITTER FIGHT AGAINST THE EARLY TRADE UNIONS. THE FIRST EFFORTS AT EDUCATION, AND PARTICULARLY THE TREND TOWARD POLITICAL DEMOCRACY, AROUSED AN ANTAGONISM OF WHICH THE FRENCH REVOLUTION DID NOT DREAM.

IT WAS THIS BITTER FIGHT THAT EXACERBATED THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND

RESULTED IN THE FIRST FURIOUS EXPRESSION OF COMMUNISM AND THE ATTEMPT AT REVOLUTION. THE UNITY OF APPRENTICE AND MASTER, THE CHRISTIAN SYMPATHY BETWEEN RICH AND POOR, THE COMMUNISM OF MEDIEVAL CHARITY, ALL WERE THRUST INTO THE NEW STRAIT JACKET OF THOUGHT: POVERTY WAS THE RESULT OF SLOTH AND C CRIME: WEALTH WAS THE REWARD OF VIRTUE AND WORK. THE DEGRADED YELLOW AND BLACK PEOPLES WERE IN THE PLACES WHICH THE WORLD OF NECESSITY ASSIGNED TO THE INFERIOR: AND TOWARD THESE LOWER RANKS THE WORKING CLASSES OF ALL COUNTRIES TENDED TO SINK SAVE AS THEY WERE RAISED AND SUPPORTED BY THE RICH, THE INVESTORS, THE CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY.

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THERE CAME ONE CURIOUS INTERRUPTION IN THIS GROWING UNIVERSAL ATTITUDE TOWARD THE COLORED RACES AND THAT WAS THE CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES WHICH ABOLISHED SLAVERY. THIS WAS A BLOW TO THE SOUTHERN CONCEPT OF A SLAVE EMPIRE AND OF THE REDUCTION OF THE EFFECTIVE WORKING FORCES TO A SLAVE STATUS. NOT ONLY WERE THE SLAVES FREE BUT THEY WERE MADE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES AND GIVEN THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

BEGINNING IN 1876 THIS RIGHT TO VOTE WAS NULLIFIED BY MOB VIOLENCE AND ILLEGAL MEANS AND THEN BY MORE LEGAL METHODS. BUT IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT THIS DISFRANCHISEMENT OF THE NEGRO VOTER RESTED UPON TWO FACTS: FIRST UPON THE FACT THAT COLORED PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WERE BEGINNING TO BE SUBJECTED TO COLONIAL IMPERIALISM AND THAT THEREFORE WE WERE TRYING IN THE UNITED STATES TO GO AGAINST THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL IMPERIALISM.

IN THE SECOND PLACE THE AMERICAN NEGRO IN THE SOUTH DESPITE HIS POVERTY AND IGNORANCE WAS THINKING IN EXTRAORDINARY STRIDES, THE GOVERNMENT DID NOT COLLAPSE , ON THE CONTRARY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE SOUTH TODAY IS STILL LARGELY BASED UPON THE WORK THAT LEGISLATURERS, IN THE RECONSTRUCTION DAYS WITH A LARGE PORPORTION OF BLACK MEMBERSHIP DID. THESE RECONSTRUCTION LEGISLATURES ESTABLISHED A PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM WHICH HAD NEVER EXISTED IN THE SOUTH BEFORE. THEY BEGAN A SOCIAL LEGISLATION

THEY TRIED TO DISTRIBUTE LAND AND BREAK UP THE SLAVE HOLDERS MONOPOLY AND THEY WERE FORCED OUT OF GOVERNMENT BY REACTION WHICH WAS AFRAID, NOT ONLY OF THE RISE AND POLITICAL POWER OF BLACK LABOR IN THE SOUTH, BUT THE NEW LABOR UNIONS OF WHITE LABORERS IN THE NORTH: THUS FROM 1875 TO 1918 WE COME TO THE RULE IN THE WORLD OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, BASED UPON FOUR PRINCIPLES: FIRST, RULERSHIP IN THE HANDS OF WHITE PEOPLES, SECONDLY NO POLITICAL POWER FOR COLORED PEOPLE, THIRD, LAND MONOPOLY AND LABOR SERFDOM FOR COLORED LABORERS AND FOURTH, LIMITED EDUCATION FOR COLORED PEOPLE DESIGNED TO MAKE THEM MORE EFFICIENT WORKERS AND NOT TO TAKE PART IN MODREN CIVILIZATION.

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OF COURSE THESE RULES WERE NOT EVERYWHERE ENFORCED OR CONSCIOUSLY STATED BUT THIS WAS THE PLAIN MEANING OF WHITE IMPERIALISM BETWEEN 1875 AND 1918. THEN CAME THE BREAKDOWN. THE PARADOX OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IS A BAFFLING COMMENT ON EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION.

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THERE WAS NOT A SINGLE YEAR DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY WHEN THE WORLD WAS NOT AT WAR. CHIEFLY, BUT NOT ENTIRELY, THESE WARS WERE WAGED TO SUBJUGATE COLONIAL PEOPLES. THEY WERE CARRIED ON BY EUROPEANS AND AT LEAST ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY SEPARATE WARS CAN BE COUNTED DURING THE HEYDAY OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT. WHAT THE PEACE MOVEMENTS REALLY MEANT WAS PEACE IN EUROPE AND BETWEEN EUROPEANS, WHILE FOR THE CONQUEST OF THE WORLD AND BECAUSE OF THE SUSPICION WHICH THEY HELD TOWARD EACH OTHER, EVERY NATION MAINTAINED A STANDING ARMY WHICH STEADILY GREW IN COST AND MENACE.

AS ONE OF DE GAULLES CLOSEST ADVISERS SAY: "THE COLONIAL PHASE OF WORLD HISTORY IS OVER. THIS IS NOT ONLY A RESULT OF THE CHANGE IN RELATIVE MILITARY STRENGTH OF IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES AND COLONIES.

"IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY THE ARMS OF CLIVE OF INDIA WERE NOT SO INCREDIBLY SUPERIOR TO THOSE OF THE INDIAN NATIVES. HOWEVER, AT

THAT TIME THE IMPERIAL NATIONS HAD A GREAT MORAL ADVANTAGE. THEY WERE CONVINCED THAT THEY WERE SPREADING CIVILIZATION. AND THEY WERE ALSO CONVINCED OF THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THEIR CONQUESTS.

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"BUT THE SATISFACTION OF CERTAINTY HAS VANISHED IN THE GREAT EMPIRES: HOW CAN A GOVERNMENT IN LONDON, WHICH CANNOT PREVENT A STRIKE, EXPECT TO HOLD ON TO INDIA? OR HOW CAN A GOVERNMENT IN PARIS, WHICH CANNOT EVEN AVOID INTERNAL CHAOS, EXPECT TO HOLD ON TO INDO-CHINA? WHAT NOW CAN BE DONE FOR THE COLORED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD AND FOR ALL COLONIAL PEOPLE?

THOSE PEOPLE WHO, IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, HAVE COME UNDER THE OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF EUROPE HAVE FOR 550 YEARS BEEN USED TO BOLSTER AND ADVANCE THE PROGRESS OF EUROPE REGARDLESS OF THE COST TO COLONIAL PEOPLES IN BLOOD, SUFFERING, POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE. IN FACT THE VERY POLICIES THAT BROUGHT ABOUT THE COLLAPSE OF EUROPE IN THE THIRTIES AND FORTIES OF THIS CENTURY WERE ALREADY THE CAUSE OF COLONIAL DISTRESS AND MADE COLONIAL PEOPLES DOUBLE VICTIMS OF THE MODERN AGE OF CAPITALISM.

THESE POLICIES AND BELIEFS WERE THE SELF-REGULATING WORLD MARKET DEPENDING ON LABOR AS A COMMODITY, LAND AS PRIVATE PROPERTY, AND MONEY AS GOLD. THROUGH COLONIES, LABOR WAS FIRST REDUCED TO CHATTEL SLAVERY THEN TO SERFDOM. WHILE SERF COMPETITION REDUCED WHITE EUROPEAN LABOR TO WAGE SLAVERY IN SLUMS, SEIZURE OF LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCES IN COLONIES, REENFORCED MONOPOLY OF LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCES AND MONOPOLY OF CAPITAL AND TECHNIQUE IN EUROPE AND AMERICA: BUT THE MASSES OF EUROPE AND AMERICA ACQUIRED ENOUGH POLITICAL POWER TO FIGHT FOR SOME RIGHTS WHILE THE COLONIALS BEREFT OF NEARLY ALL POWER OF RESISTANCE SANK INTO MODERN POVERTY, DISEASE AND IGNORANCE AND SERVED TO REINFORCE THE RULE OF CORPORATE WEALTH IN THE MODERN CIVILIZED WORLD.

RELIGION AND PHILANTHROPY MITIGATED SOME OF THE WORST RESULTS OF THIS SYSTEM, BUT DID NOT CURE IT AND INDEED HELPED THE EVENTUAL DISASTER IN THE WHOLE WORLD BY DISTRACTING ATTENTION FROM THE KERNEL OF THE EVIL.

JUST AS WE NOW BEGIN TO REALIZE, THAT WE CAN NO LONGER CARRY ON INDUSTRY MAINLY FOR PRIVATE PROFIT IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD BUT MUST MAKE PRODUCTION FOR USE OUR AIM AND DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO NEED OUR IDEAL, JUST SO, FOR THE REHABILITATION OF THE VAST NUMBERS OF MEN WHO LIVE IN COLONIAL REGIONS THE FIRST STEP IN REFORM MUST BE THE REMOVAL OF FOREIGN PROFIT AS THE MAIN OBJECT OF COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION. ATTEMPTS HAVE RECENTLY BEEN MADE IN HIGH PLACES TO DENY THAT COLONIES HAVE BEEN PROFITABLE OR THAT THE MAIN OBJECT OF MODERN IMPERIALISM HAS BEEN WEALTH FROM THE COLONIES FOR THE SUPPORT AND LUXURY OF COUNTRIES LIKE ENGLAND, FRANCE AND SPAIN. THIS ARGUMENT IS , AT BEST , SELF-DECEPTION AND AT WORST, DELIBERATE LYING. GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, BELGIUM AND PORTUGAL WERE NOT AND ARE NOT IN AFRICA AND ASIA FOR THEIR HEALTH OR FOR THE GREATER GLORY OF GOD. BUT PRIMARILY FOR THE PROFIT DERIVED FROM SLAVES, IVORY, GOLD, DIAMONDS, COPPER, COCOA, PALM OIL AND A HUNDRED OTHER MATERIALS, HUMAN, VEGETABLE AND MINERAL, UPON WHICH MODERN WEALTH AND POWER ARE BUILT. TO DENY THIS IS

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TO TALK NONSENSE.

HERE THEN IS INDICATED THE FIRST STEP TOWARD REFORM. IT MUST BE MADE IMMORAL AND ILLEGAL FOR ANY NATION TO BE ABLE TO CONTROL THE LAND, RESOURCES AND LABOR OF ANOTHER PEOPLE FOR THE MAIN OBJECT OF THE WELL-BEING OF THE DOMINANT COUNTRY.

IT IS TRUE THAT PROFIT ANF PROGRESS MAY OFTEN GO HAND IN HAND, BUT WE ALL KNOW THAT WHEN THE PROFIT OF INVESTORS IN ENGLISH, BELGIUM, FRENCH OR AMERICAN COLONIES IS THREATENED BY EDUCATION OF THE MASSES SELF-GOVERNMENT OR HIGH WAGES, PROFIT NOT WELFARE REMAINS THE PARAMOUNT CONCERN AND NOT THE INTERESTS OF COLONIAL PEOPLES. THUS IT IS CLEAR THAT THE FIRST AND FUNDAMENTAL STEP TO COLONIAL REFORM MUST BE THE REMOVAL OF THE DOMINANT PROFIT MOTIFS IN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION.

ONCE THE PRIMARY AND DOMINANT PROFIT MOTIF IS SUBORDINATED TO THE INTERESTS OF THE NATIVE POPULATION, ONCE THE WORLD COMES TO REALIZE THAT THE SO-CALLED "BACKWARD PEOPLES" CAN WITH EDUCATION EASILY BE RAISED TO THE AVERAGE OF THE CIVILIZED, HALF THE BATTLE IS WON. AS IT IS, WE LOOK ON THE EDUCATED NATIVE AS AN UNUSUAL PHENOMENON RATHER THAN AN AVERAGE MAN WHO HAS BEEN GIVEN OPPORTUNITY DENIED TO MILLIONS OF HIS FELLOWS WHO COULD EASILY HAVE PARRELLELLED HIS ACCOMPLISHMENT. HE BY CHANCE HAS ESCAPED 99% OF HIS EQUALLY GIFTED FELLOWS ARE STILL IN CHAINS. WHAT IS THUS TRUE IN COLONIES, DIFFERS ONLY IN DEGREE WITH WHAT IS HAPPENING TO THE WORKING CLASS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA. THERE IS NO REASON IN SCIENCE OR ETHICS WHY TODAY THE VAST MAJORITY OF MEN SHOULD NOT BE INTELLIGENT AND HEALTHY SAVE ALONE THE SELFISHNESS AND GREED OF A HANDFUL OF THEIR FELLOWS.

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BUT IT IS CONTINUALLY OBJECTED WHENCE WILL COME THE LARGE FUNDS NECESSARY TO EDUCATE THESE MILLIONS? THE ANSWER IS CLEAR: THE DIAMONDS

GOLD AND COPPER OF AFRICA COULD EASILY PAY THE REASONABLE COST OF PRODUCTION AND LEAVE ENOUGH TO EDUCATE AFRICANS PROVIDED THE COST OF CAPITAL SALARIES AND PROFIT WERE NOT HELD SO HIGH. THE NATIVE STATE, SHOULD AIM TO OWN THIS CAPITAL AND NO PROFIT SHOULD GO TO THE IMPERIAL COUNTRY.

CAPITAL, ACCORDING TO THE CLASSICAL THEORY, COMPRISES THE MACHINES AND MATERIALS USED IN PRODUCTION BUT WHILE LABOR AS A COMMODITY IS PAID ACCORDING TO ITS MARKET PRICE WITH NO FLOOR TO THAT PRICE SAVE THE COST OF REPRODUCTION OF THE SPECIES THE PRICE OF CAPITAL IS FIXED BY THE CAPITALISTS POWER AND DEMANDS WHICH ARE PRACTICALLY UNLIMITED IN REGIONS WHERE WAGES AND CONDITIONS OF WORK CAN BE PUSHED DOWN TO THE LOWEST DEPTHS.

CLEARLY HERE GOVERNMENT MUST STEP IN TO PROTECT THE COLONIAL WORKER FROM THE HIGH COST OF CAPITAL MADE HIGHER BY SERFDOM OF LABOR MONOPOLY OF MATERIALS AND PATENTED TECHNIQUE. THE CHARGE FOR CAPITAL IN COLONIES SHOULD BE DRASTICALLY SCALED DOWN AND IN SOME CASES CAPITAL SHOULD BE

COMPLETELY CONFISCATED WHERE IT HAS REPAID ITSELF MANY TIMES OVER. T IS ACTION IN THE PRESENT ABUNDANCE OF CAPITAL SEEKING USE WOULD LEAVE AMPLE REVENUE FOR CIVILIZED WAGES AND SOCIAL REVENUE FOR EDUCATION, HEALTH AND RECREATION.

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IT IS EXACTLY THIS PROCEDURE WHICH IS PROVIDING INCOME FOR HIGH WAGE AND SOCIAL UPLIFT IN CIVILIZED LANDS. ALSO FOR THESE VERY REASONS CAPITSL SEEKS TO FORSAKE ITS TAXATION AND REGULATION IN CULTURE LANDS FOR THE EXCESSIVE PROFIT POSSIBLE IN COLONIES---COMPLETING A VICIOUS CIRCLE. ONCE THE WAY OPENS AND INFLATED RETURNS TO CAPITAL ARE CUT DOWN THERE REMAINS NO OBJECTION TO INTERNATIONAL CONTROL. WE MAY THEN PROCEED TO THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK AND WAGE IN COLONIES. WE CAN SCIENTIFICALLY RESTORE ANCIENT CULTURAL ECONOMY WITH ITS FAMILY CONTROL OF WORK AND WEALTH MODIFIED, AS IT MUST BE, BY MODERN KNOWLEDGE. EDUCATION WILL BE PLANNED NOT FOR ITS VALUE IN INCREASING THE PROFIT OF INVESTORS NOR FOR SUPPRESSING COMPLAINT

AND FREE SPEECH BUT FOR LETTING IGNORANT PEOPLE KNOW WHAT SCIENCE HAS LEARNED IN THE LAST TWO CENTURIES WHILE THE COLONIAL PEOPLES HAVE BEEN SUPPRESSED.

THIS PROGRAM WILL BE DIFFICULT. ALL EDUCATION IS DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS. BUT IGNORANCE IS EVEN MORE DANGEROUS. NEXT THE FIGHT AGAINST DISEASE MUST BE WAGED NOT SIMPLY TO SAFEGUARD THE HEALTH OF WHITE RESIDENT RULERS BUT TO RESTORE THE HEALTH AND VITALITY OF THE FORMER MAGNIFICENT PHYSIQUE OF PRIMITIVE PEOPLES WHICH SLAVERY, STARVATION AND FOREIGN DISEASES HAVE IMPARED. WITH ALL THIS MUST GO SELF-RULE. FOR A HUNDRED YEARS THE WORLD HAS BEEN ASSURED THAT ONLY CERTAIN RACES AND CERTAIN NATIONS ARE CAPABLE OF SELF-RULE.

SCIENCE, HISTORY, TRAVELS AND ANECDOTE HAVE ASSURED US OF THE FAILURE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT IN ALL THE WORLD EXCEPT AMONG ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES AND A FEW OTHERS.

WE AMERICANS HAVE LAUGHED ENDLESSLY AT THE BIZARR ATTEMPTS OF LATINS, INDIANS AND NEGROES TO RULE THEMSELVES. IF I WERE SPEAKING IN 1847 INSTEAD OF 1947, I WOULD BE COMPELLED TO DEVOTEE MOST OF MY TIME TO ATTEMPTING TO REFUTE THIS CURIOUS ASSUMPTION.

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BUT TONIGHT THAT IS QUITE UNNECESSARY. IT IS CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT NO NATION TODAY CAN BOAST OF INNATE ABILITY TO RULE ITSELF DECENTLY OR EFFICIENTLY, MUCH LESS OF ANY SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO RULE OTHER PEOPLES.

DEMOCRACY HAS COLLAPSED IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD AND GOVERNMENT EVERYWHERE IS A WORLD DISASTER. THE NATION TODAY WHICH BOASTS OF ITS SUCCESS IN GOVERNMENT IS A LAUGHING STOCK. GOVERNMENT HAS FAILED BECAUSE NOT CONTENT WITH RULING ITSELF EACH NATION, WHERE POSSIBLE, HAS ATTEMPTED TO RULE OTHERS.

THE EFFORT HAS FAILED IN TWO WORLD WARS. WE HAVE NOW TO RETREAT TO HOME RULE TO AN EFFORT TO SEE IF WE CAN REALIZE DEMOCRACY HERE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN ENGLAND, IN FRANCE. WE HAVE GOT TO LET THE

"LESSER BREEDS WITHOUT THE LAW" RULE THEMSELVES A WHILE, INSTEAD OF BEING RULED FROM LONDON , WASHINGTON OR PARIS.

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NOR IS THERE ANY VALID PROOF THAT THE DARKER PEOPLE IN THEIR ATTEMPTS TO RULE HAVE BEEN LESS SUCCESSFUL THAN WHITE. BRYCE, WHO STUDIED DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE AND AMERICA, FOUND EQUALLY SUCCESSFUL DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLIES IN SOUTH AFRICA. IT IS DE LA FOSSE WHO AFFIRMS, AFTER LONG STUDY OF THE SUDAN, THAT THE CULTURES OF EUROPE AND AFRICA ARE DIFFERENT BUT THAT THE DIFFERENCE IS NOT OF SUPERIOR OR INFERIOR ABILITY. IT MAY YET BE PROVEN TRUE THAT AFRICAN LAND CONTROL WAS AND IS SUPERIOR TO AMERICAN. AFRICAN FAMILY LIFE MAY UNDULY RESTRAIN YOUTH BUT IT RAISES NEITHER BEGGARS NOR PROSTITUTES.

MANY WILL POINT TO INDIA TODAY AS ILLUSTRATING WHAT COLONIAL EMANCIPATION WILL MEAN. THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT THE PATH TO FREEDOM FOR THE COLORED PEOPLES WILL BE AS THORNY AS THAT OF THE WHITES IN THE PAST. BUT WE MUST LET NOT SENSATIONAL NEWSPAPER DISPATCHES WHOLLY MISLEAD US.

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A FORMER MAYOR OF BOMBAY SAID RECENTLY: "IT WOULD TAKE A GENERATION TO ACHIEVE A UNITED INDIA. HE POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT EXCEPT FOR KASHMIR AND THE PUNJAB, THE REMAINDER OF INDIA IS AT PEACE, ALTHOUGH UNDER SOME TENSION.

"THERE, HE SAID, SOME 40,000,000 MOSLEMS DWELL WITHOUT VIOLENCE AMID A PREPONDERANTLY HINDU POPULATION. ALL ELEMENTS SEEK TO COPE WITH DIRE FOOD SHORTAGES, HE ADDED, WHILE VIOLENCE IS GIVING A BAD NAME TO INDIA, HE SAID, IT IS IMPORTANT TO REALIZE THAT SIDE BY SIDE MANY SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS ARE TAKING PLACE. UNTOUCHABILITY HAS BEEN OUTLAWED AND ABOLISHED, NEW SCHOOLS HAVE BEEN OPENED AND WOMEN ARE BEING LIBERATED. ILLITERACY IS BEING ATTACKED ENERGETICALLY AND CLASSES IN ADULT EDUCATION HAVE BEEN STARTED."

"INDIA'S NATIONAL PLANNING COMMISSION HAS PUSHED AHEAD FOR INDUSTRY, HE SAID, IRRIGATION PROJECTS ON A GIGANTIC SCALE HABE BEEN UNDERTAKEN.

"THE NEW LIFE IN INDIA," HE CONTINUED, "FINDS A UNIQUE EXPRESSION IN THE FIELD OF LITERATURE AND ART. THERE HAS BEEN A GREAT AWAKENING."

HERE IN THE UNITED STATES TWO DOCUMENTS HAVE RECENTLY EMPHASIZED THIS SITUATION: THE UNITED NATIONS PROPOSED IN ITS CHARTER MENTIONING THE MATTER SIX DIFFERENT TIMES: THE GUARDING OF HUMAN RIGHTS REGARDLESS OF RACE, SEX, OR CREED. LAST SPRING THEY SET UP THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND THIS FALL THEY PROPOSE ADDING TO THAT A SUB-COMMISSION ON DISCRIMINATION.

IN ORDER TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT FOURTEEN MILLION AMERICANS OF NEGRO DESCENT WERE NOT SATISFIED WITH THE RIGHTS WHICH THEY WERE ENJOYING THE NAACP PREPARED A DOCUMENT, SETTING FORTH CAREFULLY BY HISTORICAL REFERENCE AND FIGURES THE CASTE SYSTEM UNDER WHICH NEGROES LIVE IN THE UNITED STATES.

THIS HAD HARDLY BEEN PRESENTED TO THE UNITED NATIONS THAN A CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES BROUGHT IN A REPORT WHICH SUPPORTED IN PRACTICALLY EVERY STATEMENT THE

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COMPLAINT WHICH THE NAACP HAD MADE TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

THIS BRINGS THE PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACY BEFORE THE NATION, MORE CLEARLY THAN IT HAS EVER BEEN BROUGHT BEFORE. THE QUESTION WHICH YOU AND I HAVE TO SETTLE IS THIS: CAN WE ENVISION AND DO WE WANT A DEMOCRACY WHERE THE RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS ARE EQUAL? IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO IMPEDE THIS CLEAR STATEMENT BY THE TRITE REMARK THAT ALL PEOPLE ARE NOT AND PROBABLY NEVER WILL BE EQUAL AND SIMILIAR IN THEIR ABILITIES, THEIR GIFTS AND THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENTS. THE PROBLEM WHICH IS NOW PROPOSED IS A PROBLEM OF LEGAL RIGHTS TO RECOGNIZED POLITICAL, CIVIL AND SOCIAL RIGHTS FOR EVERY CITIZEN.

IT MUST BE ADMITTED THAT MOST PEOPLE DO NOT BELIEVE IN ANYTHING OF THE SORT: EVEN THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN LOOSELY TALKING OF THEIR BELIEF IN DEMOCRACY ALL THEIR LIVES. THEY CANNOT CONCEIVE A SITUATION WHERE THERE IS NOT SECOND CLASS CITIZENSHIP: SOME PEOPLE ARE COMPELLED TO DO THE UNPLEASANT AND MOST TIRESOME WORK OF THE WORLD BECAUSE THEY ARE POOR.

THE GREATEST COMPLAINT THAT HAS BEEN MADE OF THE UNUSUAL DEMAND FOR LABOR AND HIGH WAGES DURING THE LAST WAR, WAS THAT VOICED BY WOMEN AT THE HEAD OF THE BETTER CLASS HOUSEHOLDS WHO COULD NOT GET DOMESTIC SERVICE AT THE PRICE WHICH THEY WISHED, AND WERE HIGHLY IN FAVOR OF A SITUATION WHERE A LARGER NUMBER OF PEOPLE WOULD BE SO POOR THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO BECOME AND REMAIN DEOMESTIC SERVANTS.

TO THESE PEOPLE AND TO OTHERS THINKING OF THE HIRING OF CHEAP LABOR SO AS TO HAVE HIGH PROFITS, A DEMOCRACY WHICH DID NOT CONTAIN A LARGE NUMBER IF NOT A MAJORITY OF PEOPLE WHOSE INCOME WAS TOO SMALL FOR DECENT LIVING WOULD NOT BE WELCOME. THEY WOULD SAY FRANKLY THAT IT WOULD NOT WORK, AND THAT IT OUGHT NOT TO BE ALLOWED TO WORK IF IT COULD. OUR WHOLE CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY IS CONTRADICTED BY OUR CLEAR RELIANCE UPON SELECT GROUPS WITH SPECIAL PRIVILEGES: SELCET NEIGHBORHOODS WHERE THE SO-CALLED BETTER PEOPLE LIVE: SELECT SCHOOLS WHERE THE UPPER CLASS GET THEIR EDUCATION: A SELECTION OF INCOMES WHICH GIVES TO CERTAIN PEOPLE MORE THAN

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THEY CAN POSSIBLY SPEND AND TO MOST PEOPLE LESS THAN THEY OUGHT TO SPEND.

AS I HAVE SAID, PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN VOLUBLE AND EMPHATIC IN THEIR DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY, MEAN BY THAT DEMOCRACY A GOVERNMENT BASED UPON PERMANENT DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THE RICH AND THE POOR, BETWEEN THE BLACK AND WHITE: BETWEEN THE NATIVES AND FOREIGNERS. THE TIME HAS NOW COME WHEN THESE PEOPLE MUST COME OUT IN THE OPEN AND DEFEND THEIR STAND. ARE THEY IN FAVOR OF DEMOCRACY OR ARE THEY IN FAVOR OF OLIGARCHY BASED UPON WEALTH AND DESCENT, AND TO A LARGE DEGREE UPON SEX AND RELIGION? THESE PEOPLE HAVE GOT TO FACE THE REAL ARGUMENT FOR DEMOCRACY WHICH IS SELDOM STRESSED. THE ARGUMENT FOR DEMOCRACY BASES ITSELF UPON MUCH OF THAT VERY THEORY OF EVOLUTION WHICH WAS MISCONCEIVED AND MISINTERPRETED TO UPHOLD THE COLOR LINE.

WE OUGHT TO HAVE LEARNED THAT DIVERSITY IN ITSELF IS A SOURCE OF WISDOM: THAT DIFFERENCE IS A CLEAR WAY TO KNOWLEDGE: THAT ABSOLUTE UNIFORMITY IS RETROGRESSION. THAT COMPROMISE IS NATURAL SELECTION AND THAT

SURRENDER IS DEATH. IN OTHER WORDS WHAT DEMOCRACY SAYS TO THE WORLD IF IT SPEAKS HONESTLY IS, THAT WHEN YOU OPEN OPPORTUNITY FOR DECENT LIFE AND EQUAL RIGHTS TO THE MASS OF MEN, YOU GET THEN, OR ARE IN POSITION TO GET A CONTRIBUTION TO THE TOTALITY OF LIFE WHICH YOU CANNOT GET BY THE SUPPRESSION OF ABILITY AMONG NEGROES , OR AMONG THE CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS, OR AMONG WOMEN, OR BY SUPPRESSING THE POOR OR BY HAVING POOR IN YOUR COMMUNITY. THAT SELECTION IS THE WAY BY WHICH YOU CHOOSE THE PEOPLE FOR CERTAIN ABILITIES AND GIFTS BUT THAT IT DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE SAME PERSON IS CHOSEN FOR EVERY PRIVILEGE BY THE MERE CHANCE OF HIS BIRTH, HIS COLOR, OR HIS INCOME.

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THE MAN WHO IS TO BE SELECTED FOR HIS KNOWLEDGE OF CHEMISTRY IS NOT NECESSAIRLY THE MAN WHO MUST ALSO BE SELECTED FOR HIS KNOWLEDGE OF SOCIOLOGY. THAT THOSE PEOPLE WHO WISH COMPANIONSHIP, SHOULD BE FREE TO CHOOSE IT, BUT NOT FREE TO DENY THE SAME CHOICE TO OTHER PEOPLE: THAT DEMOCRACY IS A GREAT CONCEPTION OF UNIVERSAL RIGHTS AND NOT A METHOD

BY WHICH A FEW MILLIONAIRES IN THE UNITED STATES PROPOSE TO RULE NOT ONLY THIS COUNTRY, BUT WESTERN EUROPE AND IF POSSIBLE THE WORLD.

THIS IS THE CLEAR DELEMMA BEFORE US AND IT HAS GOT TO BE ANSWERED. NO ANSWER WHICH INVOLVES SECOND CLASS CITIZENSHIP FOR ANY GROUP OF PEOPLE BECAUSE OF SEX, COLOR OR BELIEF CAN IN ANY WAY BE INTERPRETED AS ADVOCATING THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE.

Chicago Address November 23, 1947

RUSSIA: HER DEVELOPMENT

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

In December 1918, I was in France. I visited the battlefields at the camp at Le Mans where they were cleaning the lice off soldiers about to return home. I saw the mud, dirt and filth, of the Argonne; the destruction and rubble at Verdun: the ruins of homes and Cathedrals near Metz; and in the black gowned figures of women passing over all France I saw the dead, the orphaned and the maimed. But I had one increasing sense of hope as I said to myself--Bad as this is--with all this death, suffering and destruction, there cannot be another war during the generation that endured this one or even among the generations that remembered that. No one who has seen this war will ever consent to another. This is the last of the great wars.

35-1-91

Yet before I left Paris in March 1919, there was war talk in the air: and when I reached America there was still the idea that war was inevitable. When war came again a generation after, I was certain, that the worst result of war, a result more stunning than 15 million corpses; than twice as many wounded; than broken homes and the wanton destruction of hard-earned prpperty; that worse than all these results of war, was the feeling that was was inevitable: that it must and would come again: and that the only thing to do was to prepare for war and keep prepared.

it is of course in some respects inconceivable that such a state of mind should follow upon disaster brought by war and a whole age of wars Normall we would think that a world calamity like the two last world wars, would satisfy every thinking human being that war as a method of human progress is utterly stupid: that the great ends of civilization cannot be settled by brute force or atomic fission; that the widespread belief that war always accomplishes something; and that it is the ultimate recourse to which we ever must turn, is terribly untrue. It is I am convinced a falsification of history to make it even seem true. And it certainly cannot be true for the future if the present civilization is to endure.

That there should be at all times, and particularly after such world upheaval as we have recently lived through, different ideals and proposals and paneaceas, for the good of the world, is not only inevitable it is healthy and to be expected.

If we had come out of this war, all of us agreed on just what should be done. What program should be followed, we would have a right to suspect dangerous poverty of human imagination and lack of thorough-going logic. After what has happened since 1900, there is and can be today no such absolute knowledge of facts and understanding of trends as to allow any honest human being to be dogmatic as to what is best for every nation everywhere and at all times.

If there are different ideas, different ways of examining and attacking our distracting problems certainly the way to settle them is not to fight or to plan organized murder nor to dissipate the major part of our thought, wealth, our work to planning war, it is rather through the well known met od of patient conference, and thorough thought and constant study:

It is through friendly meeting and particularly through avoiding the ~~partisanxparxenxtexwxenxyenxarexspeakingxxdeexxedxxg~~ miscellaneous calling of names and misinterpretation of motives, just because the particular person to whom you are speaking, does not agree with you immediately.

The conquest of the mind can only be complete, when there is honest effort to understand and to reveal. It is for that reason that the greatest need conceivable today in the world is friendship and conference between the Soviet Republic and the United States of America.

We cannot blame Russia for hesitating. "Russia's fear is aggravated by her memory of the past. She remembers the summer of 1919, when the armies of 14 nations, including Britain, France, China, the United States, Germany and Japan were waging war against the new Soviet union upon Soviet Soil-...

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"Russia remembers the red-baiting, the articulate and open conspiracy against her among the major powers of the world which went on after Foreign Military Forces were withdrawn or driven from the Soviet Union, and the long period when she was feared and hated by all and recognized by none"..Nevertheless, the United States and Russia are both lands to which modern civilization owes much. The United States has shown what it is possible for people to accomplish when land is free and wages are above starvation level. It has shown what the human mind can do even among the so-called lower classes of society, if their possibilities are opened by education and opportunity.

On the other hand, the Soviet Republic, alone of all great modern nations has faced resolutely and determinedly the problem of poverty, that arch-cause of our two greatest disasters, disease and ignorance. It has tried and is still trying a method by which it hopes to build a land free from poverty and its sequences.

It may well be that we in America, with the success that we have had in raising the standards of labor and of living for all men and in our marvelous technical accomplishment, will not easily be induced to believe that these great visions of Russia can ever come true. And it is just as conceivable, that the Russians looking upon the rule of wealth in the United States, the treatment of 13 million citizens of Negro descent and the majority of Americans still below the line of decent living, will honestly doubt whether this program of ours is the Best possible. They may see in the American way of Life, only economic ~~xx~~ anarchy, brilliantly successful in some respects but destined to crash in ultimate disaster unless we plan our future and curb individual freedom for social welfare.

Under such circumstances, to think that war is necessary for the settlement of these two ideologies is plain insanity. It is not ~~xxxy~~ only not necessary, it is the one unthinkable thing. What each nation needs is Freedom to carry out its own ideas and to prove to the other and to the world that it is right in whole or in part. For this end there should be first: confidence, friendship and comradeship in all areas of life and activity. It is for this that we meet here today and strive with all men of good will to make recourse to war not only illegal but so repugnant to the moral sense of honest people, that men of decency and freedom may not mention it in public, nor whisper it in private.

Nor is that all: Our freindship should be not only an effort to avoid the sum of all evils--War, but to learn from each other. And we can learn. Russia has much to teach the United States and the United States has much to teach Russia as Russia has so often said. How much of

frustration , loss of money, time and energy, could have been saved, and how much gained for civilization, if all of the effort put into considering differences between the United States and Russia, had been given to learning the things which these two great nations have to teach? To collaberation in methods of education: to working together for scientific research for knowledge of ways in which the distribution of wealth could be made more just, and the production of goods more efficient? No two nations in the world have so much to learn from each other as these two great leaders of modern civilization.

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It is a tragedy, almost beyond words that instead of facing and urging such collaboration, we envisage only further frustration if not actual annihilation.

I have visited Russia twice,in 1928 and in 1936, at neither visit did I see all of Russia or everything that was happening. I was never in position to act as an authority on what the Russian government is or what it has accomplished. But on the other hand, I am a traveller of some experience. I have seen much of the world in two hemispheres, in many latitudes, in many countries. I have been a student of social conditions all of my life. I have known what poverty and degradation can be. I have seen people struggling upward under all conditions and with every impediment and I came out of Russia on both visits not convinced that Russia was the only country on Earth: not convinced that it was always right; not convinced that everything was well: but on the other hand, I came out believeing that Russia and its people formed in my mind and with my experience the most hopeful country upon earth.

The one country which although not without distress and where without trying to misread the facts, and in the face of hardship and even destitution was determined at any sacrifice to have a land worth living in. And if there was one thing that despite everyting else which convinecd me of the h nesty of the Russian Effort, it was the fact that they were doing a job of education such as the United States of America had never attempted, if we in America had done for the freed slaves what Russia has been doing for the freed peasants, we would have not Negro problem today. But because we deliberately messed up the effort to vive the Negroes education in order to get cheap labor, we have reached a time today when two generations after emancipation, Negro recruits in or army were at least 30% illiterate.

The Russian mass attack upon illiteracy, coupled with the work being done to abolish poverty and disease means that no matter what others think, the Russians are building a great future. Intelligence, without poverty cannot fail. Having spent an active life time, on the other hand , in w ich I have visited every state in the Union and many of them many times: in which I have studied our history and tried to interpret it, I am certain first of the tremendous possibilities still facing this country of ours, in which we have raised millions of unlikely persons of all classes and races and shown them possibilities and ideals: and I am not willing to concede that there is any reason why the United States of America should not yet become the democracy of which its greater souls have dreamed and should not be able to use our wealth and knowledge for the advance of the peoples of the world, and not for mass destruction.

Here then are two nations with marvelous possibilities and all that is needed is cooperation, understanding and good will.

W. E..B. DU BOIS AMERICAN-SOVIET-FRIENDSHIP

CHICAGO ANNRESS NOVEMBER 23, 1947

In December 1918, I was in France. I visited the battlefield in the Argonne and the Camp at Le Mans where they were cleaning the lice off of soldiers about to return home. I saw the mud, dirt and ~~fifth~~ filth: The desttuction and rubble at verdun: The ruins of ~~m~~ homes and cathederals; and in the black gowned figures of women passing on the street I saw the dead, the orphaned and the maimed. But I had one increasing sense of hope as I said to myself bad as this is---with all this death, suffering and destruction, there cannot be another war during the generation that endured this one or even among the generations that remember it. No one who has seen this war will ever consent to another. This is the last of the great wars.

Yet before I left Paris there was war talk in the air; and when I reached America there was still the idea that war was inevitable. When war came again a gener tion after, I became certain, that the worse result of war, a result more stunning than 15 million corpses; than wice as many wounded; than broken homes and the wanton destruction of hard earned property; that worse than all these results of war, was the feeling that war was inevitable: that it must and would come again: and that the only th ng to do was to prepare for war and keep prepared.

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It is of course in s me respects inconceivable that such a state of mind should follow upon disaster brought by war and a whole age of wars. Normally we would think that a world calamity like the two last world wars, would satisfy every thinking human being that war as a method of human progress is utterly st pid: that the great ends of civilization cannot be settled by brute force or atomic fission: that it may well be at some stages of world progress and in some conditions of our own day, that force is unavoidable and justifiable: but the widespread belief that war always accomplishes something: and that it is the ultimate recourse to which we always and ever must turn, is terribly untrue. It is I am convinced a falsification of history to make it even seem true. And it certainly cannot be true for the future if the present civilization is to endure.

That there should be at all times, and particularly after such world upheaval as we have rectnely lived through, different ideals and proposals and paneacreas, for the good of the world, is not only inevitable it is healthy and to be expected.

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If we had come out of this war, all of us agreed on just what should be done. hat program should be followed, we would hav a right to suspect dangerous poverty of human imagination and lack of thorough logic. After what has happened since 1900, there is and can be today no such absolute knowledge of facts and understanding of trends as to allow any honest human being to be dogmatic as to wh t is best for every nation everywhere and at all times.

And if there are different ideas, different ways of examining and attacking our distracting problems certainly the way to settle them is not to fight or to plan organized murder or to dissipate the major part of our thought, wealth, our work to planning. It is rather through the well known method of patient conference, and thorough thought and constant study: It is through friendly meeting and particularly through avoiding miscellaneous calling of names and misinterpretation of motives, because the particular person to whom you are speaking, does not agree with you immediately.

The conquest of the mind can only be complete, when there is honest

effort to understand and to reveal. It is for that reason that the greatest need conceivable today in the world is friendship and conference between the Soviet Republic and the United States of America.

They are both lands to which modern civilization owes much. The United States has shown what it is possible for people to do, when land is free and wages above starvation level: It has shown what the human mind can do even among the so-called lower classes of society, if their possibilities are opened by education and opportunity.

On the other hand, the Soviet Republic, alone of all great modern nations has faced resolutely and determinedly the problem of poverty, that arch-cause of our two greatest disasters, disease and ignorance. It has tried and is still trying a method by which it hopes to build a land free from poverty and its sequences.

It may well be proven that we in America, with the success that we have had in raising the standards of labor and of living for all men, and in our marvelous technical accomplishment, will not easy be induced to believe that these great visions of russia can ever come true. And it is just as conceivable that the Russians looking upon the rule of wealth in the United States, the treatment of 13 million citizens of Negro descent and the millions of Americans still below the line of decent living, will honestly doubt whether this program of ours is the best possible or not. They may see in the American Way of life, only economic anarchy, brilliantly successful in some respects but destined to crash in ultimate disaster unless we plan our future and curb indinidual freedom for social welfare.

Under such circumstances, to think that war is necessary for the settleme of these two ideologies is plain insanity. It is not only not necessary, it is the one unthinkable thing. What each nation needs is the freedom to carry out its ideas and to prove to the other and to the world that it is right or partically right: and for this reason there should be first confidence, friendship and comradeship in all areas of life and activity. It is to this end that we meet here today and that we strive with all men of good will to make recourse to war not only illegal but so repugnant to the moral sense of decent people, that men of decency and freedom may not mention it in public, nor whisper it in private.

Nor is that all: Our friendship should be not only an effort to avoid the sum of all evils--war, but to learn from each other. And we can learn. Russia has much to teach the United States and the United States has much to teach Russia as Russia has so often said. How much of frustration and loss of money, time and energy, could have been saved, and how much gained for civilization, if all of the effort put into considering relations between the United States and Russia, had been given to learning the things which these two great nations have to teach? To collaberation in methods of education: To working together for scientific advance: for knowledge of ways in which the distribution of wealth could be made more just, and the production of goods more efficient? No two nations in the world have so much to learn from each other as these two great leaders of modern civilization.

It is a tragedy, almost beyond worlds that instead of facing and urging such collaberation, we envisage only further frustration if not actual annihilation.

I have visited Russia twice in 1928 and in 1936, at neither visit did

I see all of Russia or everything that was happening. I was never in a position to act as an authority on what the Russian Government is or what it has accomplished. But on the other hand, I have seen much of the world in two hemispheres, in many latitudes, in many countries. I have been a student of social conditions all of my life. I have known what poverty and degradation can be . I have seen people struggling upward under all conditions and with every impediment and I came out of Russia on both visits not convinced that Russia was the only country on earth: not convinced that it was always right: not convinced that everything was well: but on the other hand, believing that Russia and its people formed in my mind and with my experience the most hopeful country upon Earth.

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The one country which was not without distress but whether wit out trying to misread the facts, and in the face of distitution, was determined at any sacrifice to have a country worth living in. And if there was one thing that despite everything else which convinced me of the honesty of the Russian effort, it was the fact that they were doing a job of education such as the United States of America never attempted. If we in America had done for the freed slaves what Russia has been doing for the freed peasants, we would have no Negro Problem today. But because we deliberately messed up the effort to give the Negroes education, Wehave reached a time today when two generations after emancipation, Negro recruits in our army were at least 30 if not 40% illiterate.

The Russian effort at mass attack upon illiteracy, coupled with the work being done to abolish poverty and disease means that no matter what others think, the Russians are facing a great future. Having spent an active life time in which I have visited every state in the United States and many of them many times: in which I have studied history and tried to interpret it, I am certain, first of the tremendous possibilities still facing this land for which we have raised millions of unlikely classes and races and shown them possibilities and ideals: and I am not willing to concede that there is any reason why the United States of America should not yet become the Democracy of which its greater souls have dreamed. And should be able to use our wealth and knowledge for the advance of peoples of the world.

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Here then are two nations with marvelous possibilities and all that is needed is cooperation, understanding and good will.

AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP.

CHICAGO ADDRESS NOVEMBER 23, 1947

W.E.B. DuBois

IN DECEMBER 1918, I WAS IN FRANCE. IVISITED THE BATTLEFIELD IN THE ARGONNE AND THE CAMP AT LE MANS WHERE THEY WERE CLEANING THE LICE OFF OF SOLDIERS ABOUT TO RETURN HOME. I SAW THE MUD, DIRT AND FILTH: THE DESTRUCTION AND RUBBLE AT VERDUN: THE RUINS OF HOMES AND CATHEDERALS: AND IN THE BLACK GOWNED FIGURES OF WOMEN PASSING ON THE STREET I SAW THE DEAD, THE ORPHANED AND THE MAIMED. BUT I HAD ONE INCREASING SENSE OF HOPE AS I SAID TO MYSELF BAD AS THIS IS ---WITH ALL THIS DEATH, SUFFERING AND DESTRUCTION, THERE CANNOT BE ANOTHER WAR DURING THE GENERATION THAT ENDURED THIS ONE OR EVEN AMONG THE GENERATIONS THAT REMEMBER IT. NO ONE WHO HAS SEEN THIS WAR WIL EVER CONSENT TO ANOTHER. THIS IS THE LAST OF THE GREAT WARS.

YET BEFORE I LEFT PARIS THERE WAS WAR TALK IN THE AIR: AND WHEN

REACHED AMERICA THERE WAS STILL THE IDEA THAT WAR WAS INEVITABLE. WHEN WAR CAME AGAIN A GENERATION AFTER, I BECAME CERTAIN, THAT THE WORSE RESULT OF WAR, A RESULT MORE STUNNING THAN 15 MILLION CORPSES: THAN TWICE AS MANY WOUNDED: THAN BROKEN HOMES AND THE WANTON DESTRUCTION OF HARD EARNED PROPERTY: THAT WORSE THAN ALL THESE RESULTS OF WAR , WAS THE FEELING THAT WAR WAS INEVITABLE: THAT IT MUST AND WOULD COME AGAIN: AND THAT THE ONLY THING TO DO WAS TO PREPARE FOR WAR AND KEEP PREPARED.

IT IS OF COURSE IN SOME RESPECTS INCONCEIVABLE THAT SUCH A STATE OF MIND SHOULD FOLLOW UPON DISASTER BROUGHT BY WAR AND A WHOLE AGE OF WARS. NORMALLY WE WOULD THINK THAT A WORLD CALAMITY LIKE THE TWO LAST WORLD WARS, WOUDL SATISFY EVERY THINKING HUMAN BEING THAT WAR AS A METHOD OF HUMAN PROGRESS IS UTTERLY STUPID: THAT THE GREAT ENDS OF CIVILIZATION CANNOT BE SETTLED BY BRUTE FORCE OR ATOMIC FISSION: THAT IT MAY WELL BE AT SOME

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STAGES OF WORLD PROGRESS AND IN SOME CONDITIONS OF OUR OWN DAY, THAT FORCE IS UNAVOIDABLE AND JUSTIFIABLE: BUT THE WIDESPREAD BELIEF THAT WAR ALWAYS ACCOMPLISHES SOMETHING: AND THAT IT IS THE ULTIMATE RECOURSE TO WHICH WE ALWAYS AND EVER MUST TURN, IS TERRIBLY UNTRUE. IT IS I AM CONVINCED A FALSIFICATION OF HISTORY TO MAKE IT EVEN SEEM TRUE. AND IT CERTAINLY CANNOT BE TRUE FOR THE FUTURE IF THE PRESENT CIVILIZATION IS TO ENDURE.

THAT THERE SHOULD BE AT ALL TIMES, AND PARTICULARLY AFTER SUCH WORLD UPHEAVAL AS WE HAVE RECENTLY LIVED THROUGH, DIFFERENT IDEALS AND PROPOSALS AND PANEACEAS, FOR THE GOOD OF THE WORLD, IS NOT ONLY INEVITABLE IT IS HEALTHY AND TO BE EXPECTED.

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IF WE HAD COME OUT OF THIS WAR, ALL OF US AGREED ON JUST WHAT SHOULD BE DONE. WHAT PROGRAM SHOULD BE FOLLOWED, WE WOULD HAVE A RIGHT TO SUSPECT DANGEROUS POVERTY OF HUMAN IMAGINATION AND LACK OF THOROUGH LOGIC. AFTER WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE 1900, THERE IS AND CAN BE TODAY NO

SUCH ABSOLUTE KNOWLEDGE OF FACTS AND UNDERSTANDING OF TRENDS AS TO ALLOW ANY HONEST HUMAN BEING TO BE DOGMATIC AS TO WHAT IS BEST FOR EVERY NATION EVERYWHERE AND AT ALL TIMES.

AND IF THERE ARE DIFFERENT IDEAS, DIFFERENT WAYS OF EXAMINING AND ATTACKING OUR DISTRACTING PROBLEMS CERTAINLY THE WAY TO SETTLE THEM IS NOT TO FIGHT OR TO PLAN ORGANIZED MURDER OR TO DISSIPATE THE MAJOR PART OF OUR THOUGHT, WEALTH, OUR WORK TO PLANNING FOR WAR. IT IS RATHER THROUGH THE WELL KNOWN METHOD OF PATIENT CONFERENCE, AND THOROUGH THOUGHT AND CONSTANT STUDY: IT IS THROUGH FRIENDLY MEETING AND PARTICULARLY THROUGH AVOIDING MISCELLANEOUS CALLING OF NAMES AND MISINTERPRETATION OF MOTIVES, BECAUSE THE PARTICULAR PERSON TO WHOM YOU ARE SPEAKING, DOES NOT AGREE WITH YOU IMMEDIATELY.

THE CONQUEST OF THE MIND CAN ONLY BE COMPLETE, WHEN THERE IS HONEST EFFORT TO UNDERSTAND AND TO REVEAL. IT IS FOR THAT REASON THAT THE

GREATEST NEED CONCEIVABLE TODAY IN THE WORLD IS FRIENDSHIP AND CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE SOVIET REPUBLIC AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

THEY ARE BOTH LANDS TO WHICH MODERN CIVILIZATION OWES MUCH. THE UNITED STATES HAS SHOWN WHAT IT IS POSSIBLE FOR PEOPLE TO DO, WHEN LAND IS FREE AND WAGES ABOVE STARVATION LEVEL: IT HAS SHOWN WHAT THE HUMAN MIND CAN DO EVEN AMONG THE SO-CALLED LOWER CLASSES OF SOCIETY, IF THEIR POSSIBILITIES ARE OPENED BY EDUCATION AND POOORTUNITY.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE SOVIET REPUBLIC, ALONE OF ALL GREAT MODERN NATIONS HAS FACED RESOLUTELY AND DETERMINEDLY THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY, THAT ARCH-CAUSE OF OUR TWO GREATEST DISASTERS, DISEASE AND IGNORANCE. IT HAS TRIED AND IS STILL TRYING A METHOD BY WHICH IT HOPES TO BUILD A LAND FREE FROM POVERTY AND ITS SEQUENCES.

IT MAY WELL BE PROVEN THAT WE IN AMERICA, WITH THE SUCCESS THAT WE HAVE HAD IN RAISING THE STANDARDS OF LABOR AND OF LIVING FOR ALL MEN,

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AND IN OUR MARVELOUS TECHNICAL ACCOMPLISHMENT, WILL NOT EASY BE INDUCED TO BELIEVE THAT THESE GREAT VISIONS OF RUSSIA CAN EVER COME TRUE. AND IT IS JUST AS CONCEIVABLE, THAT THE RUSSIANS LOOKING UPON THE RULE OF WEALTH IN THE UNITED STATES, THE TREATMENT OF 13 MILLION CITIZENS OF NEGRO DESCENT AND THE MILLIONS OF AMERICANS STILL BELOW THE LINE OF DECENT LIVING, WILL HONESTLY DOUBT WHETHER THIS PROGRAM OF OURS IS THE BEST POSSIBLE OR NOT. THEY MAY SEE IN THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE, ONLY ECONOMIC ANARCHY, BRILLIANTLY SUCCESSFUL IN SOME RESPECTS BUT DESTINED TO CRASH IN ULTIMATE DISASTER UNLESS WE PLAN OUR FUTURE AND CURB INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM FOR SOCIAL WELFARE.

UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, TO THINK THAT WAR IS NECESSARY FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THESE TWO IDEOLOGIES IS PLAIN INSANITY. IT IS NOT ONLY NOT NECESSARY, IT IS THE ONE UNTHINKABLE THING. WHAT EACH NATION NEEDS IS THE FREEDOM TO CARRY OUT ITS IDEAS AND TO PROVE TO THE OTHER AND TO THE WORLD

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THAT IT IS RIGHT OR PARTICALLY RIGHT: AND FOR THIS REASON THERE SHOULD BE FIRST CONFIDENCE, FRIENDSHIP AND COMRADESHIP IN ALL AREAS OF LIFE AND ACTIVITY. IT IS TO THIS END THAT WE MEET HERE TODAY AND THAT WE STRIVE WITH ALL MEN OF GOOD WILL TO MAKE RECOURSE TO WAR NOT ONLY ILLEGAL BUT SO REPUGNANT TO THE MORAL SENSE OF DECENT PEOPLE, THAT MEN OF DECENCY AND FREEDOM MAY NOT MENTION IT IN PUBLIC, NOR WHISPER IT IN PRIVATE.

NOR IS THAT ALL: OUR FRIENDSHIP SHOULD BE NOT ONLY AN EFFORT TO AVOID THE SUM OF ALL EVILS --WAR, BUT TO LEARN FROM EACH OTHER. AND WE CAN LEARN. RUSSIA HAS MUCH TO TEACH THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED STATES HAS MUCH TO TEACH RUSSIA AS RUSSIA HAS SO OFTEN SAID. HOW MUCH OF FRUSTRATION AND LOSS OF MONEY, TIME AND ENERGY, COULD HAVE BEEN SAVED, AND HOW MUCH GAINED FOR CIVILIZATION, IF ALL OF THE EFFORT PUT INTO CONSIDERING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA, HAD BEEN GIVEN TO LEARNING THE THINGS WHICH THESE TWO GREAT NATIONS HAVE TO TEACH? TO COLLABERATION IN METHODS OF

EDUCATION: TO WORKING TOGETHER FOR SCIENTIFIC ADVANCE: FOR KNOWLEDGE OF WAYS IN WHICH THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH COULD BE MADE MORE JUST, AND THE PRODUCTION OF GOODS MORE EFFICIENT? NO TWO NATIONS IN THE WORLD HAVE SO MUCH TO LEARN FROM EACH OTHER AS THESE TWO GREAT LEADERS OF MODERN CIVILIZATION.

IT IS A TRAGEDY, ALMOST BEYOND WORDS THAT INSTEAD OF FACING AND URGING SUCH COLLABERATION, WE ENVISAGE ONLY FURTHER FRUSTRATION IF NOT ACTUAL ANNIHILATION.

I HAVE VISITED RUSSIA TWICE IN 1928 AND IN 1936, AT NEITHER VISIT DID I SEE ALL OF RUSSIA OR EVERYTHING THAT WAS HAPPENING. I WAS NEVER IN POSITION TO ACT AS AN AUTHORITY ON WHAT THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT IS OR WHAT IT HAS ACCOMPLISHED. BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, I HAVE SEEN MUCH OF THE WORLD IN TWO HEMISPHERES, IN MANY LATITUDES, IN MANY COUNTRIES. I HAVE

EN A STUDENT OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS ALL OF MY LIFE. I HAVE KNOWN WHAT POVERTY AND DEGRADATION CAN BE. I HAVE SEEN PEOPLE STRUG LING UPWARD UNDER ALL CONDITIONS AND WITH EVERY IMPEDIMENT AND I CAME OUT OF RUSSIA ON BOTH VISITS NOT CONVINCED THAT RUSSIA WAS THE ONLY COUNTRY ON EARTH: NOT CONVINCED THAT IT WAS ALWAYS RIGHT: NOT CONVINCED THAT EVERYTHING WAS WELL: BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, BELIEVING THAT RUSSIA AND ITS PEOPLE FORMED IN MY MIND AND WITH MY EXPERIENCE THE MOST HOPEFUL COUNTRY UPON EARTH.

THE ONE COUNTRY WHICH WAS NOT WITHOUT DISTRESS BUT WHETHER WITHOUT TRYING TO MISREAD THE FACTS, AND IN THE FACE OF DISTITUTION , WAS DETERMINED AT ANY SACRIFICE TO HAVE A COUNTRY WORTH LIVING IN. AND IF THERE WAS ONE THING THAT DESPITE OF EVERYTHING ELSE WHICH CONVINCED ME OF THE HONESTY OF THE RUSSIAN EFFORT , IT WAS THE FACT THAT THEY WERE DOING A JOB OF EDUCATION SUCH AS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA NEVER ATTEMPTED. IF WE IN AMERICA HAD DONE FOR THE FREED SLAVES WHAT RUSSIA HAS BEEN DOING FOR THE

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FREED PEASANTS, WE WOULD HAVE NO NEGRO PROBLEM TODAY. BUT BECAUSE WE DELIBERATELY MESSED UP THE EFFORT TO GIVE THE NEGROES EDUCATION. WE HAVE REACHED A TIME TODAY WHEN TWO GENERATIONS AFTER EMANCIPATION, NEGRO RECRUITS IN OUR ARMY WERE AT LEAST 30 IF NOT 40% ILLITERATE.

THE RUSSIAN EFFORT AT MASS ATTACK UPON ILLITERACY, COUPLED WITH THE WORK BEING DONE TO ABOLISH POVERTY AND DISEASE MEANS THAT NO MATTER WHAT OTHERS THINK, THE RUSSIANS ARE FACING A GREAT FUTURE. HAVING SPENT AN ACTIVE LIFE TIME IN WHICH I HAVE VISITED EVERY STATE IN THE UNITED STATES AND MANY OF THEM MANY TIMES: IN WHICH I HAVE STUDIED HISTORY AND TRIED TO INTERPRET IT, I AM CERTAIN, FIRST OF THE TREMENDOUS POSSIBILITIES STILL FACING THIS LAND FOR WHICH WE HAVE RAISED MILLIONS OF UNLIKELY CLASSES AND RACES AND SHOWN THEM POSSIBILITIES AND IDEALS: AND I AM NOT WILLING TO CONCEDE THAT THERE IS ANY REASON WHY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA SHOULD NOT YET BECOME THE DOMOCRACY OF WHICH ITS GREATER SOULS HAVE DREAMED.

AND SHOULD NOT BE ABLE TO USE OUR WEALTH AND KNOWLEDGE FOR THE ADVANCE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

HERE THEN ARE TWO NATIONS WITH MARVELOUS POSSIBILITIES AND ALL THAT IS NEEDED IS COOPERATION, UNDERSTANDING AND GOOD WILL.

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University of Chicago
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NO SECOND CLASS CITIZENS

By W.E.B. DuBois

IT MUST NOT BE ASSUMED THAT THE STATUS OF SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP IS SOMETHING PECULIAR TO THE UNITED STATES OR TO MODERN TIMES. PROBABLY IN PRIMITIVE HUMAN LIFE THERE WAS SOMETHING LIKE EQUALITY AMONG THE VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY AND CLAN, EXCEPT IN THE CASE OF THE CHIEF. THIS WAS DISTURBED FIRST BY THE INFLUX OF WAR CAPTIVES WHO BECAME HUMBLE SLAVES: AND BY CONTACT WITH FOREIGNERS. SO THAT WHEN WE COME TO THE DAYS OF CIVILIZATION, AS FOR INSTANCE IN ATHENS, WE FIND FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD CLASS CITIZENS. FIRST CLASS CITIZENS,WHO WERE MEMBERS OF THE ATHENICN DEMOCRACY AND COMPARATIVELY SMALL IN NUMBERS. A MUCH LARGER CLASS OF FOREIGNERS WHO WERE CITIZENS AND TRADERS WITH LIMITED RIGHTS;AND FINALLY, A LARGE CLASS OF SLAVES WHO DID THE WORK AND PERSONAL SERVICE. THE CENSUS OF DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS, IN 309 B.C., GAVE FOR ATHENS 21,000 CITIZENS, 10,000 METICS (RESIDENTS FOREIGNERS), AND 400,000 SLAVES. LATER COMPILATIONS SAY THAT THE SERVILE POPULATION OF ATTICA WAS COMPRISED BETWEEN THE LIMITS OF 188,000 AND 203,000 SOULS; THE FREE POPULATION BEING ABOUT 67,000 AND

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THE METICS AMOUNTING TO 40,000. THE SLAVES THUS BORE TO THE FREE NATIVE POPULATION THE RATIO OF 3 TO 1. IN A STATE LIKE THIS, A DISCUSSION OF DEMOCRACY WAS A DIFFERENT THING THAN DISCUSSION TODAY IN CHICAGO AND IN AMERICA: SO, TOO, IN ROME, IT IS SAID THAT AT THE TIME OF CLAUDIUS THERE WERE IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE 21,000,000 SLAVES AND 7,000,000 CITIZENS: TO THESE AGAIN WOULD BE ADDED A LARGE NUMBER OF NON-CITIZENS. SO THAT THERE AGAIN THE MEMBERS OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC WERE BUT A SMALL MINORITY.

WHEN WE COME TO THE MIDDLE AGES, ST. AUGUSTINE'S CITY OF GOD ENVISAGES CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL INEQUALITIES,"DENYING POETS ALL A PLACE IN A WELL ORDERED COMMONWEALTH," AND OF COURSE DISFRANCHISING ALL NON-CHRISTIANS. WE HAVE EVENTUALLY THE EFFORT OF THE GUILDS, WITH THEIR MASTERS AND ARTISANS FIGHTING FOR RIGHTS AS AGAINST THE PRIVILEGED NOBILITY: AND BELOW THEM, THE THIRD CLASS CITIZENS WERE THE SERFS AND ORDINARY LABORERS, THE RUNAWAYS AND SLUM-DWELLERS FESTERING IN THE DEPTHS, WHENCE THEIR VOICES ROSE PITFULLY TO AND FELL USUALLY ON DEAF EARS.

WITH THE DISCOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW WORLD, THERE CAME AN INCREASED

DEMAND FOR LABOR WHICH COULD NOT BE SATISFIED BY EUROPE BUT COULD BE FILLED IF THE DISLOCATIONS AND TURMOIL IN AFRICA WERE TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF. THE RESULT WAS THE TRANSFER OF SOME TEN MILLION EFFECTIVE LABORERS TO THE AMERICAN CONTINENT, DEPRIVING AFRICA, WITH THE ADDITIONAL DEAD, OF A FOURTH TO A THIRD OF ITS POPULATION. IN ADDITION TO THESE, A LARGE NUMBER OF WHITE LABORERS WERE SHANGHAIED IN THE SLUMS OF VARIOUS EUROPEAN CITIES OR INDUCED TO COME VOLUNTARILY TO AMERICA WITH PROMISE OF LAND AND REMUNERATIVE WORK.

OUT OF THIS SITUATION, DEMOCRACY BEGAN IN AMERICA: BUT FIRST DISTINCTLY LIMITED AND ENVISAGING SECOND AND THIRD CLASS CITIZENSHIP: FREEDOM AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE FOR MEMBERS OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN NEW ENGLAND: FOR LAND AND SLAVE OWNERS IN THE SOUTH, AND FOR PROPERTY HOLDERS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES, DOWN UNTIL THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BEGINNING WITH THE AGE OF JACKSON CAME THE LIFTING GRADUALLY OF THE LABORING CLASS TO POLITICAL AND CIVIL FREEDOM, WITH STILL THE SECOND CLASS CITIZENSHIP OF NEGROES WHETHER SLAVE OR FREE, AND ALSO CERTAIN FOREIGNERS. TO DEFEND THIS DEGRADATION OF MAN THERE AROSE THE DOCTRINE OF RACE DIFFERENCES IN AMERICA, ESPECIALLY AS APPLIED

TO BLACK FOLK WHO WERE INCREASINGLY REGARDED AS CONGENITAL SLAVES, BUT THIS ATTITUDE TOWARD MANKIND WAS NOT NATIVE TO AMERICA; INDEED, IT WAS WORLD-WIDE, BUT EMPHASIZED IN AMERICA AND HELPED BY THE CHANGE FROM THE SLAVE SYSTEM BASED ON THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE BETWEEN WEST AFRICA AND AMERICA, AND THE IVORY-SLAVE TRADE IN EAST AFRICA CARRIED ON BY THE ARABS WITH THE HELP AND SUBVENTION OF ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

THE GREAT CONTRIBUTION OF THE UNITED STATES TO DEMOCRACY WAS PROOF THAT THE MOST UNLIKELY CLASSES AND RACES OF PEOPLE COULD BE MADE FIT FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT, IF THEY WERE GIVEN OPPORTUNITY FOR EDUCATION AND FOR REMUNERATIVE WORK. IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT BEFORE THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT, IT WAS COMMON BELIEF AMONG EUROPEANS, THAT DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT WAS ONLY POSSIBLE FOR A SELECTED CLASS OF CITIZENS: THAT THE MASS OF CITIZENS COULD NEVER BE RAISED TO THE POINT WHERE THEY WOULD HAVE SUFFICIENT INTELLIGENCE TO GOVERN. NOW CAME A COUNTRY WHERE THERE POURED IN, VOLUNTARILY AND INVOLUNTARILY, A LARGE NUMBER OF THE MOST DEPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. THEY WERE ARRESTED IN THE SLUMS OF CITIES AND SENT OVER AS INDENTURED SERFS FROM ENGLAND, IRELAND, GERMANY,

AND OTHER COUNTRIES. SLAVES WERE BROUGHT IN FROM AFRICA AND THIS INDISCRIMINANT MASS OF PEOPLES WERE THE BASIS UPON WHICH DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA WAS GRADUALLY BUILT. IT WAS A COMMON SAYING IN GERMANY, EVEN AS LATE AS THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, THAT THE ONLY GERMANS WHO MIGRATED TO AMERICA WERE THOSE WHO WERE NOT WORTH ANYTHING IN GERMANY. SIMILAR THINGS WERE SAID OF THE IRISH, AND LATER OF THE ITALIANS AND SLAVS. NEVERTHELESS, GRADUALLY WITH EDUCATION AND WITH ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, THERE WAS BUILT A DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA, UNTIL IT BECAME CLEAR BY THE LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR PERSONS OF PRACTICALLY ANY CLASS OR RACE TO BE ABLE TO TAKE PART IN GOVERNMENT, IF THEY HAD EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY.

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THIS WAS CONCEDED SO FAR AS NEGROES WERE CONCERNED IN THOSE PLACES WHERE THEY HAD BEEN FREED FROM SLAVERY AND WERE RECOGNIZED AS CITIZENS. THEY VOTED EVEN IN SUCH STATES AS NORTH CAROLINA AND VIRGINIA, AND IN SEVERAL OF THE NORTHERN STATES. THE GREAT FEAR IN RECONSTRUCTION WAS NOT THAT NEGROES WOULD NOT MAKE GOOD CITIZENS, BUT THAT THEY WOULD. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE TENDENCY OF THE WORLD WAS AGAINST THE ADMISSION OF THE COLORED RACES INTO GOVERNMENT OR FREE ENTERPRISE.

SO THAT THIS DICHOTOMY AND CONTRADICTION GREW IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. DEMOCRACY FOR AN INCREASING NUMBER OF THE LOWER CLASSES IN WHITE EUROPE AND AMERICA, BUT UNIVERSAL SERFDOM FOR THE COLORED PEOPLES.

IT WAS CLEAR UNDER THE GROWING CAPITALIST SYSTEM THAT IT WAS NOT ONLY MORE PROFITABLE TO ABOLISH THE SLAVE TRADE AND PUT THE NATIVES TO WORK IN THEIR OWN LANDS WITH SUFFICIENT POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONTROL, BUT THIS METHOD ALSO ANSWERED THE GROWING MORAL AND RELIGIOUS PROTEST, AGAINST SLAVERY AS AN INSTITUTION.

THERE GREW UP, THEREFORE, IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY A THEORY OF HUMAN BEINGS BASED UPON THE HEGEMONY AND CONTROL OF WHITE EUROPE OVER THE REST OF THE WORLD. NOT AS A TYRANNY BUT AS A NECESSITY BECAUSE OF THE CHARACTER OF PEOPLES OUTSIDE OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA. THIS BECAME NOT ONLY A THEORY OF INFERIOR RACES BASED ON SLAVERY, BUT ALSO A THEORY WHICH EAGERLY SERVED THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION AS ENUNCIATED IN THE SIXTIES BY DARWIN AND WALLACE. IT WAS SINGULAR COINCIDENCE THAT WITH THE EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES IN 1863 THERE CAME TO THE SCIENTIFIC AND RELIGIOUS WORLD AN INCREASINGLY

DEVELOPED THEORY OF THE INFERIORITY OF THE MAJORITY OF MEN, NOT BECAUSE THEY WERE ENTIRELY DIFFERENT IN KIND, BUT BECAUSE THEY REPRESENTED WIDE DEGREES OF EVOLUTION: THE LOWEST GROUP OF THEM BEING QUITE UNFIT BECAUSE OF THEIR LAG IN DEVELOPMENT TO TAKE PART IN MODERN CULTURAL ORGANIZATION.

THIS MEANT TO MOST MEN THAT THE RULE OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA OVER ASIA, AFRICA, AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA WAS NOT A MATTER OF OPINION BUT A PRE-ORDAINED SCIENTIFIC FACT: THAT THE WORLD WAS COMPOSED OF FIRST CLASS AND SECOND CLASS CITIZENS, AND EVEN CITIZENS OF LOWER CLASSES, NOT BY CHOICE BUT BY A DEMONSTRABLE SCIENTIFIC TRUTH: IF NOT BY GOD'S COVENANT.

THIS GAVE GREAT RELIEF TO VARIOUS RELIGIOUS CREEDS, ESPECIALLY TO THOSE WHO, ON THE BASIS OF THE INFERIORITY OF MOST MEN, HAD BUILT UP THE NEW CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM AND WERE DERIVING INCREASING INCOME FROM SEMI-SLAVE LABOR AND MONOPOLY OF LAND AND MATERIALS. COLONIAL IMPERIALISM BASED ITSELF UPON THIS SITUATION AND SPREAD RAPIDLY DURING THE LATTER NINETEENTH CENTURY, UNTIL THE QUESTION WAS NOT WHETHER EUROPE WAS GOING TO RULE THE WORLD, BUT RATHER JUST WHEN SHE WAS GOING TO ASSERT FINAL CONTROL OVER ALL ASIA

AND AFRICA, MUCH OF SOUTH AMERICA, AND THE SEA ISLANDS.

THE DOCTRINE OF RACE AS SOMETHING AT THE BOTTOM OF THIS WHOLE INFERIORITY SITUATION OF THE MAJORITY OF MEN, NOW BECAME WORLD-WIDE AND UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED AND ON THE WHOLE, WAS MADE ONE WITH THE PROBLEM OF COLOR AND THE COLOR-BAR: SO THAT THE WORLD APPEARED WITH FIRST-CLASS WHITE CITIZENSHIP AND INFERIOR CITIZENSHIP FOR PRACTICALLY ALL COLORED PEOPLES. EVEN THE ATTEMPT OF JAPAN TO BREAK THROUGH THIS COLOR LINE, AT LEAST THEORETICALLY, WAS PROMPTLY SQUELCHED IN THE BREAKING UP OF THE BRITISH-JAPANESE ALLIANCE AT THE DEMAND OF THE UNITED STATES AND AUSTRALIA, AND THE REFUSAL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS TO ENTERTAIN A RACE EQUALITY RESOLUTION, WHICH STARTED ITS DECLINE. MEANTIME, DEMOCRACY DEVELOPED THROUGHOUT THE WHITE WORLD AND EVEN FURTHER: BUT IT WAS A DEVELOPMENT MAINLY LIMITED TO FIRST-CLASS CITIZENS AND IT INCLUDED, AS PART OF ITS THEORY AND UNDERSTANDING, THE ADMITTED FACT THAT DEMOCRACY WAS FIT ONLY FOR CERTAIN PEOPLES AND CLASSES. IT HAD, SO THE FOLKLORE RAN, DEVELOPED IN ENGLAND AND GERMANIC COUNTRIES. SOMETHING COULD BE FOUND IN ANCIENT LATIN COUNTRIES, BUT NOT SO MUCH AND NOT SO SUCCESSFUL. OUTSIDE OF THAT, ATTEMPTS AT DEMOCRACY WERE MERELY CARICATURE OR

IMITATION, AND EVIDENTLY BOUND TO FAILURE.

HOWEVER, EVEN IN THE SO-CALLED DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES, IN GREAT BRITAIN, IN THE UNITED STATES, IN FRANCE AND IN GERMANY, THE CITIZENSHIP ALSO DIVIDED ITSELF ALMOST INEVITABLY INTO FIRST-CLASS AND SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP CATEGORIES. THIS WAS BASED PRIMARILY UPON INCOME AND BECAUSE OF THAT, SECONDARILY, UPON EDUCATION AND HEALTH. IN OTHER WORDS, LOOKING AT EVERY ONE OF THE COUNTRIES, CALLED DEMOCRATIC AND LEADING CIVILIZATION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY, YOU FOUND AT THE TOP WITH GREAT POWER, EITHER ADMITTED OR SECRETLY EXERCISED, A SMALL GROUP OF RICH, WELL-TRAINED PEOPLE: AND BENEATH THEM POORER PEOPLE: SOME WITH MODERATE INCOMES, BUT THE MASS FORMING A GREAT MAJORITY OF THE NATION WITH INCOMES TOO SMALL TO SUPPORT LIFE DECENTLY OR ACCORDING TO THE CURRENT STANDARDS OF DECENCY IN THE COUNTRY.

THESE CLASSES, CALLED THE "LABORING CLASSES" OR THE "LOWER CLASSES" WERE EXPLAINED FIRST, ON THE THEORY THAT THEY WERE THE LAZY, IGNORANT, THRIFTLESS AND CRIMINAL, AND THAT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES THEY WERE NATURALLY BOUND TO BE THE INEFFICIENT PART OF THE PEOPLE.

THE DIFFICULTY, OF COURSE, WITH THIS EXPLANATION WAS THAT IT BROUGHT A NEW RACIAL CLEFT WITHIN THE RACE, BY WHICH IT SEEMED THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF HUMAN BEINGS, EVEN WITHIN THE WHITE RACE, WERE INCAPABLE OF RULE AND OF EFFECTIVE CITIZENSHIP. THERE EXISTED, THEREFORE, IN ALL THESE COUNTRIES, A SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP BASED ON POVERTY, AND THEN A THIRD-CLASS CITIZENSHIP OF LARGE NUMBERS OR SMALLER OF ALIEN PEOPLES LIKE THE IMMIGRANTS: THE NUMBER IN THE UNITED STATES BEING PROPORTIONATELY LARGE BECAUSE OF FREE NEGROES AND EMANCIPATED SLAVES.

AGAINST THIS SITUATION THE LABOR MOVEMENT AROSE AMONG WHITE WORKERS IN THE LEADING COUNTRIES. THEY FOUGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO VOTE AND GRADUALLY BEGAN TO WIN IT; THEY FOUGHT FOR HIGHER INCOME AND MORE DECENT CONDITIONS OF WORK: BUT THEY WERE FACED BY TWO HANDICAPS: ONE, THE HANDICAP OF COMPETITION WITH FOREIGN LABOR IN COUNTRIES RECOGNIZED AS INFERIOR LIKE CHINA AND INDIA, AND ESPECIALLY IN AFRICA; AND SECONDLY, IN COUNTRIES LIKE THE UNITED STATES, THEY WERE FACED BY THE FACT THAT A PART OF THE LEGAL CITIZENSHIP BELONGED TO A RACE WHOME THEY HAD BEEN TAUGHT TO REGARD AS INFERIOR AND

FOR WHOM THEY WERE IN MOST CASES RELUCTANT TO ASK EQUAL INCOMES OR EQUAL CONDITIONS OF WORK, AND IN SOME CASES PREFERRED STARVATION TO NEGRO EQUALITY.

CASTE CONDITIONS, THEREFORE, AROSE AND ENVELOPED THE WORLD. IN A COUNTRY LIKE ENGLAND, IT WAS A MOBILE CASTE CONDITION WHICH RECOGNIZED THE RISING PUSH OF THE LABORING CLASSES TOWARD EQUALITY, TOWARD INCREASED EDUCATION, MORE WAGES, AND BETTER CONDITIONS OF LIFE. SUCCESSFUL INDIVIDUALS WERE LIFTED INTO THE ARISTOCRACY. THESE QUALIFICATIONS, HOWEVER, WERE NOT EASILY GAINED, SO THAT MOST OF THE LABORERS IN THE 20TH CENTURY COULD IN THESE COUNTRIES STILL BE REGARDED AS SECOND-CLASS CITIZENS, BECAUSE OF THEIR POVERTY, IGNORANCE, AND DISEASE.

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ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE WERE OVERWHELMING CLASSES OF LABORERS BELONGING TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE, SUBJECTS IN FACT, IF NOT IN LAW OF THE BRITISH SOVEREIGN, WHO WERE WORKING IN COLONIES AND AMONG SUPPRESSED PEOPLES WITH THE LOWEST WAGE NECESSARY TO KEEP THE CLASS ALIVE AND INVOLVING A POVERTY ALMOST INDESCRIBABLE, WITH WIDESPREAD DISEASE WHICH OFTEN THREATENED TO ENGULF THE WORLD; AND WITH ALMOST TOTAL IGNORANCE AS TO WHAT THE WORLD HAD LEARNED SINCE THE DAYS OF THE RENAISSANCE.

THIS WAS A PART OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE INCOME FROM THEM NOT ONLY WENT TO THE INVESTORS AND OWNERS BUT ALSO A PART WENT TO THE WHITE LABORERS AS LARGESS FROM THIS EXPLOITATION OF THIRD CLASS CITIZENS WHO FORMED SOME FOUR HUNDRED MILLION OF THE FIVE HUNDRED MILLION INHABITANTS OF THE EMPIRE.

IN THE UNITED STATES THIS SAME PROBLEM WAS COMPLICATED BY THE FACT THAT THERE HAD ARISEN HERE AN ATTEMPT AFTER THE CIVIL WAR TO ESTABLISH A MORE HONEST AND FRANK CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY THAN HAD EVER BEEN ENVISAGED BEFORE. THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT PROPOSED TO MAKE THE MASS OF EMANCIPATED SLAVES CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH A RIGHT TO VOTE AND WITH EQUAL SOCIAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS. IT WAS WITH NO DOUBT THE ATTEMPT AT DEMOCRACY EVER ENVISAGED IN THE MODERN WORLD. IT IS CHARACTERISTIC OF AMERICA THAT THIS FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT, FAR FROM BEING USED TO MAKE NEGROES CITIZENS WAS USED TO DEFEND THE MONOPOLY AND EXPLOITATION OF CORPORATIONS AND THAT IS ITS CHIEF FUNCTION TODAY.

IN THE MEANTIME WHAT WE WOULD HAVE EXPECTED LOGICALLY WOULD HAVE BEEN A REVOLT BY THE LESSER PEOPLES AGAINST THIS DOMINATION OF THE STRONGEST. BUT SUCH REVOLT WAS DIFFICULT IN EUROPE. THE PEOPLE WERE UNDER STRICT CONTROL THEY HAD NO ARMS, THEY WERE DEPRIVED LARGELY OF LEADERSHIP. SO THAT THE REVOLT WAS LONG DRAWN OUT AND BECAME WHAT WE CALL THE LABOR MOVEMENT, BEGINNING WITH STRIKES AND REPRESSION, EXTENDING TO LABOR UNIONS AND GRADUALLY TO ENFRANCHISEMENT AND TO POLITICAL POWER.

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ON THE OTHER HAND, THE REVOLT WHICH REPRESENTED THE MASS REVOLT OF THE WORKERS BEGAN IN ITS MORE VIOLENT FORM IN THE COLONIES WHERE SLAVES AND INDENTURED SERVANTS HAD BEEN IMPORTED BY THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS. IN AMERICA 32 REVOLTS AND GROUPS OF REVOLTS ON THE PART OF THE SLAVES AND WORKERS MAY BE FOUND BETWEEN 1522 AND 1895. FIVE HAPPENED IN THE WEST INDIES, MEXICO, PERU AND CENTRAL AMERICA BEFORE THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY THERE WERE NINE REVOLTS IN THE WEST INDIES AND SOUTH AMERICA AND THE MASS ORGANIZATION CALLED THE MAROONS BEGAN TO APPEAR ALL OVER THIS TERRITORY.

IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY THERE WERE 14 REVOLTS IN THE WEST INDIES AND SOUTH

AND SOUTH AMERICA CULMINATING IN THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION. IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THERE WERE SEVEN REVOLTS IN THE WEST INDIES THROUGHOUT SOUTH AMERICA WITH WEST INDIAN HELP, IN CUBA AND JAMAICA. ALL THIS MEANS THAT THE MODERN LABOR MOVEMENT BEGAN AND RECEIVED ITS MORAL SUPPORT AND JUSTIFICATION IN THE WEST INDIES AND AMONG NEGRO SLAVERY RATHER THAN IN EUROPE ITSELF.

IN EUROPE IT THUS HAD A CHANCE TO BE CARRIED ON BY MORE INTELLIGENT LEADERSHIP AND WITH INCREASING POLITICAL POWER. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION COUPLED WITH THE LABOR FIGHT IN ENGLAND AND THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNIONS MEANT THE ATTEMPT OF SECOND CLASS AND THIRD CLASS CITIZENS OF EUROPE TO BE A PART OF DEMOCRACY. BUT THESE ATTEMPTS WERE SMALL AND WERE DWARFED BY AN ENTIRELY UNEXPECTED DEVELOPMENT AND THAT WAS THE ANARCHY, ENVY AND JEALOUSY AMONG THE EXPLOITING CLASSES AND THE EXPLOITING RACES AND EMPIRES OF THE WORLD. THERE CAME THE SERIES OF INCREASINGLY VIOLENT INDUSTRIAL CRISIS WHICH UPSET THE WHOLE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM AND THREATENED THE WAY

OF LIFE WHICH HAD BEEN ADOPTED BY LEADING COUNTRIES AFTER THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

TO THAT WAS ADDED A SERIES OF WARS, THAT IS THE ORGANIZED MURDER OF LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLES BELONGING TO VARIOUS NATIONS BECAUSE OF VARIOUS JEALOUSYS AND DISPUTES. BUT AT THE BOTTOM IN PRACTICALLY EVERY CASE FROM THE SEVEN YEARS WAR UNTIL THE LAST WORLD WAR AN ATTEMPT OF SOME NATION OR THE CLASSES EXPLOITING IN ALL NATIONS TO INCREASE THEIR SHARE OF THE VAST INCOME MADE BY THE EXPLOITATION OF LABOR PARTICULARLY IN COLONIES AND AMONG SUBJECTED PEOPLES. DESPITE THE FACT THAT THESE WARS INCREASED IN VIRULENCE AND PROPERTY LOSS UNTIL THE CULMINATION IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR STAGGERED HUMANITY, THERE IS DETERMINED ATTEMPT TO CARRY ON EXPLOITATION IN COLONIES AND OVER LABORING CLASSES TODAY IN THE SAME WAY EVEN AT THE COST OF A THIRD WORLD WAR.

WITH THE PLANNING AND ORGANIZATION OF A WORLD GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED NATIONS WE FIND POWERS FALLING APART INTO TWO GREAT GROUPS. THE ONE GROUP GIVES PREFERENCE TO A PLANNING OF INDUSTRY IN CONTRADICTION AND WITH CURTAILMENT OF INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE; WHILE THE OTHER STRESSES THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE BY WHICH EACH INDIVIDUAL IS TO CARRY ON INDUSTRY FOR PRIVATE PROFIT INTERFERED WITH AS LITTLE AS POSSIBLE BY

GOVERNMENT. EFFORT IS MADE TO STRESS THE FACT THAT BOTH OF THESE GROUPS OF NATIONS ARE DEMOCRACIES AND ARE FIGHTING FOR THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO HAVE VOICE AND EFFECTIVE VOICE IN THE GOVERNMENT AND IN INDUSTRY TO PREVENT ANY DEVIATION FROM THE THEORY OF GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY WHICH EACH SIDE ADVOCATED.

HERE IN THE UNITED STATES TWO DOCUMENTS HAVE RECENTLY EMPHASIZED THIS SITUATION; THE UNITED NATIONS PROPOSED IN ITS CHARTER MENTIONING THE MATTER SIX DIFFERENT TIMES: THE GUARDING OF HUMAN RIGHTS REGARDLESS OF RACE, SEX, OR CREED. LAST SPRING THEY SET UP THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND THIS FALL THEY PROPOSE ADDING TO THAT A SUB-COMMISSION ON DISCRIMINATION.

IN ORDER TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT FOURTEEN MILLION AMERICANS OF NEGRO DESCENT WERE NOT SATISFIED WITH THE RIGHTS WHICH THEY WERE ENJOYING THE NAACP PREPARED A DOCUMENT SETTING FORTH CAREFULLY BY HISTORICAL REFERENCE AND FIGURES THE CASTE SYSTEM UNDER WHICH NEGROES LIVE IN THE UNITED STATES. THIS HAD HARDLY BEEN PRESENTED TO THE

UNITED NATIONS THAN A CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES BROUGHT IN A REPORT WHICH SUPPORTED IN PRACTICALLY EVERY STATEMENT THE COMPLAINT WHICH THE NAACP HAD MADE TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

35-1-182

THIS BRINGS THE PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACY BEFORE THE NATION, MORE CLEARLY THAN IT HAS EVER BEEN BROUGHT BEFORE. THE QUESTION WHICH YOU AND I HAVE TO SETTLE IS THIS: CAN WE ENVISION AND DO WE WANT A DEMOCRACY WHERE THE RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS ARE EQUAL? IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO IMPEDE THIS CLEAR STATEMENT BY THE TRITE REMARK THAT ALL PEOPLE ARE NOT AND PROBABLY NEVER WILL BE EQUAL AND SIMILAR IN THEIR ABILITIES, THEIR GIFTS AND THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENTS. THE PROBLEM WHICH IS NOW PROPOSED IS A PROBLEM OF LEGAL RIGHTS TO RECOGNIZED POLITICAL, CIVIL AND SOCIAL RIGHTS FOR EVERY CITIZEN.

IT MUST BE ADMITTED THAT MOST PEOPLE DO NOT BELIEVE IN ANYTHING OF THE SORT: EVEN THOSE WHO HAD BEEN LOOSELY TALKING OF THEIR BELIEF IN DEMOCRACY ALL THEIR LIVES. THEY CANNOT CONCEIVE A SITUATION WHERE THERE IS NOT SECOND CLASS CITIZENSHIP: SOME PEOPLE COMPELLED TO DO THE UNPLEASANT AND MOST TIRESOME WORK OF THE WORLD BECAUSE THEY ARE POOR.

THE GREATEST COMPLAINT THAT HAS BEEN MADE OF THE UNUSUAL DEMAND FOR LABOR AND HIGH WAGES DURING THE LAST WAR, WAS THAT VOICED BY WOMEN AT THE HEAD OF THE BETTER CLASS HOUSEHOLDS WHO COULD NOT GET DOMESTIC SERVICE AT THE PRICE WHICH THEY WISHED, AND WERE HIGHLY IN FAVOR OF A SITUATION WHERE A LARGER NUMBER OF PEOPLE WOULD BE SO POOR THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO BECOME AND REMAIN DOMESTIC SERVANTS.

TO THESE PEOPLE AND TO OTHERS THINKING OF THE HIRING OF CHEAP LABOR SO AS TO HAVE HIGH PROFITS, A DEMOCRACY WHICH DID NOT CONTAIN A LARGE NUMBER IF NOT A MAJORITY OF PEOPLE WHOSE INCOME WAS TOO SMALL FOR DECENT LIVING WOULD NOT BE WELCOME. THEY WOULD SAY FRANKLY THAT IT WOULD NOT WORK, AND THAT IT OUGHT NOT TO BE ALLOWED TO WORK IF IT COULD. OUR WHOLE CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY IS CONTRADICTED BY OUR CLEAR RELIANCE UPON SELECT GROUPS WITH SPECIAL PRIVILEGES: THE SO-CALLED BETTER PEOPLE LIVE IN SELECT NEIGHBORHOODS: SELECT SCHOOLS WHERE THE UPPER CLASS GET THEIR EDUCATION: A SELECTION OF INCOMES WHICH GIVES TO CERTAIN PEOPLE MORE THAN THEY CAN POSSIBLY SPEND AND TO MOST PEOPLE LESS THAN THEY OUGHT TO SPEND.

AS I HAVE SAID, PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN VOLUBLE AND EMPHATIC IN THEIR DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY, MEAN BY THAT DEMOCRACY A GOVERNMENT BASED UPON PERMANENT DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE RICH AND THE POOR, BETWEEN THE BLACK AND WHITE, BETWEEN THE NATIVE AND FOREIGNERS. THE TIME HAS NOW COME WHEN THESE PEOPLE MUST COME OUT IN THE OPEN AND DEFEND THEIR STAND. ARE THEY IN FAVOR OF DEMOCRACY OR ARE THEY IN FAVOR OF OLIGARCHY BASED UPON WEALTH AND DESCENT AND TO A LARGE DEGREE UPON SEX AND RELIGION? THESE PEOPLE HAVE GOT TO FACE THE REAL ARGUMENT FOR DEMOCRACY WHICH IS SELDOM STRESSED. THE ARGUMENT FOR DEMOCRACY BASES ITSELF UPON MUCH OF THAT VERY THEORY OF EVOLUTION WHICH WAS MISCONCEIVED AND MISINTERPRETED TO UPHOLD THE COLOR LINE.

WE OUGHT TO HAVE LEARNED THAT DIVERSITY IN ITSELF IS A SOURCE OF WISDOM: THAT DIFFERENCE IS A CLEAR WAY TO KNOWLEDGE: THAT ABSOLUTE UNIFORMITY IS RETROGRESSION: THAT COMPROMISE IS NATURAL SELECTION AND THAT SURRENDER IS DEATH. IN OTHER WORDS WHAT DEMOCRACY SAYS TO THE WORLD IF IT SPEAKS HONESTLY IS, THAT WHEN YOU OPEN OPPORTUNITY FOR DECENT LIFE AND EQUAL RIGHTS TO THE MASS OF MEN, YOU GET THEM, OR ANY

IN POSITION TO GET A CONTRIBUTION TO THE TOTALITY OF LIFE WHICH YOU CANNOT GET BY THE SUPPRESSION OF ABILITY AMONG NEGROES, OR AMONG THE CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS, OR AMONG WOMEN, OR BY SUPPRESSING THE POOR OR BY HAVING POOR IN YOUR COMMUNITY. THAT SELECTION IS THE WAY BY WHICH YOU CHOOSE THE PEOPLE FOR CERTAIN ABILITIES AND GIFTS BUT THAT IT DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE SAME PERSON IS CHOSEN FOR EV BY PRIVILEGE BY THE MERE CHANCE OF HIS BIRTH, HIS COLOR OR HIS INCOME.

THE MAN WHO IS TO BE SELECTED FOR HIS KNOWLEDGE OF CHEMISTRY IS NOT NECESSARILY THE MAN WHO MUST ALSO BE SELECTED FOR HIS KNOWLEDGE OF SOCIOLOGY. THAT THOSE PEOPLE WHO WISH COMPANIONSHIP, SHOULD BE FREE TO CHOOSE IT, BUT NOT FREE TO DENY THE SAME CHOICE TO OTHER PEOPLE, THAT DEMOCRACY IS A GREAT CONCEPTION OF U IVERSAL RIGHTS AND NOT A METHOD BY WHICH A FEW MILLIONAIRES IN THE UNITED STATES PROPOSE TO RULE NOT ONLY THIS COUNTRY, BUT WESTERN EUROPE AND IF POSSIBLE THE WORLD.

35-1-103

THIS IS THE CLEAR DILEMMA BEFORE US AND IT HAS GOT TO BE ANSWERED. NO ANSWER WHICH INVOLVES SECOND CLASS CITIZENSHIP FOR ANY GROUP OF PEOPLE BECAUSE OF SEX, COLOR OR BELIEF CAN IN ANY WAY BE INTERPRETED AS ADVOCATING THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE.

35-1-104

AS DELIVERED (?)

Lectures 1947

A HISTORY OF AFRICA

WHEN I WAS A BOY IN SCHOOL THERE WAS NO REFERENCE IN MY CLASSES OR TEXTBOOKS, TO THE HISTORY OF AFRICA, THE ONE PARTIAL EXCEPTION WAS THAT EGYPT WAS USUALLY MENTIONED BUT APPARENTLY WAS NOT REGARDED AS PART OF AFRICA.

SINCE THAT THERE HAS BEEN A GOOD DEAL OF CHANGE SO THAT MOST NEGRO COLLEGES AND A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF WHITE COLLEGES TODAY HAVE IN THEIR CURRICULLA SOME REFERENCE TO AFRICA; BUT THE CONTINENT IS NOT TREATED AS A WHOLE AND ITS HISTORY AS COMPARED WITH THAT OF EUROPE AND ASIA IS VERY INADEQUATELY TREATED.

I WANT TO TALK TO YOU THEREFORE ABOUT THE HISTORY OF AFRICA, NOT SIMPLY BECAUSE FOR THE MOST PART WE ARE PERSONS OF AFRICAN DESCENT BUT ALSO FOR THE REASON THAT THE HISTORY OF AFRICA IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, AND MUST NOT BE OMITTED IF WE ARE TO UNDER-

STAND WORLD HISTORY.

THE FIRST QUESTION NATURALLY IS, WHY HAS THE HISTORY OF AFRICA BEEN OMITTED. THIS OMISSION IT MUST BE REMEMBERED IS A COMPARATIVELY MODERN MATTER: THAT IS, THE GREAT UNIVERSITIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES ALWAYS CONSIDERED THE HISTORY OF AFRICA; IN THE EARLY PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, AFRICA WAS A SUBJECT OF STUDY IN MOST INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING. BUT TOWARD THE CLOSE OF THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AFRICAN HISTORY BEGAN TO BE OMITTED; AND THE REASON WAS THAT IN 1820, THE COTTON KINGDOM, THAT IS THE RAISING AND SELLING AND WEAVING OF COTTON INTO CLOTH, HAD BECOME A WORLD INDUSTRY OF GREAT AND INCREASING IMPORTANCE. THE RAISING OF COTTON CENTERED CHIEFLY IN THE UNITED STATES AND CONSEQUENTLY LANDHOLDERS, INVESTORS, AND MERCHANTS HAD INTEREST AND DEEP INTEREST IN COTTON. THE COTTON CROP DEPENDED UPON SLAVE LABOR JUST AS FOR A CENTURY

BEFORE, THE RAISING OF SUGAR HAD DEPENDED UPON SLAVES. THIS NEW SLAVERY AFFRONTED THE CIVILIZATION OF THE DAY. THERE WERE PEOPLE WHO HAD BEEN BROUGHT UP TO THINK THAT SLAVERY WAS WRONG AND THAT IT WAS DISAPPEARING AND INDEED IT BEGAN TO DISAPPEAR IN ERUOPE IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURY. BUT IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, A NEW SLAVERY OF BLACK LABOR AROSE. NOT BECAUSE THE LABORERS WERE BLACK BUT BECAUSE SLAVERY WAS PROFITABLE, AND WHITE SLAVES HARD TO GET. THE IMPORTATION OF WORKERS TO THE UNITED STATES, FIRST FOR THE TOBACCO CROP, BUT EVENTUALLY CHIEFLY FOR RAISING COTTON BEGAN TO INCREASE AND ROSE FROM 4,000 TO 100,000 A YEAR IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. CHURCHES AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS PROTESTED AGAINST THE SLAVERY BUT PRETTY SOON THEIR VOICES WERE HUSHED.

35-1-68

USUALLY IN THE WORLD, WHERE THE INCOME OF A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF IMPORTANT PEOPLE, DEPENDS UPON A CERTAIN COURSE OF ACTION,

THAT COURSE OF ACTION HAS TO BE DEFENDED. THIS IS WHAT KARL MARX MEANS WHEN HE TALKS ABOUT THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION OF HISTORY, ART, AND MORALS. IF YOU WILL LOOK UPON THE WORLD IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY, YOU WILL FIND THAT SLAVERY INSTEAD OF BEING CONDEMNED, IS BEING DEFENDED AND THAT THE BASIS OF DEFENSE IS THAT THESE BLACK WORKERS WHO RAISE COTTON, ARE REALLY NOT FITTED FOR ANYTHING ELSE; THAT THEY ARE AN INFERIOR PEOPLE. IF NOW THEY ARE INFERIOR, THEN OUGHT TO BE PROVEN BY THEIR HISTORY, AND THE WHOLE HISTORY OF AFRICA, THEREFORE, CAME MORE OR LESS, CONSCIOUSLY TO BE FORGOTTEN, AND A NEW THEORY OF AFRICAN HISTORY AROSE WHICH ASSUMED THAT AFRICA REALLY HAD NO HISTORY, EXCEPT IN THOSE PARTS WHERE FOREIGNERS HAD INTRUDED AND BUILT A CIVILIZATION.

THOSE PARTS WERE EGYPT, NORTH AFRICA, AND SOUTH AFRICA. IN THE CENTRAL PART OF THE CONTINENT AND THE EAST AND WEST COAST, IT WAS

GENERALLY CONCLUDED THAT NO HISTORY HAD TAKEN PLACE WORTHY OF STUDY. ALL THIS OF COURSE WAS A MISTAKE; THE KIND OF HISTORICAL FALSEHOOD WHICH WE FIND TIME AND TIME AGAIN, BECAUSE PEOPLE ARE MORE INTERESTED IN WHAT THEY WANT PEOPLE TO BELIEVE THAN IN THE ACTUAL TRUTH.

TODAY THE HISTORY OF AFRICA IS BEING REVIVED AND I WANT TO BRING CERTAIN PARTS OF IT TO YOUR ATTENTION. FIRST OF ALL, AFRICA, IS AS YOU KNOW, A VERY OLD CONTINENT. IT PROBABLY ROSE PERMANENTLY ABOVE THE SEA AT LEAST A THOUSAND MILLION YEARS AGO, AND BECAME A MASS OF RIGID ROCK WHICH STRETCHED FROM THE RAMPARTS OF ETHIOPIA TO WHERE THE COPPER, DIAMONDS, AND GOLD OF SOUTH AFRICA EVENTUALLY WERE FOUND. MORE LAND AROSE BESIDE THIS FIRST MASS, AND PERHAPS THREE HUNDRED MILLION YEARS AGO, AFRICA WAS CONNECTED WITH SOUTH AMERICA, INDIA, AND AUSTRALIA.

35-1-69

ONE CAN SEE FROM THE OUTLINE OF THE CONTINENT HOW AFRICA BROKE AWAY FROM SOUTH AMERICA AND HOW EUROPE BROKE AWAY FROM NORTH

AMERICA AS THE OCEAN FLOOR DROPPED, THE EASTERN HALF OF AFRICA WAS SLOWLY RAISED INTO A BROAD FLAT ARCH. THE GREAT RIFT WAS FORMED BY THE FALLING OF THAT ARCH. THE RIFT EXTENDS FROM PALESTINE DOWN TO THE REGION OF THE GREAT LAKES.

IN ITS MODERN FORM, THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA HAS OFTEN BEEN DESCRIBED AS QUESTION MARK, OR AS AN INVERTED SAUCER, AS THE CENTER OF THE WORLD'S CONTINENTS. INCLUDING MADIGASCAR, IT IS THREE TIMES THE SIZE OF EUROPE, FOUR TIMES THE SIZE OF THE UNITED STATES; AND THE WHOLE OF EUROPE, INDIA, AND CHINA, AND THE UNITED STATES COULD BE HELD WITHIN ITS BORDERS. ONE OF ITS MOST IMPORTANT ASPECTS IS ITS RELATIVELY UNBROKEN COASTLINE, WHICH CONTRASTS WITH EUROPE. THE COASTLINE OF EUROPE IS FOUR THOUSAND MILES LONGER THAN THAT OF AFRICA, WHICH MEANS THAT AFRICA HAS ALMOST NO PENINSULAS, DEEP BAYS, OR NATURAL HARBORS. THE GREAT RIVERS COME TO THE EDGE OF THE CENTRAL PLATEAU AND FALL

SUDDENLY AND VIOLENTLY TO THE OCEAN WHICH MAKES NAVIGATION FROM THE OCEAN DIFFICULT.

THERE IS IN AFRICA, A GREAT CENTRAL PLATEAU; A GREAT DEPRESSION WHERE THE CONGO RIVER DRAINS A MILLION AND A HALF SQUARE MILES; THEN THE GREAT DESERT AREA, IN THE NORTH CALLED THE SAHARA AND CERTAIN DESERT AREAS IN THE SOUTH.

THE CLIMATE FOR THE MOST PART IS TROPICAL EXCEPT IN THE EXTREME NORTH AND SOUTH, WITH CONSTANT HEAT, MUCH RAINFALL, AND MUCH HUMIDITY. IN THE HIGHER CENTRAL REGIONS, THERE IS LUXURIOUS GROWTH OF PLANT LIFE AND DENSE FORESTS. SIXTY MILLION YEARS AGO, REPTILES WANDERED OVER THIS CONTINENT FOLLOWED BY WILD ANIMALS OF ALL SORTS, AND FINALLY, CATTLE, SHEEP, AND GOATS, AND A TREMENDOUS DEVELOPMENT OF INSECTS.

35-1-70

REMEMBER THAT AFRICA IS A BEAUTIFUL LAND, NOT MERELY COMELY AND PLEASANT, BUT HAUNTED WITH SWAMP AND JUNGLE; STERNLY BEAUTIFUL IN ITS

LOVELINESS OF TERROR, ITS DEPTH OF GLOOM, AND FULLNESS OF COLOR; ITS HEAVEN-TEARING PEAKS, ITS SILVER OF ENDLESS SAND, THE MIGHT, WIDTH, AND BREADTH OF ITS RIVERS, DEPTH OF ITS LAKES AND HEIGHT OF ITS HOT, BLUE HEAVEN. THERE ARE MYRIADS OF LIVING THINGS, THE VOICE OF STORM, THE KISS OF PESTILENCE AND PAIN, OLD AND EVER NEW, NEW AND INCREDIBLY ANCIENT.

IT IS PROBABLE THAT THE ANTHROPOID APE WITH GREAT BRAIN, WHO WALKED ERECT, AND USED HIS HANDS AS TOOLS, DEVELOPED ABOUT FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND YEARS AGO AND PROBABLY FIRST IN AFRICA; ALTHOUGH PERHAPS IN ASIA. ONE SPECIES SURVIVED WHICH BECAME A HUMAN BEING. DESCENDANTS OF THIS SPECIES DEVELOPED OVER TENS OF THOUSANDS OF YEARS, AND SUB-SPECIES HAVE GROWN UP. USUALLY WE DISTINGUISH THREE, BUT SOME HAVE THOUGHT OF EVEN AS MANY AS TWENTY. THE THREE SUB-SPECIES WE USUALLY THINK OF ARE THE LONG-HEADED DARK PEOPLE WITH MORE OR LESS CRINKLY HAIR, WHICH WE KNOW AS NEGROID; THEN THE BROAD-HEADED YELLOW PEOPLE WITH STRAIGHT AND

WIRY HAIR, WHICHE WE CALL MONGOLOID; AND FINALLY THE TYPE BETWEEN THESE, POSSIBLY FORMED BY THEIR UNION, WITH PALE SKIN AND INTERMEDIATE HAIR, KNOWN AS CAUCASOIDS. MOST OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD DO NOT FALL STRICTLY WITHIN ANY OF THESE CATEGORIES SO THAT YOU CANNOT DIVIDE THE WORLD SCIENTIFICALLY INTO THESE THREE RACES; BUT THIS CHARACTERIZATION WILL DO FOR GENERAL PURPOSES.

AFRICA, OF COURSE, IS THE HOME OF THE NEGROIDS AND THEY HAVE WANDERED FROM AFRICA INTO EUROPE AND ASIA; OR POSSIBLY FROM ASIA INTO EUROPE AND AFRICA. TRACES OF THESE BLACK PEOPLE CAN BE FOUND WIDELY DISTRIBUTED OVER THE WORLD. PHYSICALLY THE NEGROIDS ARE DIVIDED INTO ALL SORTS OF PEOPLE, SO THAT THE PHYSICAL DIVERSITY OF AFRICANS IS AS GREAT OF EVEN GREATER THAN THAT OF EUROPEANS OR ASIATICS. SOME WHITE BLOOD HAS ENTERED INTO THE NORTH OF AFRICA WITH THE INVASION OF THE VISIGOTHS; AND MUCH YELLOW MONGOLOID BLOOD CAME FROM THE EAST, FORMING WIDE MIXTURES.

THE AFRICAN THEMSELVES HAVE MIGRATED IN GREAT MASSES SO THAT NORTH OF THE CENTRAL EAST-WEST LINE, YOU FIND A LARGE NUMBER OF DIFFERING PEOPLES AND THEN SOUTH OF THAT LINE TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA, YOU FIND BANTU PEOPLE, WHO ARE NOT HOMOGENEOUS BUT ARE UNITED BY THE FACT THAT THEY SPEAK THE BANTU LANGUAGES.

BEGINNING ABOUT FIVE THOUSAND YEARS BEFORE CHRIST, THERE AROSE A CIVILIZATION IN THE NILE VALLEY, WHICH IS PROBABLY THE OLDEST CIVILIZATION IN THE WORLD. IT CAME WITHOUT DOUBT FROM CENTRAL AFRICA WITH PEOPLE WANDERING INTO THIS NILE VALLEY WHICH OFFERED THEM PROTECTION AND FERTILE LAND. AS A CONSEQUENCE, THERE DEVELOPED THERE, THE EMPIRE OF EGYPT, WHICH GAVE THE WORLD ITS FIRST STABLE CIVILIZATION. THE EARLY PEOPLES OF EGYPT WERE NEGROIDS. AFTERWARD, THERE CAME IN A GREAT MANY MONGOLOID PEOPLE, THAT IS PEOPLE FROM ASIA, SO THAT THE EGYPTIANS OF THE PERIOD OF GREATNESS WERE A MIXED FOLK, CORRESPONDING PHYSICALLY TO THE MULATTOR/

OF AMERICA. ON THEIR PAINTINGS, THEY APPEAR AS BROWN, AND YELLOW, AND SOME AS BLACK AND WHITE. THEIR HAIR IS THE SAME WAY WAS CRINKLED, CURLY AND STRAIGHT.

THE NILE VALLEY WAS MARVELOUS, WHERE A GREAT RIVER FLOWED OUT OF THE HIGHLANDS OF CENTRAL AFRICA AND THE MOUNTAINS OF THE HORN, CUT ITS WAY DOWN THROUGH CLIFFS ON EITHER SIDE CROWNED BY DESERTS. THE VALLEY THUS MADE WAS "BURNING AND FERTILE, WARM, AND SMILING". WINDS FROM THE NORTH TEMPERED THE HEAT OF THE SUN SO THAT THE LAND WAS "GREEN WITH MEADOWS, GOLDEN WITH HARVEST, RED WITH THE BLOOD OF VINES, A PARADISE OF WATER, FRUIT, AND FLOWERS BETWEEN TWO TORRID DESERTS." THE WATERS OF THE RIVERS ROSE AND FELL WITH THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT OF SPRINGTIME FLOODS AND SUMMER HEAT. THE SPECTACLE OF THE INUNDATION; THE MYSTERY OF THE SOURCE OF THE WATERS WHICH W S NOT SOLVED UNTIL THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, HAD VAST EFFECT UPON MANKIND, EGYPTIANS AND ALL WHO CAME AFTER THEM.

35-1-72

THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION WHICH BEGAN IN EGYPT WAS NOT SO

MUCH A MATTER OF DYNASTIES AND DATES, AS AN ATTEMPT TO SETTLE CERTAIN PROBLEMS OF LIVING TOGETHER, Of GOVERNMENT, DEFENSE, RELIGION, FAMILY, PROPERTY, SCIENCE, AND ART. WHAT WE MUST REMEMBER IS THAT IN THESE SEVEN LINES OF HUMAN ENDEAVOR, IT WAS AFRICAN EGYPT THAT MADE THE BEGINNING AND SET THE PACE. AS EGYPT DEVELOPED INTO A STRONG, SELF CONTAINING KINGDOM, IT CUT ITSELF OFF FROM THE SOURCE OF ITS POPULATION AND CULTURE OF THE UPPER NILE, THE LAND WHICH THE GREEKS CALLED ETHIOPIA OR THE "LAND OF THE BURNT FACES".

THE GREEKS HAD MANY L GENDS OF ETHIOPIA. "OF ALL THE CLASSICAL COUNTRIES, ETHIOPIA WAS THE MOST ROMANTIC AND THE MOST REMOTE. IT WAS SITUATED, ACCORDING TO THE GREEKS, ON THE EXTREME LIMITS OF THE WORLD; ITS INHABITANTS WERE THE MOST JUST OF MEN, AND JUPITER DINED WITH THEM TWICE A YEAR. THEY BATHED IN THE WATERS OF A VIOLET-SCENTED SPRING,

WHICH ENDOWED THEM WITH LONG LIFE, NOBLE BODIES, AND GLOSSY SKINS. THEY CHAINED THEIR PRISONERS WITH GOLDEN FETTERS, THEY HAD BOWS WHICH NONE BUT THEMSELVES COULD BEND." IT IS CERTAIN THAT ETHIOPIA HAD ITS PLACE AMONG THE GREAT POWERS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD. IT IS MENTIONED IN THE JEWISH RECORDS AND IN THE ASSYRIAN CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS. AS THE CULTURE OF ETHIOPIA HAD TERMINATED IN EGYPT SO THE CULTURE OF EGYPT WENT OUT ACROSS THE MEDITERRANEAN, LIGHTING FIRES IN CRETE, INSPIRING ASIA FROM SOUTHERN ARABIA TO SYRIA AND WESTERN ASIA MINOR. IN CRETAN, ART NEGRO HEADS APPEARED, AND IN THE LATE MINOAN AGE, AT THE TIME OF THE EXPANSION OVERSEAS, A BLACK MINOAN CAPTAIN LED NEGRO TROOPS. DOUBTLESS MINOANS MADE USE OF BLACK REGIMENTS IN THEIR FINAL CONQUEST OF GREECE, AND FROM VASES DATED THE LATTER PART OF THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C. IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT ETHIOPIANS ENTERED GREECE EVEN BEFORE THE TIME OF XERXES. HERODOTUS TELLS THAT IN THE ARMY OF XERXES THERE WERE ETHIOPIANS CLOTHED IN LEOPARD AND LION SKINS, AND ARMED WITH BOWS AND ARROWS.

35-1-73

HE DISTINGUISHES BETWEEN ORIENTAL ETHIOPIANS AND WESTERN ETHIOPIANS; BOTH WERE BLACK BUT THE HAIR OF THE FORMER WAS STRAIGHTER, THAN THE CLOSE CURLED-HAIR OF THE LATTER AND THEY SPOKE DIFFERENT LANGUAGES.

AS EGYPT EXPANDED THE ETHIOPIANS WERE PUSHED BACK FROM THE FIRST TO THE SECOND, THIRD, AND FOURTH CATARACTS. WITH THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY, THERE CAME A NEW EMPIRE IN EGYPT. IT CAME TO POWER IN 1580 B.C., AND LASTED UNTIL 1345. ITS CENTER OF POWER WAS THEBES, THREE HUNDRED MILES FROM MEMPHIS AND FOUR HUNDRED MILES SOUTH OF THE MEDITERRANEAN. IT WAS LESS THAN ONE HUNDRED MILES FROM THE FIRST CATARACT, THE LEGENDARY SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF EGYPT. THE POWER OF AAHMES ITS FOUNDER WAS PROBABLY REINFORCED BY HIS MARRIAGE WITH AN ETHIOPIAN PRINCESS. NEFERTARI, OR NOFRITARI, WHO WAS INVARIABLY PAINTED BLACK IN EGYPTIAN ART AND YET WHO WAS, AS PETRIE SAYS, "THE MOST VENERATED FIGURE OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY."

IN THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY ALL WORKERS WERE ORGANIZED IN GUILDS UNDER THE STATE. THERE WERE SCRIBES TO GUIDE THEM AND VOICE THE LAW. THERE WERE LOCAL ASSEMBLIES TO STOP OPPRESSION "OF THE FREE MAN". LEGALLY THE PHAROAH OWNED ALL THE LAND, BUT IT WAS ASSIGNED TO INDIVIDUALS AND DESCENDED THROUGH THE ELDEST SON. THE PHAROAH ALWAYS KEPT THE RIGHT OF EMINENT DOMAIN. SOLDIERS WERE ESTABLISHED UPON FREEHOLDS AND THE PRIESTS HAD LARGE HOLDINGS; THEN CAME LANDS ASSIGNED TO THE PEASANTS AND TO TENANTS.

35-1-74

ONE OF THE SUCCESSORS OF AAHMES MARRIED A BLACK WOMAN MUTEMUA AND THEIR SON BUILT THE TEMPLE OF LUZOR AT KARNAK. HIS SON AMENOPHIS IV WHO LATER WAS CALLED AKHEN, WAS ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING OF THE PHAROAHS. HE BROUGHT REVOLUTION IN THE RELIGION OF EGYPT AND UNDER HIM ROSE UNIVERSAL HUMANITARIANISM.

LATER THE JEWS CAME INTO CLOSE CONTACT WITH ETHIOPIA AND THE

BIBLE IS FULL OF ALLUSIONS THE ETHIOPIANS, ESPECIALLY THAT REFERENCE OF THE PROPHET ISIAH.

AH! LAND OF THE BUZZING WINGS,
WHICH LIES BEYOND THE RIVERS OF ETHIOPIA,
THAT SENDS AMBASSADORS BY SEA,
IN PAPYRUS VESSELS ON THE FACE OF THE WATERS:
TO A NATION TALL AND SLEEK,
TO A NATION DREADED NEAR AND FAR,
TO A NATION STRONG AND TRIUMPHANT,

THE POWER OF EGYPT WAS STRONGEST UNDER THE GREAT RAMESES AND THEN BEGAN TO DECLINE, WHILE THAT OF ETHIOPIA ROSE HIGHER SO THAT BETWEEN SEVEN AND HUNDRED AND FIFTY B.C., A PERIOD OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS MUCH LONGER THAN THE TIME WHICH THE BRITISH EMPIRE HAS RULED THE WORLD THE GREATEST POWER IN THE WORLD WAS ETHIOPIA UNDER TAHARQA, WHO RULED FROM 658 TO 663. EVENTUALLY HIS POWER WAS OVERTHROWN BY THE RISING

ASIATICS KINGDOMS IN BABYLONIA AND ASYRIA. THEN CAME THE POWER OF PERSIA, GREECE, AND ROME IN SUCCESSION WHICH BRINGS US DOWN TO THE TIME OF THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

ROME TRIED TO CONQUER THE VALLEY OF THE NILE BUT WAS ONLY SUCCESSFUL ALONG THE LOWER NILE. IN ETHIOPIA AND THE INNER REGIONS OF AFRICA, SHE SUCCEEDED ONLY IN KEEPING TRUCE BY THE HELP OF NEGRO TRIBES. THUS THE HISTORY OF ETHIOPIA MEANS THAT OUT OF THE SOUTH FOR MANY THOUSANDS OF YEARS, MIGRATIONS STREAMED NORTHWARD FOR SETTLEMENT AND FOR TRADE, TO FURNISH SOLDIERS FOR THE ARMIES OF THE PHAROAHS, AND TO REACH A BETTER CLIMATE AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEFENSE.

35-1-75

DOWN TOWARD THE HOT CENTER OF AFRICA, HUMAN CULTURE HAD TO FIGHT INSECTS AND DISEASE, AND FOUND NO NATURAL BARRIERS TO PROTECT THEM AGAINST AGGRESSORS. THERE WERE PROBABLY MOVEMENTS SOUTH AND WEST FROM THE GREAT LAKES, BUT THE LURE OF EGYPT ATTRACTED THE LARGER STREAMS; AND AS CHAMBERLAIN HAS SAID, "THIS MIGRATION WAS AT ONCE ADVANTAGEOUS AND

DETRIMENTAL TO CENTRAL AFRICA". IT CONTINUALLY SIPHONED OFF THE ABLE AND THE ADVENTUROUS INTO THE GREAT OPPORTUNITIES OF EGYPT. EGYPT PROFITED AND GREW ON THESE NEW RESOURCES OF INSPIRATION. INDIVIDUAL NEGROES BECAME EGYPTIANS AND OCCUPIED HIGH PLACES, BUT LEFT THEIR OWN SOUTHERN BRETHREN THE POORER FROM THIS CONTINUOUS LOSS OF ABILITY AND STRENGTH.

THE DUEL BETWEEN EUROPE AND AFRICA FOR DOMINATION OF THE WORLD CAME WITH THE PUNIC WARS, BEGINNING IN THE THIRD CENTURY B.C. AND ENDING IN ONE HUNDRED FORTY-SIX B.C. THESE WARS STARTED BY ROME AND ATTEMPTED TO DEFEND ITALY AGAINST MIGRATION AND CONQUEST FROM AFRICA, WHERE MONGOLOIDS AND NEGROIDS, WITH SOME INFILTRATION OF GERMANS HAD BUILT THE CITY OF CARTHAGE. HANNIBAL, AND HIS AFRICAN TROOPS BROUGHT A STRONG NEGRO STRAIN INTO THE ITALIAN PENINSULA AND IF WE MAY BELIEVE HIS COINS, HE HIMSELF WAS A NEGRO WITH WOOLLY HAIR.

EVENTUALLY NORTH AFRICA AND THE VALLEY OF THE NILE BECAME THE BIRTHPLACE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. AS MOMMSEN SAID, "IT WAS THROUGH AFRICA THAT CHRISTIANITY BECAME THE RELIGION OF THE WORLD." TERTULLIAN AND CYPRIAN WERE FROM CARTHAGE, ARNOBIUS FROM SICCA VENERIA; LACTANTIUS, AND PROBABLY IN LIKE MANNER MINUCIUS FELIX, IN SPITE OF THEIR LATIN NAMES, WERE NATIVES OF AFRICA AND NOT LESS SO, AUGUSTINE.

35-1-76

IN AFRICA THE CHURCH FOUND ITS MOST ZEALOUS CONFESSORS OF THE FAITH AND ITS MOST GIFTED DEFENDERS. "ON THE OTHER HAND, THE NEW RELIGION OF MOHAMMEDANISM PRESSED IN FROM THE EAST AND MET CHRISTIANITY AS IT STRETCHE FROM ABYSSINIA UP THE NILE VALLEY. THE ABYSSINIANS HAD ONCE HELD BOTH ARABIA AND THE HIGHLANDS OF AFRICA BUT EVENTUALLY THEY WERE EXPELLED FROM ARABIA AND KEPT THEMSELVES ON THE HIGHLANDS, WHERE, AS GIBBON SAID, "EM-COMPASSED BY THE ENEMIES OF THEIR RELIGION, THE ETHIPIANS SLEPT FOR NEARLY A THOUSAND YEARS FORGETFUL OF THE WORLD BY WHOM THEY WERE FORGOTTEN."

THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE AGES, THE LEGEND OF THIS CHRISTIAN KINGDOM UNDER PRESTER JOHN PERSISTED. AT ONE TIME, THE ABYSSINIANS ESTABLISHED THEMSELVES AT MEROE, BUT WERE DRIVEN BACK BY THE NUBIANS WHO HAD MADE LEAGUE WITH ROME. SO MUCH FOR THE NILE VALLEY.

NOW WE MAY TURN TO THE WEST COAST WHERE FOR FIVE HUNDRED YEARS B.C. TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, THERE DEVELOPED AMONG A PURE NEGROID PEOPLE, ONE OF THE WORLDS MOST IMPORTANT CULTURES. ITS RECORD WAS NOT WRITTEN IN STONE LIKE THAT OF THE NILE VALLEY, BECAUSE THERE WAS LITTLE STONE IN WEST AFRICA AND MANUSCRIPTS COULD WITHSTAND THE HUMIDITY. THERE DEVELOPED, INSTEAD, AN ASTONISHING SYSTEM OF ORAL RECORDS, OF LEGENDS AND LITERATURE, PASSED ON BY WORDS OF MOUTH AND HELD IN THE MEMORY OF MEN. THESE COULD BE CHECKED BY THE CUSTOMS AND WAYS OF LIVING, AND WHILE THIS HISTORICAL RECORD IS NOT AS ACCURATE AS WRITTEN RECORDS, IT HAS A LARGE AND RELIABLE DEGREE OF TRUTH.

ONE OF THE EXTRAORDINARY DEVELOPMENTS OF CIVILIZATION IN AFRICA WAS ON THE WEST COAST AROUND THE GREAT GULF OF GUINEA. FROBENIUS HAS FANCIFULLY CALLED THIS "ATLANTIS" AND REGARDS IT AS POSSIBLY A DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULTURE OF THAT FABLED ISLAND IN THE ATLANTIC. WHATEVER ITS ORIGIN, THERE GREW UP ON THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA A PECULIARLY AFRICAN STATE. HOW FAR BACK ITS DEVELOPMENT EXTENDS, NO MAN KNOWS. WE HAVE A FAIRLY AUTHENTIC HISTORY FROM THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ON, CREDITABLE BUT DISCONTINUOUS REPORTS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH, AND BEFORE THAT ONLY CUSTOMS, TRADITIONS AND LEGEND. ON A COAST PROTECTED FROM INLAND BY MOUNTAIN, FOREST, AND DESERT, AND ON THE WEST BY THE OCEAN, THERE GREW UP AN AGRICULTURAL CULTURE, CENTERING IN THE VILLAGE. ON THIS WAS DEVELOPED IN TIME, INDUSTRY AND ART. INDUSTRY DISCOVERED DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN CITIES; EACH TOWN HAD ITS OWN PECULIAR INDUSTRY AND THEN TRADED ITS SURPLUS WITH THE OTHER TOWNS. THE TOWNS WERE UNITED IN A LOOSE CONFEDERACY WITH COUNCILS AND CHIEFS.

35-1-77

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PHOENICIANS TRADED ON THE WEST COAST AND CARTHAGINIANS. CLOTH AND TOOLS WERE MADE. WEAVING AND WOOD CARVING; IN FACT THE ART DEVELOPED ON THIS WEST COAST IS ONE OF THE FEW GREAT PRIMITIVE ARTS OF THE WORLD. BRONZE WAS MADE AND CAST. POTTERY WAS FASHIONED. IT MAY WELL BE THAT THE WEST COAST NEGROES FIRST GAVE TO CIVILIZATION, THE ART OF WELDING IRON, WHICH SPREAD OVER ALL AFRICA AND THEN EVENTUALLY INTO EUROPE AND ASIA. IT IS OF COURSE POSSIBLE THAT IRON WELDING WAS DISCOVERED ON OTHER CONTINENTS INDEPENDENTLY OF AFRICA, BUT NO CONTINENT HAD SO WIDE A USE OF IRON IN EARLIEST TIMES.

CONCERNING WEST AFRICAN ART IN GENERAL, SIR MICHAEL SADLER SAID, "WEST AFRICA HAD MADE ITS OWN CHARACTERISTIC CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARTISTIC TREASURES OF THE WORLD." SIR WILLIAM ROTHENSTEIN ADDED: "I KNOW NOTHING OF THE CULTURE WHICH PRODUCED THESE NOBLE PIECES, NOR WHAT INFLUENCES,

NATIVE OR ALIEN, INSPIRED THEM; I KNOW ONLY THAT THEY ARE SUPERB WORKS OF ART, WORTHY TO BE SET BESIDE THE BEST EXAMPLES OF SCULPTURE OF ANY PERIOD." ACCORDING TO J.J. SWEENEY, THE AMERICAN CRITIC, "AS A SCULPTURAL TRADITION, AFRICAN ART HAD HAD NO RIVAL."

IN DRUM AND STRINGS, AFRICAN MUSIC REACHED A HIGH DEGREE OF ORIGINALITY AND PERFECTION. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DRUM LANGUAGE BY INTRICATE RHYTHMS ENABLED THE NATIVES NOT ONLY TO LEAD IN DANCE AND CEREMONY, BUT TO TELEGRAPH ALL OVER THE CONTINENT WITH A SWIFTNESS AND PRECISION HARDLY RIVALED BY THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH

35-1-78

THE AFRICAN NEGROES ARE UNCOMMONLY GIFTED FOR MUSIC, PROBABLY, ON AN AVERAGE, MORE SO THAN THE WHITE RACE. THIS IS CLEAR NOT ONLY FROM THE HIGH DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN MUSIC, ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS POLYPHONY AND RHYTHM, BUT A VERY CURIOUS FACT UNPARALLELED, PERHAPS, IN HISTORY, MAKES IT EVEN MORE EVIDENT; NAMELY, THE FACT THAT NEGRO SLAVES IN AMERICA

AND THEIR DESCENDANTS, ABANDONING THEIR ORIGINAL MUSIC STYLE, HAVE ADAPTED THEMSELVES TO THAT OF THEIR WHITE MASTERS AND PRODUCED A NEW KIND OF FOLK MUSIC IN THAT STYLE. PRESUMABLY NO OTHER PEOPLE WOULD HAVE ACCOMPLISHED THIS. IN FACT, THE PLANTATION SONGS AND SPIRITUALS AND ALSO THE BLUES AND RAGTIMES WHICH HAVE LAUNCHED OR HELPED TO LAUNCH OUR MODERN DANCE MUSIC, ARE THE ONLY REMARKABLE KINDS OF MUSIC BROUGHT FORTH IN AMERICA BY IMMIGRANTS.

PROFESSOR VON LUSCHAN CONSIDERED THE CRAFTMANSHIP OF BENIN WORKERS EQUAL TO THE BEST THAT WAS EVER PRODUCED BY CELLINI. YET AT THE TIME THEY WERE CREATING,,"IN 1550, NOT A SINGLE PEASANT'S HOUSE IN SCANDINAVIA HAD A WINDOW; AND AS LATE AS 1773 DR. JOHNSON AND BOSWELL ENTERED DURING THEIR TOUR OF THE HEBRIDES, A HOVEL WHICH 'FOR A WINDOW HAD ONLY A SMALL HOLE, WHICH WAS STOPPED WITH A PIECE OF TURF, THAT WAS TAKEN OUT OCCASIONALLY TO LET IN LIGHT.' IN BERLIN AT THE TIME OF THE

GREAT ELECTOR (1681), MANY HOUSES IN THE CAPITAL HAD PIGSTIES IMMEDIATELY BELOW THE FRONT WINDOWS."

FROBENIUS WROTE OF WEST AFRICAN CULTURES: "WHAT THESE OLD CAPTAINS RECOUNTED, THESE CHIEFS OF EXPEDITIONS-DELBES, MARCHAIS, PIGAFETTA, AND ALL THE OTHERS, WHAT THEY RECOUNTED IS TRUE. IT CAN BE VERIFIED. IN THE OLD ROYAL KUNSTKAMMER OF DRESDEN, IN THE WEYDEMANN COLLECTION OF ULM, IN MANY ANOTHER 'CABINET OF CURIOSITIES' OF EUROPE, WE STILL FIND WEST AFRICAN COLLECTIONS DATING FROM THIS EPOCH. MARVELLOUS PLUSH VELVETS OF AN EXTREME SOFTNESS, MADE OF THE TENDEREST LEAVES OF A CERTAIN KIND OF BANANA PLANT; STUFFS SOFT AND SUPPLE, BRILLIANT AND DELICATE, LIKE SILKS, WOVEN WITH THE FIBRE OF A RAFFIA, WELL PREPARED; POWERFUL JAVELINS WITH POINTS ENCRUSTED WITH COPPER IN THE MOST ELEGANT FASHION; BOWS SO GRACEFUL IN FORM AND BEAUTIFULLY ORNAMENTED THAT THEY WOULD DO HONOR TO ANY MUSEUM OF ARM WHATSOEVER; CALABASHES DECORATED WITH THE GREATEST

35-1-79

TASTE; SCULPTURE IN IVORY AND WOOD OF WHICH THE WORK SHOWS A VERY GREAT DEAL OF APPLICATION AND STYLE."

THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST COAST WAS NOTABLE AND THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION APPROACHED THE MODERN WORLD. THE WHOLE CULTURE COMPLEX OF THE AFRICAN WEST COAST IS NATIVE AND ORIGINAL. IT IS A PICTURE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN INSTITUTIONS UNIQUE IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND, AND WE CAN ONLY LAMENT THAT WE KNOW SO LITTLE OF IT AND HAVE STUDIED IT SO IMPERFECTLY. THIS BODY OF CULTURE GREW UP STRONG AND SELF CONTAINED UPON THE WEST COAST, AND MET IN TIME THE SUDDEN IMPACT OF TWO OUTER FORCES: ISLAM FROM THE NORTH AND CHRISTIANITY FROM THE WEST.

CENTRAL AFRICA BEFORE THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND B.C. WAS A REGION OF LARGE STATES, LIKE THAT OF THE KITWARA, THE BUSHONGO, AND ESPECIALLY OF THE MONOMOTAPA. CERTAIN IT IS THAT THE GREATEST KINGDOM OF CENTRAL

AFRICA WAS THAT OF THE MONOMOTAPA, AND THE GREATEST CULTURAL REMAINS OF THE MONOMOTAPA ARE THE CELEBRATED RUINS OF ZIMBABWE. ANY EARLY NEGRO MIGRATION HAD OVERTHROWN AND REORGANIZED IT, ESTABLISHING AMONG THE MAKA-LANGA, MATABELE, AND MASHONA, A LINE OF RULERS CALLED THE MONOMOTAPA. INTO THIS REALM OF MONOMOTAPA AND OTHER KINGDOMS, CAME ABOUT A THOUSAND YEARS B.C., THE MARCH OF THE BANTUS. THEY WERE DRIVEN OUT OF THE SUDAN BY A DEVELOPMENT OF KINGDOMS, TO WHICH I WILL REFER LATER, AND CAME DOWN AND CONQUERED AND OVERWHELMED CENTRAL AFRICA. SO MUCH SO TODAY, THAT ALL THE LANGUAGES OF CENTRAL AFRICA ARE BANTU.

35-1-80

IN THE MEANTIME, OTHER DEVELOPMENTS WERE TAKING PLACE. ASIA, AFTER HER CONQUEST OF EGYPT, OCCUPIED THE NILE VALLEY AND BEGAN TO SPREAD INTO NORTHERN AFRICA. BUT THIS WAS NOT A CONQUEST, IT WAS AN INFILTRATION.

THE ARABS BROUGHT THE NEW RELICION OF MOHAMMED INTO NORTH AFRICA. DURING THE SEVENTH CENTURY THEY DID NOT MIGRATE IN GREAT NUMBERS;

SPAIN WAS CONQUERED NOT BY ARABS, BUT BY ARMIES OF BERBERS AND NEGROIDS LED BY ARABS. LATER, IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY, ANOTHER WAVE OF ARABS CAME, BUT THE NUMBER WAS NEVER LARGE AND THEIR PRESTIGE CAME FROM THEIR RELIGION AND THEIR LANGUAGE, WHICH BECAME A LINGUA FRANCA FOR THE PEOPLES NORTH AND SOUTH OF THE SAHARA. THE TOTAL SUBSTITUTION OF ARABIAN FOR BERBER OR NEGRO BLOOD WAS SMALL.

ANYONE WHO HAS TRAVELED IN THE SUDAN KNOWS THAT MOST OF THE "ARABS" HE HAS MET ARE DARK-SKINNED, SOMETIMES PRACTICALLY BLACK, OFTEN HAVE NEGROID FEATURES, AND HAIR THAT MAY BE ALMOST NEGRO IN QUALITY. IT IS THEN OBVIOUS THAT IN AFRICA THE TERM "ARAB" IS APPLIED TO ANY PEOPLE PROFESSING ISLAM, HOWEVER MUCH RACE MIXTURE HAS OCCURRED, SO THAT WHILE THE TERM HAS A CULTURAL VALUE, IT IS OF LITTLE ETHNIC SIGNIFICANCE AND IS OFTEN MISLEADING.

IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY THERE WAS QUITE A LARGE ARAB IMMIGRATION. THE BERBERS AND SOME NEGROES BY THAT TIME HAD ADOPTED THE ARAB TONGUE AND THE MOHAMMEDAN RELIGION, AND MOHAMMEDANISM HAD SPREAD SLOWLY SOUTHWARD ACROSS THE SAHARA. IN THE NILE VALLEY, ASIATIC AND NEGRO RULERS REIGNED.

MEANTIME THE DEVELOPMENT IN THE GREAT SUDAN WAS ASTONISHING. FROBENIUS SAYS, "THE REVELATIONS OF FIFTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY NAVIGATORS FURNISH US WITH CERTAIN PROOF THAT NEGRO AFRICA, WHICH EXTENDED SOUTH OF THE SAHARA DESERT ZONE, WAS STILL IN FULL BRILLIANCE OF HARMONIOUS AND WELL-FORMED CIVILIZATIONS. IN THE LAST CENTURY THE SUPERSTITION RULED THAT ALL HIGH CULTURE OF AFRICA CAME FROM ISLAM. SINCE THEN WE HAVE LEARNED MUCH, AND WE KNOW TODAY THAT THE BEAUTIFUL TURBANS AND CLOTHES OF THE SUDANESE FOLK WERE ALREADY USED IN AFRICA BEFORE MOHAMMED WAS EVEN BORN OR BEFORE ETHIOPIAN CULTURE REACHED INNER AFRICA. SINCE THEN WE HAVE LEARNED THAT THE PECULIAR ORGANIZATION OF THE SUDANESE STATES EXISTED

LONG BEFORE ISLAM AND THAT ALL OF THE ART OF BUILDING AND EDUCATION, OF CITY ORGANIZATION AND HANDWORK IN NEGRO AFRICA, WERE THOUSANDS OF YEARS OLDER THAN THOSE OF MIDDLE EUROPE.

THUS IN THE SUDAN, OLD REAL AFRICAN WARM-BLOODED CULTURE EXISTED AND COULD BE FOUND IN EQUATORIAL AFRICA, WHERE NEITHER ETHIOPIAN THOUGHT, HAMITIC BLOOD, OR EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION HAD DRAWN THE PATTERN. EVERYWHERE WHEN WE EXAMINE THIS ANCIENT CULTURE IT BEARS THE SAME IMPRESSION. IN THE GREAT MUSEUMS-TROCADERO, BRITISH MUSEUM, IN BELGIUM, ITALY, HOLLAND, AND GERMANY - EVERYWHERE WE SEE THE SAME SPIRIT , THE SAME CHARACTER, THE SAME NATURE. ALL OF THESE SEPARATE PIECES EQUALLY IMPRESSIVE AS THAT OF A COLLECTION OF THE ART OF ASIA. THE STRIKING BEAUTY OF THE CLOTH, THE FANTASTIC BEAUTY OF THE DRAWING AND THE SCULPTURE? THE GLORY OF IVORY WEAPONS; THE COLLECTION OF FAIRY TALES EQUAL TO THE THOUSAND AND ONE NIGHTS, THE CHINESE NOVELS AND THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHY."

IT WAS ASIA AND AFRICA WHICH IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY PREPARED EUROPE FOR THE RENAISSANCE THROUGH GENGHIS KHAN AND THE CRUSADES. NEGROES WERE BUILDING THEN IN THE SUDAN THE BEGINNINGS OF THE GREAT STATES WHICH FLOURISHED IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY AND WHICH BECAME AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE CULTURAL COMPLEX OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

35-1-82

IN THE WEST THE MOSLEMS FIRST CAME INTO TOUCH WITH THE NEGRO KINGDOM OF GHANA. HERE LARGE QUANTITIES OF GOLD WERE GATHERED IN EARLY DAYS, AND WE HAVE THE NAMES OF SEVENTY-FOUR RULERS BEFORE A.D. 300, RUNNING THROUGH TWENTY-ONE GENERATIONS. THIS WOULD TAKE US BACK APPROXIMATELY A THOUSAND YEARS, TO 700B.C., OR ABOUT THE TIME THAT PHARAOH NECHO OF EGYPT SENT OUT THE PHOENICIAN EXPEDITION WHICH CIRCUMNAVIGATED AFRICA; AND POSSIBLY BEFORE THE TIME WHEN HANNO, THE CARTHAGINIAN, EXPLORED THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA.

BY THE MIDDLE OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY GHANA WAS THE PRINCIPAL

KINGDOM IN THE WESTERN SUDAN. IN THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES GHANA FLOURISHED, BUT TOWARD THE MIDDLE OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY BEGAN TO DECLINE, PROBABLY BECAUSE OF THE ENCROACHMENT OF THE DESERT AND THE ATTACK OF THE ALMORAVIDES. GHANA CEASED TO EXIST ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. (ITS SITE WAS EXCAVATED IN 1914 AND VESTIGES OF A GREAT CITY WERE FOUND, WITH RUINS OF KNOWN STONE CONSTRUCTION.)

THE GREAT SONGHAY STATE, FOUNDED ABOUT 600, BEGAN TO DEVELOP BUT WAS OVERSHADOWED BY THE KINGDOM OF MELLE. MELLE WAS THE KINGDOM OF THE MANDINGOS WHERE THERE RULED AND STILL RULES WHAT DELAFOSSE CALLED "PROBABLY THE MOST ANCIENT DYNASTY OF THE WORLD." FOR SEVEN HUNDRED YEARS THE VILLAGE ON THE UPPER NIGER WAS THE PRINCIPAL CAPITAL OF ONE OF THE LARGEST KINGDOMS IN AFRICA, THE EMPIRE OF THE MANDINGOS, OR MELLE. FOR SEVERAL CENTURIES THE MANSAS, OR KINGS OF THE MANDINGOS, RULED THEIR LITTLE VILLAGE. WHEN IN 1050 THE KING WAS CONVERTED TO ISLAMISM BY THE

ALMORAVIDES, HE MADE A PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA AND ESTABLISHED RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING STATES.

EUROPE WAS AT THE TIME JUST EMERGING FROM THE DARK AGES AND WAS FULL OF "ROBBERS, FETISHMENT, AND SLAVES". THE MANDINGAN EMPIRE OF MELLE OCCUPIED NEARLY THE WHOLE OF WHAT IS NOW FRENCH AFRICA AND PART OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA. ITS RULERS WERE IN CLOSE COMMUNICATION WITH THE RULERS OF THE SHORES SOUTH AND NORTH OF THE MEDITERRANEAN. IBAN BATUTA WROTE IN 1352, "THE NEGROES POSSESS SOME ADMIRABLE QUALITIES. THEY ARE SELDOM UNJUST, AND HAVE A GREATER ABHORRENCE OF INJUSTICE THAN ANY OTHER PEOPLE. THEIR SULTAN SHOWS NO MERCY TO ANYONE WHO IS GUILTY OF THE LEAST ACT OF IT. THERE IS COMPLETE SECURITY IN THE COUNTRY. NEITHER TRAVELLER NOR INHABITANT IN IT HAS ANYTHING TO FEAR FROM ROBBERS OR MEN OF VIOLENCE. THEY DO NOT CONFISCATE THE PROPERTY OF ANY WHITE MAN WHO DIES IN THEIR COUNTRY, IF IT BE UNCOUNTED WEALTH. ON THE CONTRARY,

THEY GIVE IT INTO THE CHARGE OF SOME TRUSTWORTHY PERSON AMONG THE WHITES, UNTIL THE RIGHTFUL HEIR TAKES POSSESSION OF IT.

ONE "HAS THE IMPRESSION THAT MANDINGO WAS A REAL STATES WHOSE ORGANIZATION AND CIVILIZATION COULD BE COMPARED WITH THOSE OF THE MUSSELMAN KINGDOMS OR INDEED THE CHRISTIAN KINGDOMS OF THE SAME EPOCH".

THE GREATEST DEVELOPMENT OF CIVILIZATION IN AFRICA, AFTER EGYPT, AROSE LATE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY IN THE EMPIRE OF THE SONGHAY, EAST OF THE MELLESTINE. THE STORY IS THAT A KING OF MELLE, RETURNING FROM A PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA, STOPPED AT TIMBUKTU, WHERE A BLACK AND ANCIENT DYNASTY WAS RULING. HE SEIZED TWO YOUNG PRINCES AND CARRIED THEM HOME TO EDUCATE THEM AND BRING THEM UP SUBSERVIENT TO HIS POWER. EVENTUALLY THEY ESCAPED, RETURNED HOME, AND FOUNDED THE SONGHAY STATE. IT EXPANDED RAPIDLY; FIRST WESTWARD, WHERE IT ABSORBED THE MELLESTINE AND THE [illegible]NI

OF ANCIENT GHANA. THEN IT TURNED SOUTH AND DROVE THE PEOPLES OF THE MOSSI AND THE CITY-STATES OF THE COAST SOUTH, BEYOND THE KONG MOUNTAINS. UNDER THE VICTORIOUS SONNI ALI, THE SONGHAY BEGAN TO EXPAND EAST TOWARD THE NILE VALLEY, STARTING EVER-WIDENING CENTERS OF CULTURE AMONG THE HAUSSA, THE PEOPLES OF BORNU; AND CENTURIES LATER AMONG THE FUNG AND THE FOLK OF KANUM UNTIL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THIS WESTERN CULTURE CAME IN CONTACT WITH MEHEMET ALI IN EGYPT AND THE NUBIANS OF THE SUDAN.

35-1-84

THE ORGANIZED SONGHAY STATE AT THE HEIGHT OF ITS POWER UNDER THE BLACK MOHAMMEDAN ASKIA THE GREAT WAS A REMARKABLE STATE FROM ANY POINT OF VIEW. ITS ORGANIZED ADMINISTRATION, ITS ROADS AND METHODS OF COMMUNICATION, ITS SYSTEM OF PUBLIC SECURITY, PUT IT ABREAST OF ANY CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN OR ASIATIC STATE. IT WAS A LARGE AS EUROPE. THE EMPEROR "WAS OBEYED WITH AS MUCH DOCILITY ON THE FARTHEST LIMITS OF HIS EMPIRE AS IN HIS OWN PALACE". GAO, TIMBUKTU, AND JENNE GATHERED THOUSANDS

OF STUDENTS OF LAW, LITERATURE, GRAMMAR, GEOGRAPHY, AND SURGERY. A LITERATURE BEGAN TO DEVELOP IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. THE UNIVERSITY WAS IN CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE BEST INSTITUTIONS ON THE MEDITERRANEAN COAST.

THESE SUDANESE KINGDOMS WERE KNOWN IN EUROPE. THE GREAT EPIC OF PARSIFAL WRITTEN IN GERMANY, HAS ONE OF ITS HEROS, A BLACK HALF-BROTHER OF PARSIFAL. SHAKESPEARE'S OTHELLO WAS BASED ON THIS HISTORY AND THE BLACK KING AMONG THE THREE KINGS WHO VISITED THE BLACK VIRGIN, ALL COME FROM THE TIME WHEN EUROPE HAD THE GREATEST RESPECT FOR AFRICA DEVELOPMENT.

THUS WE MAY EASILY SEE THAT BY OMITTING OR FORGETTING THE HISTORY OF AFRICA, THE MODERN WORLD HAS MADE IT EASY TO FALL INTO THE ERRONEOUS ASSUMPTIONS OF RACE INFERIORITY AND THE ATTEMPT TO RULE THE WORLD FROM EUROPE. THE MEANING OF THE FIRST AND SECOND WORLD WARS AND OF

THE PRESENT ERA IS THAT AFRICA MUST BE REMEMBERED AND IN THE FUTURE PROGRESSIVELY GIVEN ITS PLACE AS ONE OF THE GREAT CONTINENTS OF THE WORLD.

35-1-85

Broadcast New York, N. Y. Conference on China and the Far East J. Raymond Walsh Program
WNCA Tuesday, January 20, 1948

Lecture

35-2-116

THE COLONIAL PEOPLES

W.E.B. DuBois

When I was graduated from college in the nineties our attitude towards the colonial peoples was clear and apparently well-based. They were looked upon as backward peoples; as people who had made some degree of advance in civilization, and then, for unexplained reasons, had stood still, or even turned backwards. We believed their future depended upon the leadership of Europe and North America. Basing our thought upon the new doctrine of evolution, we believed that these people could make some advance, although very slowly and never an advance as great as that accomplished by Nordic people. It was our duty, therefore, to take up "the white man's burden;" to convert Asia and Africa to Christianity, and especially to put them to work for the industry and commerce of the world.

A half century of revolution in thought, work, and government has definitely changed our ideas. In the first place, we are not today convinced that our past attitude towards Asia and Africa was solely for the advance of these people; but rather, because having huge profits and established the new capitalism out of the slave trade, slavery, and colonialism, we had rationalized the situation, and tried to make ourselves believe that this was done not for our advantage, but in philanthropy towards backwards peoples.

We have begun to realize today that the differences among peoples are not necessarily matters of inferiority or superiority; but rather different ways in which cultural groups have tried to solve the problems of social living; and the success of Europe and America is not necessarily an unique triumph of brain, but rather a matter of unusual opportunity to work out certain ideas, which the peoples of Asia and Africa were trying to solve in different ways and failed, not because their cultural patterns were inferior but because they did not have a chance to develop them.

Particularly, we have begun to realize that Asia has been one of the great centers of human culture; that there have germinated all of the great

religions and a spiritual life far deeper and more beautiful than anything born elsewhere in the world. We have begun to see that social progress even in Europe and America might have been helped by the attitude of Africa towards the land, and by its development of the concept of the family.

But even more than that, we have been realising that the progress of democracy in Europe and America has been definitely hindered by our attitude towards colonial peoples; that the degradation of labor in Asia and Africa has put in competition to the rising laboring classes in the Western world a poorly paid, ignorant, and diseased laboring mass in the rest of the world; and also placed in the hands of the rulers of industry in Europe and America the power to oppose and negative democracy at home---a power such as they could not have gained in their own land. When therefore today we look towards a new freedom and a real growth of democratic effort in the world, we know that the first real step has got to be taken in the colonies.

35-2-117

There can be no freedom and political power for labor in the Western world so long as the labor of Asia and Africa is enslaved. There can be no exercise of democratic power in Europe or in North America so long as the opponents of democratic power are armed with the indispensable raw materials raised by cheap labor in Asia, Africa, and islands of the seas. Thus, the problem today is what attitude America is going to take towards the colonial system. Some of us are quite willing to stand aside and to preen ourselves upon the assumed fact that we Americans are not imperialists, because we have few colonies. That is not true. We are imperialists, not only because of our ownership of Puerto Rico, and Alaska, and Hawaii, and our partial ownership of the Philippines, but even more because the invested capital of America is a decisive element in South Africa, in the Congo, in East Africa, and in the West Indies, not to mention South America. The attitude of the United States of America, therefore, is going to be decisive for colonialism.

More than that, low wages in Africa and Asia depress wages in Europe and America. Monopoly of wealth, accumulated in colonies, gives wealth tremendous power over government and society in Europe and America, as gold diamonds, copper, ivory, cocoa, coffee, rubber, and spices show. How far is it possible that our efforts to help the East, past and present, have not only hindered Asia but even been to the disadvantage of America?

The British Foreign Office and the American Department of State for a long time have been regarded as the domain of expert opinion, into which the public was not supposed to penetrate or to give competent advice. But it has gradually dawned upon the American and British people that the peoples of the rest of the world are not foreign in the sense of having no connection with home affairs. On the contrary, in this world medley of nations who are, despite the difficulties, become one world, the relations between the groups of this world are of great and pressing importance.

35-2-1-18

Especially in America we are beginning to realize that what is happening in China and in India, in Indonesia and the Far East generally, is of importance, not simply because we sympathize with those people, but because their action and our action towards them are of great weight in the development of our own country. In the Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East, to be held in New York this week, January 23-25, you are going to hear from the various delegates concerning the attempts that have been made recently in America to aid China and what the results are. You know the long history of the past of missionary effort and industrial penetration on the part of America. The question is now: How far was this really of advantage to the Chinese; what effect do our efforts to help have upon them and upon us; and what ought we to do? Is the present policy of the Department of State calculated to help Asia and to help the United States of America? It is for this reason that this conference has been called and you are going to hear persons talk who know about the situation, and you are going to have the opportunity to talk yourselves.

File 7

THE COLONIAL PEOPLES

W.E.B. DuBois

When I was graduated from college/in the nineties/our attitude towards the colonial peoples/was clear and apparently well-based./ They were looked upon as backward peoples;/ as people who had made some degree of advance in civilization,/ and then,/ for unexplained reasons,/ had stood still,/or even turned backwards./ We believed their future/depended upon the leadership of Europe and North America./ Basing our thought upon the new doctrine of evolution,/ we believed that these people could make some advance,/although very slowly/and never an advance as great as that accomplished by Nordic peoples!/ It was our duty, therefore,/ to take up "the white man's burden;"/ to convert Asia and Africa to Christianity,/ and especially to put them to work/for the industry and commerce of the world.

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A half century of revolution/ in thought, work, and government/has definitely changed our ideas./ In the first place,/ we are not today convinced that our past attitude/ towards Asia and Africa/ was solely for the advance of those people;/ but rather,/because having made huge profits/and established the new capitalism/out of the slave trade, slavery, and colonialism,/ we had rationalized the situation,/ and tried to make ourselves believe/that this was done not for our advantage,/ but in philanthropy/towards backward peoples.

We have begun to realize today/that the differences among peoples/are not necessarily/ matters of inferiority or superiority;/ but rather different ways/in which cultural groups/have tried to solve the problems of social living;/ and the success of Europe and America/is not necessarily/an unique triumph of brain,/ but rather/a matter of unusual opportunity/to work out certain ideas,/ which the peoples of Asia and Africa/ were trying to solve/in different ways/and failed, not because their cultural patterns/were inferior/but because they did not have a chance to develop them,/ because Europe hindered them/

Particularly/ we have begun to realize/ that Asia/has been one of the great centers of human culture;/ that there/ have germinated all of the great

religions and a spiritual life far deeper and more beautiful than anything born elsewhere in the world. We have begun to see that social progress even in Europe and America might have been helped by the attitude of Africa towards the land, and by its development of the concept of the village and family.

But even more than that, we have been realising that the progress of democracy in Europe and America has been definitely hindered by our attitude towards colonial peoples; that the degradation of labor in Asia and Africa has put in competition with the rising laboring classes in the Western world a poorly paid, ignorant, and diseased laboring mass in the rest of the world; and also placed in the hands of the rulers of industry in Europe and America the power to oppose and negative democracy at home--a power such as they could not have gained unaided in their own land. When therefore today we look towards a new freedom and a real growth of democratic effort in the world, we know that the first real step has got to be taken in the colonies.

There can be no freedom and political power for labor in the Western world so long as the labor of Asia and Africa is enslaved. There can be no exercise of democratic power in Europe or in North America so long as the opponents of democratic power are armed with the indispensable raw materials raised by cheap labor in Asia, Africa, and islands of the seas. Thus, the problem today is what attitude America is going to take towards the colonial system. Some of us Americans are quite willing to stand aside and to preen ourselves upon the assumed fact that we Americans are not imperialists, because we have few colonies. That is not true. We are imperialists, not only because of our ownership of Puerto Rico, ~~and~~ Alaska, and Hawaii, and our partial ownership of the Philippines, but even more because the invested capital of America is a decisive element in South Africa, in the Congo, in East Africa, in Asia and in the West Indies, not to mention South America. The attitude of the United States of America, therefore, is going to be decisive for colonialism.

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More than that, low wages in Africa and Asia depress wages in Europe and America. Monopoly of wealth, accumulated in colonies, gives wealth tremendous power over government and society in Europe and America, as gold, diamonds, copper, ivory, Tea cocoa, coffee, rubber, and spices show. How far is it possible that our efforts to help the East, past and present, have not only hindered Asia but even been to the disadvantage of America?

The British Foreign Office and the American Department of State for a long time have been regarded as the domain of expert opinion, into which the public was not supposed to penetrate or to give competent advice. But it has gradually dawned upon the American and British people that the peoples of the rest of the world are not foreign in the sense of having no connection with home affairs. On the contrary, in this world medley of nations who are, despite the difficulties, becoming one world, the relations between the groups of this world are of great and pressing importance.

Especially in America we are beginning to realize that what is happening in China and in India, in Indonesia and the Far East generally, is of importance, not simply because we sympathize with those people, but because their action and our action towards them are of great weight in the development of our own country. In the Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East, to be held in New York this week, January 23-25, at the City Center, W. 55th St., you are going to hear from the various theaters concerning the attempts that have been made recently in America to aid China and what the results are. You know the long history of the past of missionary effort and industrial penetration on the part of America with Japan and India as well as China. The question is now: How far was this really of advantage to the Chinese, what effect do our efforts to help have had upon them and upon us; and what ought we to do? Is the present policy of the Department of State calculated to help Asia and to help the United States of America or to hinder? It is for this reason that this conference has been called and you are going to hear persons talk who know about the situation, and you are going to have the opportunity to talk yourselves.

Parkchester Rally, Jan.21, 1948
New York

Amer. Jewish
Congress

CIVIL RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY

W.E.B. DuBois

IT IS CLEAR TO ALL OF US, THAT AT PRESENT WE ARE SUFFERING FROM A VERY REAL ATTACK UPON CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES. I HAVE TRIED TO SET DOWN SOME FIFTEEN ITEMS AND GROUPS, IN WHICH THIS FACT IS CLEARLY INDICATED. THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT BUT WHAT THE FREEDOM TO THINK TODAY HAS BECOME, IN MANY LINES OF THOUGHT, DANGEROUS; ESPECIALLY IS IT DIFFICULT TO SPEAK FREELY OR TO USE OTHER FORMS OF EXPRESSION, LIKE WRITING, PAINTING, THE RADIO, THE CINEMA AND THE THEATER. THERE IS STILL DIFFICULTY ABOUT THE FREEDOM OF BELIEF, NOT ONLY IN RELIGIOUS MATTERS, BUT IN MATTERS OF WORK AND INCOME.

ORGANIZATION AND PETITION, PARTICULARLY IF IT HAS TO DO WITH SOCIAL CHANGE OF ANY SORT IS UNDER SUSPICION. PERHAPS IN NO CATEGORY IS THERE MORE OPEN INJUSTICE THAN IN ARREST, CONFINEMENT AND ILL-TREATMENT BY THE POLICE; DELAYED TRIALS, UNCLEAR CHARGES AND ABSENCE OF CONFRONTING WITNESSES. THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF SPYING UPON THE PEOPLE'S THOUGHTS AND ACTIONS. THERE IS DIFFICULTY FOR MANY IN SELECTING HOMES AND PLACES OF RESIDENCE; IN THE BUYING AND SELLING OF LAND AND H USES. THERE ARE LIMITATIONS UPON TRANSPORT AND TRAVEL; NOT ONLY WITHIN THIS COUNTRY, BUT TO OTHER COUNTRIES. THERE IS DISCRIMINATION IN THE ARMY AND NAVY, BASED NOT ONLY UPON COLOR BUT ON OTHER LESS DEFINABLE MATTERS. THERE IS DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCTTION: IN THE KIND OF EDUCATION ALLOWED AND IN THE KIND OF INFORMATION WHICH PEOPLE CAN RECEIVE CONCERNING THE FACTS AND OCCURENCES IN THIS COUNTRY AND ELSEWHERE.

THERE IS DIFFICULTY IN MAINTAINING HEALTH IN THIS COUNTRY GETTING SERVICE OF PHYSICIANS AND BEING ADMITTED TO HOSPITALS. THERE IS WIDE DISCRIMINATION IN VOTING: PROHIBITIONS? SUCH AS THE POLL TAX, DIFFICULTIES OF GETTING PERSONS ON THE TICKETS

AND TECHNICAL HINDRANCES TO VOTE EXPRESSION. THERE IS STILL FORCED LABOR, NOT ONLY IN JAILS AND PLACES OF DETENTION BUT IN CERTAIN KINDS OF WORK, LIKE PLANTATIONS AND INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES. THERE IS DIFFICULTY ABOUT WORK; NOT ONLY THE KIND OF WORK THAT A PERSON MAY WANT TO DO, BUT WHETHER ANY WORK AT ALL IS AVAILABLE: WHETHER THE PAY IS ADEQUATE OR THE CONDITIONS OF WORK, DECENT; PARTICULARLY THE MATTER OF WORK IS HITCHED UP WITH THE FEAR OF OLD AGE, SECURITY; OF ACCIDENTS AND SICKNESS. THERE IS THE THREAT OF THE MOB AND VIOLENCE, AND PARTICULARLY IN OUR DAY THERE IS HINDRANCE IN SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

HOW DOES THIS COME TO HAPPEN? WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE WORLD THAT AFTER SO LONG AND VIGOROUS A FIGHT TO MAINTAIN THESE RIGHTS, FROM THE DAY OF THE MAGNA CHARTA DOWN TO OUR OWN LAST CONGRESS? WHY HAS THERE BEEN IN THE UNITED STATES AND ELSEWHERE A DISTINCT RETROGRESSION IN THE RECOGNITION OF CIVIL RIGHTS? UNDOUBTEDLY THE CAUSE IS CLEAR AND THAT IS

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TWO WARS OF SUCH DIMENSIONS, AND WITH SUCH RESULTS, THAT THE WHOLE PHYSICAL WORLD HAS BEEN CHANGED, AND THE MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL WORLD TRANSFORMED ALMOST BEYOND RECOGNITION. NOT ONLY HAS THERE BEEN THESE TWO WORLD WARS, BUT THERE HAS BEEN A HISTORY OF ALMOST CONTINUOUS MINOR WARS DURING THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES WHICH HAVE GIVEN US A WAR PSYCHOSIS.

NOTE, AS RESULT AND CAUSE OF WAR, HAS COME WIDESPREAD FEAR: THE FEAR OF NATIONS FOR THEIR FUTURE: OF GROUPS FOR THEIR INTEGRITY; OF CULTURES FOR THEIR SURVIVAL. WE LIVE IN A WORLD OF DESPERATE FEAR. PERHAPS PRACTICALLY AN EVEN GREATER DIFFICULTY HAS BEEN THE VARIATION OF INCOME AMONG PEOPLES. THE AMOUNT WHICH THEY COULD EARN AND WHICH THEY HAD A RIGHT TO SPEND HAS VARIED, AND VARIED TO SUCH AN EXTENT THAT FEW PEOPLE EVEN IN CIVILIZED COUNTRIES ARE SURE THAT THEY WILL ESCAPE WANT AND POVERTY

NO MATTER HOW HARD AND CONTINUOUSLY THEY WORK; AND FINALLY, WITH THIS AND OF COURSE BOUND UP WITH IT, AS CAUSE AND EFFECT, ARE THE HATREDS AND REPULSIONS BETWEEN PEOPLES AND GROUPS, BRED OF WAR, OF ECONOMIC COMPETITION, OF HEREDITARY CULTURAL TRAINING. SO THAT ALL THESE THINGS TOGETHER AND BY INTERACTION, WAR, FEAR, INCOME AND HATE, HAVE BEGUN TO WORK UPON OUR CIVIL RIGHTS AND OTHER FUNCTIONS OF OUR INSTITUTIONAL LIFE; UNTIL WE ARE IN GRAVE DANGER.

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THIS CALLS FOR CAREFUL THOUGHT AND EXAMINATION; FIRST OF HOW WE CAME TO THE IDEA OF CIVIL RIGHTS. USUALLY WE THINK OF RIGHTS AS A POSITIVE THING ACHIEVED BY INDIVIDUALS. BUT I SUPPOSE HISTORICALLY IT WOULD BE MORE CORRECT, IF WE THINK OF THE WAY IN WHICH THE NECESSITY OF EXERCISING CERTAIN SOCIAL FUNCTIONS WAS PROVIDED FOR AMONG THE PEOPLE OF A GROUP. THERE CAME NATURALLY FIRST THE QUESTION, WHO SHALL GOVERN? WHO SHALL MAKE VITAL DECISIONS IN THE TRIBE , IN THE GROUP, IN THE TOWN? WHO HAS THE RIGHT OF POLITICAL CONTROL?

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THAT WAS ANSWERED IN PRIMITIVE TIMES NATURALLY: IT WAS THE RIGHT OF THE FATHER; OR OF THE MOTHER; AND THEN, AS THE TRIBE GREW LARGER, OF THE ELDEST SON, OR THE PERSON WHO MORE OR LESS MIGHT BE THE CHOICE OF THE ELDERS WHO REPRESENTED THE DEAD ANCESTOR. SO THAT THE POLITICAL RIGHTS INHERENT IN ONE RULER BECAME SHARED BY HIS RELATIVES, BY THE MEMBERS OF HIS COUNCIL, BY PERSONS CALLED IN TO REPRESENT THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE; AND FINALLY BY THE SHEER NECESSITY OF KNOWING WHAT THE PEOPLE WANTED AND NEEDED, BY A DEMOCRACY OF POLITICAL CONTROL.

THERE FOLLOWED A DIFFERENCIATION BETWEEN RIGHTS THAT WERE MAINLY POLITICAL, AND HAD TO DO WITH THE CONDUCT OF PERSONS IN MATTERS OF GOVERNMENT, AND THE EVEN MORE IMPORTANT PROBLEM OF HOW WORK SHOULD GO ON, AND HOW IT SHOULD BE DIVIDED, AND HOW THE WEALTH AND SERVICES WHICH WERE THE RESULT OF WORK, SHOULD BE ENJOYED BY THE WORKERS AND BY OTHERS. THESE ECONOMIC RIGHTS WERE FROM THE FIRST OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE AND

WERE HARDLY DIFFERENCIATED IN THOUGHT OR ACTION FROM POLITICAL RIGHTS. AND WHEN THE TRIBE BEGAN TO THINK ABOUT ITS SITUATION, BEGAN TO LEARN OF THE PAST AND PLAN FOR THE FUTURE, THERE CAME THE QUESTION AS TO WHO COULD BE TRUSTED WITH THE LEARNING AND WHO COULD DO THE PLANNING?

IT WAS NATURAL THAT IN THE GROWTH AND DIVISION OF POWER FOR GOVERNMENT, FOR WORK, FOR THINKING, THERE SHOULD COME CONTRADICTIONS AND FRICTION. THE DECISIONS OF THOSE WHO HELD THE RIGHT TO RULE, MUST FROM TIME TO TIME COME INTO DISPUTE WITH THOSE WHO DID NOT AGREE WITH THEIR DECISIONS. IN THE MATTER OF WORK AND WEALTH THERE MUST BE CONTINUOUS CONTRADICTION; AND PLANNING AND LEARNING LED OFTEN TO AS MANY DECISIONS AS THERE WERE MINDS SEEKING THE TRUTH. SO THAT AN ELEMENT OF COMPULSION HAD TO ENTER; AFTER THE POLITICAL DECISION WAS MADE IT MUST BE ENFORCED AND THERE MUST BE POWER TO ENFORCE IT. THE WORK MUST BE DONE; THE CONSUMPTION OF GOODS AND SERVICES MUST BE CARRIED THROUGH; SO THAT THERE MUST ARISE A CERTAIN OPPOSITION WHICH THREATENS THE ORGANIZATION OF LIFE

IN THE COMMUNITY.

IT REDUCED ITSELF OFTEN TO CONTRADICTION AND DICHOTOMY: POLITICAL FREEDOM AND TYRANNY. THE FREEDOM TO ENJOY, THE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND HERESY. IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO AVOID OPPOSITION OF THIS SORT, AND ON THE OTHER HAND CONTRADICTIONS MUST BE SETTLED; THE SETTLEMENT WHICH HAS RECEIVED THE ASSENT OF THE WORLD IS THE SYNTHESIS OF DEMOCRACY.

IN POLITICAL LIFE THIS AMOUNTS TO SAYING THAT THE IRRESPONSIBLE ACT OF ONE PERSON OR OF A SMALL GROUP CANNOT BE FINAL, NOT SIMPLY BECAUSE OF THE RIGHTS OF OTHER PERSONS, BUT BECAUSE OF THE RIGHTS AND SAFETY OF THE WHOLE GROUP. IF THROUGH IGNORANCE OR STUBBORNESS, A WRONG POLITICAL CONCLUSION IS MADE, IT IS NOT SIMPLY THE REST OF THE COMMUNITY THAT SUFFERS, IT IS THE WHOLE COMMUNITY INCLUDING THE RULER. SO THAT THE FIRST THING THAT MUST BE KNOWN, IS HOW FAR WILL ANY POLITICAL ACTION HELP OR HURT EVERYONE IN THE COMMUNITY? AND TO DECIDE THIS, EVERYONE

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IN THE COMMUNITY OF FULLY DEVELOPED MIND AND RESPONSIBILITY, SHOULD HAVE VOICE TO TELL HIS OWN ATTITUDE AND EXPERIENCE, IN ORDER THAT OUT OF THAT ACCUMULATION AND FUND OF EXPERIENCES, AN ACTION EVIDENTLY BEST FOR THE WHOLE COMMUNITY CAN BE REACHED.

THERE ARE ALL SORTS OF DIFFICULTIES IN THIS ROUGH DEMOCRATIC PROCESS; BUT IT IS OF INTEREST TO REMEMBER THAT THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE WILL AND EXPERIENCE OF THE MASS OF THE GROUP, HAS ALWAYS BEEN FOUND ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO THE WELL BEING OF THE GROUP.

THE MATTER OF CIVIL RIGHTS OF THE MASS OF THE COMMUNITY AROSE LATER AND MORE SLOWLY. IT CAME PARTICULARLY TO THE FOREFRONT WHEN THERE CHANGES IN THE KIND OF WORK TO BE DONE AND THE PLACES WHERE THE WORK WAS TO BE CARRIED OUT; IN THE UNKNOWN SCARCITIES AND CALAMITIES THAT AROSE. THE CRY FOR ECONOMIC RIGHTS IN OPPOSITION TO AND AS DISTINGUISHED FROM POLITICAL RIGHTS AROSE FOR EUROPE ESPECIALLY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY,

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WHEN THE ECONOMIC MEANING OF THE NEW WORLD BECAME CLEAR. MEN WANTED THE RIGHT TO ADVENTURE, TO FIND TREASURE, TO DIVIDE SPOILS. FREEDOM BECAME THE CRY OF THE CENTURY: BUT IT MEANT FREEDOM TO GAMBLE, TO RISK. ONE FOUND WITH THE NINETEENTH CENTURY HOWEVER, THERE CAME QUESTIONS OF OTHER RIGHTS, ARISING FROM POVERTY, FROM INQUIRING THOUGHT, FROM PLANNING OF LIFE AND WORK. IT WAS HERE THAT OUR SO CALLED CIVIL RIGHTS BEGAN TO TAKE NEW ASPECT AND BODY. THE LONG FIGHT FOR THE FREEDOM TO THINK AND LEARN WAS BROUGHT FROM RELIGIOUS DOGMA CONCERNING ANOTHER WORLD OR WILD SCIENTIFIC SPECULATION DOWN TO THE RIGHT TO TALK ABOUT PRESENT CONDITIONS AND PRESENT WAYS OF DOING THINGS.

THERE CAME THE INSISTENCE UPON THE RIGHT TO CONSIDER SOCIAL CHANGE; IMPATIENCE WITH INTERFERENCE WITH A MANS' PERSON AND PROPERTY; THE DESIRE TO LIVE AND BUILD WHERE ONE WANTED TO: TO TRAVEL: AND THEN LATER THE DEMAND FOR SCHOOLS AND THE FREE PRESS: AN UNDERSTANDING THAT HEALTH WAS

A MATTER OF NATIONAL SECURITY; THAT LABOR MUST HAVE A RIGHT TO BARGAIN AND COMBINE, AND THAT OLD-AGE SHOULD BE PROVIDED FOR BY THE STATE. ABOVE ALL UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE CAME TO BE A SLOGAN, AND WHILE AT FIRST IT MEANT SIMPLY LIMITATIONS ON THE POLITICAL POWER OF RULERS, IT CAME EVENTUALLY AND MUCH MORE LARGELY TO HAVE TO DO WITH CIVIL RIGHTS.

FINALLY CAME THE DEMAND THAT SCIENCE BE FREE EVEN OF THE SHACKLES OF DOGMA AND RELIGION. AFTER THAT CAME THE ERA OF WORLD WAR, OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, AND OF RACIAL ANTAGONISM. OF THESE THREE THE ECONOMIC FACTORS UNDOUBTEDLY WERE AND ARE MOST COMPELLING. THE QUESTION AS TO THE KIND OF WORK, OF THE OBJECTS OF WORK, AND OF THE RETURN TO THE WORKERS AND OTHER PARTICIPANTS. THIS HAS BECOME THE INCREASINGLY CENTRAL PROBLEM OF A WORLD, WHICH IS A WORLD OF ORGANIZED INDUSTRY BEFORE IT IS A WORLD OF THOUGHT, OF ART, OR OF BELIEFE.

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IF THIS WERE A WORLD OF ART FOR INSTANCE OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD

CIVIL RIGHTS WOULD BE MUCH DIFFERENT. WE WOULD DISCUSS TO BE SURE, MATTERS OF FORM AND TASTE, BUT WE WOULD BE EAGER FOR INNOVATION AND WOULD CONCEIVE A FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION WHICH IS FAR FROM US TODAY. BUT SINCE THERE IS THIS PRIORITY OF INTEREST: THIS MATTER OF A MANS' DAILY TOIL AND OF WHAT HE GETS FROM IT AND ENJOYS BECAUSE OF IT, THESE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS BECOME CENTRAL AND FOREMOST, AND WITHOUT DOUBT THEY CONDITION OUR LIFE AND THOUGHT; SO THAT TODAY IF WE REDUCE THIS MATTER OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND THEIR CURTAILMENT TO THEIR LOWEST TERMS, WHAT WE FIND IS THAT AN INCREASING NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD WHICH ARE MOST COMPLETELY ORGANIZED INDUSTRIALLY, ARE AFRAID THAT THEIR PRESENT ECONOMIC CONDITION IS GOING TO BE CHANGED FOR THE WORST.

BUT THE EXERCISE OF CIVIL RIGHTS IS FORBIDDEN TO THE MASS OF MEN: THIS IS OF COURSE A SUBTLE ATTACK UPON DEMOCRACY. MOST MEN TODAY IN WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA ARE AFRAID TO HAVE INDUSTRY CARRIED ON BY

DEMOCRATIC METHODS AND THEIR FEAR RESTS UPON THE LACK OF KNOWLEDGE AMONG WORKERS, THE LACK OF EXPERIENCE, OF GENERAL EDUCATION AND THE WIDE SPREAD AND BITTER SELFISHNESS AMONG THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD AND THEIR EMPLOYERS. THEY REFUSE TO SEE THAT THE DEMOCRATIC METHOD CAN DO ANYTHING TO BETTER THIS CONDITION, AND YET, I SUPPOSE THAT JUST THERE, THEY ARE MAKING THEIR GREATEST MISTAKE.

THIS IS PROVEN BY THE FACT THAT WHEN CALAMITY DOES HAPPEN AND IS KNOWN, THE RESPONSE OF THE GREAT MASS OF PEOPLE IN THE WORLD, BOTH RICH AND POOR IS GENEROUS AND WIDE SPREAD. IT IS THE KIND OF SUFFERIN THAT PEOPLE DO NOT GENERALLY KNOW AND DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IS NEGLECTED. WE HAVE MOST OF US, NO CLEAR IDEA OF THE INJUSTICE THAT GOES ON IN THE COURTS WHERE ORDINARY PEOPLE ARE TRIED: WE DO NOT REALIZE WHY TO THE MAJORITY OF PEOPLE LIVING IN AMERICA THE POLICE ARE ENEMIES. WE DO NOT REALIZE HOW DIFFICULT IT IS IN A COUNTRY LIKE AMERICA FOR THE MASS OF PEOPLE TO MAKE

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UP THERI MINDS ON SUBJECTS OF IMPORTANCE WHEN THE MONOPOLIZED PRESS KEEPS THEM DELIBERATELY FROM KNOWING THE WHOLE OF THE FACTS, WHEN THE REPORTING OF CONDITIONS IS DOCTORED IN ORDER TO FAVOR A CERTAIN POINT OF VIEW.

ALL THIS ENGENDERS A CRITICAL AND DANGEROUS FEAR OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS: BUT THAT IS NOT ONLY TRUE IN ECONOMIC MATTERS? IT IS NOT ONLY THE REASON WHY ECONOMICS IS NOT TAUGHT FRANKLY AND OPENLY IN SCHOOLS: IT ALSO HAS DANGEROUS EFFECT

ON OUR ATTITUDES TOWARD EACH OTHER IN EVERYTHING THAT HAS TO DO WITH LIFE AND ITS CONDUCT AND ITS ENJOYMENT. UNTIL WE ARRIVE AT THE STAGE WHERE CIVIL RIGHTS AS WELL POLITICAL AS ECONOMIC MUST SURVIVE OR OUR CIVILIZATION CANNOT SURVIVE. WHY SHOUDL A COUNTRY LIKE AMERICA BE AFRAID OF OPEN DISCUSSION AND EXPRESSION OF IDEAS? IF FOR INSTANCE WE ARE INTENSLY INTERESTED IN COMMUNISM AND THE COMMUNISTS AND WHAT RUSSIA IS DOING AND PROPOSING TO DO? WHY SHOULD WE NOT DISCUSS IT AT TOWN HALL AND ASK AND INSIST THAT THE COMMUNISTS BE PRESENT? WHY SHOULD WE BE AFRIAD IN GEORGIA TO DISCUSS THE NEGRO PROBLEM OR TO THROW THE FORUMS OF THE SCHOOLS OPEN FOR SUCH DISCUSSION? ONE WOULD THINK THAT MISSISSIPPI WOULDD BE JUST THE PLACE WHERE WHITE AND COLORED STUDENTS WOULD APPEAR ON THE SAME PLATFORM AND TELL THE PEOPLE EXACTLY WHAT THEY THOUGHT OF MISSISSIPPI LAW. BUT INSTEAD OF THAT, WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO DO IN THE UNITED STATES? IS TO DEPRIVE PEOPLE OF INFORMATION

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TO FORCE THEM TO COME TO CERTAIN CONCLUSIONS AND TO CURTAIL THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS IN ORDER THAT THIS CAN BE DONE.

IT IS THE MOST DANGEROUS KIND OF ATTACK UPON DEMOCRACY THAT COULD BE CONCEIVED. OF COURSE, WE MAY BE AFRAID AND WE HAVE A RIGHT TO BE AFRAID THAT WITH FREE DISCUSSION YOU WILL HAVE DECISION BY A BARE PREPONDERANCE OF VOTES: THAT THE PEOPLE VOTING WILL BE VOTING THEIR PREJUDICES AND PREDILECTIONS RATHER THAN BASING THEIR DECISIONS UPON KNOWLEDGE.

IN ANSWER TO THAT, WE HAVE TO ADMIT THAT MERE MAJORITY RULE IS NOT SATISFACTORY. THAT WHAT WE OUGHT TO HAVE AND WHAT WE DO HAVE IN ALL GREAT AND PERMANENT DECISIONS, IS PRACTICAL UNANIMITY. THAT WHAT WE ARE SEEKING FOR ALWAYS IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, IS NOT MERELY MAJORITY, BUT IF WE WANT THIS, THEN THE BASIS MUST BE KNOWLEDGE, EXPERIENCE, A WIDE AND INTENSE TEACHING OF THE PEOPLE; AND WHEN WE SEE

IN THE PRESIDENTS' BUDGET 2% FOR EDUCATION AND 75% FOR WAR AND THE RESULTS OF WAR, WE KNOW HOW FAR WE HAVE GONE ASTRAY FROM THE FUNDAMENTALS DECISIONS UPON WHICH DEMOCRACY CAN BE BUILT.

MAY WE TURN NOW IN CLOSING FROM THE MORE THEORETICAL ASPECT OF THE PRESENT ATTACK UPON CIVIL RIGHTS AND ASK HOW IN PRACTICE EACH ONE OF US MAY ACT SO AS TO BRING A MORE NORMAN STATE OF MIND AND PROTECT THE LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES. MAY I STRESS A FEW THINGS WHICH EACH OF US MUST DO? FIRST, WE MUST INSIST IN ANY CONTROVERSY IN GIVING THE OTHER SIDE, THAT IS THE SIDE WITH WHICH WE DO NOT AGREE, A CHANCE TO EXPRESS ITSELF FREELY AND FAIRLY: A DEVATE ON COMMUNISM AT TOWN HALL WHERE NO COMMUNIST IS ALLOWED TO SPEAK FOR HIS PARTY, IS A TRAVESTY ON JUSTICE AND IT HURTS THE COMMUNIST. SECONDLY, WE SHOULD INSIST THAT IN ANY CONTROVERSY THE AVAILABLE FACTS BEARING ON THE MATTER BE EXPRESSED: WE SHOULD INSIST THAT THERE IS DANGER IN THE SUPPRESSION OF FACTS, SIMPLY BECAUSE THE FACTS DO NOT AGREE WITH OUR IDEAS.

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FOR THAT REASON WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT CAREFUL INVESTIGATION HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT WE DO NOT HAVE A FREE PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE SENSE OF BEING ABLE TO SECURE THE WHOLE OF THE TRUTH ON ANY PARTICULAR SITUATION. THIRDLY, WE SHOULD INSIST UPON THE RIGHT TO DISAGREE. IF THERE IS ONE THING THAT DEMOCRACY SHOULD PLACE FORMOST IN ITS PROGRAM, IT IS THAT THE PERSON WHO DOES NOT AGREE WITH A POLICY OR A LINE OF THOUGHT, HAS THE RIGHT TO DISAGREE: THAT AGREEMENT IS NOT THE WAY TO COME TO TRUTH: THAT FREEDOM OF THOUGHT IS THE ONLY WAY IN WHICH WE ARE GOING TO OPEN THE WAY TO THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF PROGRESS.

FOURTH, THIS RIGHT TO DISAGREE MUST GO EVEN TO THE EXTENT OF ADVOCATING CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT: ADVOCATING CHANGE WHICH CAN BE CALLED REVOLUTION. THINK OF WHAT WE WOULD HAVE LOST IN THE WORLD IF WE HAD NOT HAD THE FRENCH R VOLUTION AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION? IF OF

COURSE A PERSON IN HIS THOUGHT OR IN HIS ACTION TRANGRESSES THE LAW, HE MUST BE WILLING TO TAKE THE PUNISHMENT: BUT HE HAS A RIGHT TO SAY THAT GOVERNMENT IS DOING WRONG AND OUGHT TO BE CHANGED. FIFTH, WE SHOULD BE READY AND EAGER TODAY TO EXAMINE METHODS OF PROPAGANDA: WE KNOW THAT PROPAGANDA HAS ARISEN TO AN ART, BUT WE UNTHINKINGLY FALL VICTIM TO IT. WE KNOW FOR INSTANCE THAT A LIE IS REITERATED LONG ENOUGH, WE OURSELVES SUCCOMB TO THE STATEMENT. WE KNOW THAT SLOGANS LIKE THE "RED SCARE" OR "RACE MIXTURE" OR THINGS OF THAT SORT HAVE AN INFLUENCE UPON OUR THINKING BEYOND ANYTHING TH T WE REALLY KNOW, SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY ARE USED AS CAREFULLY PREPARED PROPAGANDA.

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NEXT WE SHOULD TAKE OUR STAND ON THE RIGHT OF A PERSON TO WORK AND TO MAKE THE CONDITIONS OF WORK AS BENEFICIAL TO HIMSELF AS POSSIBLE. WE HAVE NO RIGHT WITH UT INVESTIGATION TO ASSUME THAT THE PERSON WHO JOINS A STRIKE IS WRONG BECAUSE HE JOINS. OR THAT A PERSON WHO

INSISTS UPON A CERTAIN STANDARD OF WORK IN HIS STORE OR FACTORY IS WRONG BECAUSE HE INSISTS. THERE IS A RIGHT OF PEOPLE TO WORK FOR DECENT WAGES AND TO GIVE DECENT WORK FOR THOSE WAGES AND THAT RIGHT SHOULD BE SUPPORTED WHERE IT DESERVES. NEXT WE SHOULD BE WILLING TO PAY FOR THE INFORMATION WHICH WE GET THROUGH NEWSPAPERS, PERIODICALS AND BOOKS. WE USUALLY PAY THE COSTS OF BOOKS, BUT WE DO NOT PAY FOR MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS. WE LET ADVERTISERS PAY FOR THAT INFORMATION AND ENTERTAINMENT, AND NATURALLY THE ADVERTISERS GET WHAT THEY PAY FOR. THEY GET THE KIND OF INFORMATION WHICH THEY WANT TO BE DISTRIBUTED. THEY ARE ENABLED TO CARRY ON A TREMENDOUS CAMPAIGN THROUGH POWERFUL PAPERS AND MAGAZINES JUST BECAUSE THE PEOPLE WHO READ THE PAPERS ARE NOT THEMSELVES WILLING TO PAY FOR THE INFORMATION. WE SHOULD BE WILLING AND EAGER TO STAND UP FOR PACIFICISM: TO SAY THAT WAR IS INHERENTLY WRONG, THAT THE RULE IS PEACE AND NOT WAR! THAT HISTORY

TEACHES THAT PREPERATION FOR WAR DOES NOT LEAD TO PEACE.

NEXT WE SHOULDBE CLEAR IN OUR MINDS THAT THE INCOME TO CAPITAL AND TO EMPLOYERS IS JUST AS MUCH A PART OF THE COST OF ARTICLES TO CONSUMERS AS THE DISTRIBUTION IN WAGES: THAT OUR REFUSAL TO ALLOW FREE AND FRANK TEACHING OF ECONOMICS IN OUR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES IS MAKING IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE ORDINARY INTELLIGENT PERSON TO THINK STRAIGHT IN MATTERS OF INCOME AND WEALTH. AND FINALLY TO TAKE SO CONCRETE A CASE AS THE MARSHALL PLAN, IT IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE TH T WE HAVE NOT ONLY A RIGHT BUT THE ABILITY TO REASON STRAIGHT IN SUCH A COMPLICATED MATTER. THE MARSHALL PLAN HAS THREE ASPECTS: FURNISHING FOOD AND CLOTHES FOR THE HUNGRY AND NAKED: SECOND, RESTORING THE ECONOMY OF WESTERN EUROPE: AND THIRD, PROFITING BY THE NEW ORGANIZATION OF WORK IN WESTERN EUROPE. NOW THE THREE THINGS ARE NOT THE SAME AND THEY CANNOT NECESSARILY BE ACCOMPLISHED BY THE SAME METHODS. WE CAN GIVE TO THE NEEDY: WE OUGHT TO AND WE DID THROUGH UNRRA. AND UNRRA

OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN CONTINUED INSTEAD OF BEING STOPPED.

WE CANNOT RESTORE THE PRE WAR ECONOMY OF EUROPE BECAUSE THAT DEPENDED ON COLONIES WITH CHEAP GOODS AND CHEAP LABOR: MANUFACTURERS SOLD TO COLONIES AND OTHERS AT A HIGH PRICE. EUROPE CAN MANUFACTURE BUT SHE IS LOSING THE COLONIES AND EVEN IF THE COLONIES ARE NOT LOST THE RATE OF WAGES THERE MUST RISE. THEREFORE IF WE UNDERTAKE ANY CONTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN WEALTH TO RESTORE PRE WAR CONDITIONS WE ARE FIGHTING THE STARS IN THEIR COURSE.

IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE ARE ORGANIZING OR TRYING TO ORGANIZE AND ECONOMY WHICH DOES NOT DEPEND ON COLONIAL IMPERIALISM. COLONIAL IMPERIALISM COULD GIVE LARGE RETURNS TO AMERICAN INVESTORS. AND IF WE ARE TRYING TO GET SUCH RETURNS FROM THE NEW ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY IN WESTERN EUROPE WE ARE TRYING THE

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IMPOSSIBLE. IF WE LOOK CLEARLY THESE THREE POINTS OF VIEW IN THE FACE, WE WOULD SEE WHAT IT IS THAT WE CAN DO AND WHAT WE ARE UNABLE TO DO. IT IS BY UNDERSTANDING CONCRETE SITUATIONS OF THIS SORT THAT WE CAN BEST PROTECT ~~OUT~~ NOT ONLY OUR CIVIL BUT OUR POLITICAL RIGHTS.

I HAVE FOR A LONG TIME SEEN IN TWO ATTEMPTED INSTITUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES THE SETTLEMENT OF OUR GREATER DIFFICULTIES AND ONE IS THE FREE PUBLIC FORUM AND THE OTHER IS FREE EDUCATION.

35-2-133

THE PUBLIC FORUM IDEA IS WIDE SPREAD BUT IT HAS NOT GROWN: IT HAS NOT BECOME ACCEPTED AS IT SHOULD BE. I CONTINUE TO SEE AS I RIDE THROUGH THE STREETS OF NEW YORK, REMINENCES OF CENTERS OF FORUM DISCUSSION WHICH HAVE BEEN PUT DOWN BY FEAR AND GREED. THE PRETENSE THAT WE HAVE AN ADEQUATE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION FOR THE YOUNG IS WRONG. THE SCHOOLS OF THE CITY ARE CROWDED AND INADEQUATE. THE SCHOOLS OF THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES DO NOT REACH THE MASS

OF PEOPLE THAT THEY OUGHT TO REACH: AND THE SCHOOLS OF THE SOUTH ARE A DISGRACE TO CIVILIZATION.

ANY COUNTRY WHICH WITH PRETENSE OF AIMING AT DEMOCRACY, BUILDS UP IGNORANCE AS WE HAVE DONE IN THE UNITED STATES IS BOUND TO FAIL. AND THEN OF COURSE, BEYOND THAT COMES OUR PERSONAL FEARS AND HATES BASED MAINLY UPON TRADITION AND CUSTOM AND HEREDITY. IN THE UNITED STATES IT IS WELL KNOWN AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES THAT THEY HAVE SUFFERED FROM THE ACTIONS OF FOREIGN BORN AMERICANS WHO HAVE COME TO THE UNITED STATES TO SEEK FREEDOM. I SAW THAT IN MY BOYHOOD: WHEN IN THE LITTLE TOWN WHERE I LIVED THERE CAME A MASS OF IRISH AND SOUTH GERMANS AS WORKERS. THEY WERE THE DECLARED ENEMIES OF THE FEW COLORED PEOPLE WHO LIVED THERE. THEY WERE THE OPEN AND FIGHTING ENEMIES OF NEGROES IN NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA WITH WHOM THEY CAME IN CONTACT AND COMPETITION IN ORDER TO

EARN A LIVING. WHAT THEY NEEDED THEN AND WHAT THEY NEED NOW IS INFORMATION TO SHOW HOW THE STRUGGLE OF NEGROE'S FOR POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN AMERICA IS PART OF THEIR OWN STRUGGLE IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

35-2-131

COPY

The stature of Franklin Roosevelt will increase as time goes on. There was first, the severe physical handicap, the extent and influence of which few of us realize. Here was a handsome young athlete, condemned at the beginning of his active life to invalidism and pain. He could have retired and given his life to his own physical recovery: he could have withdrawn from the world and sought many things which would have given him wide pleasure together with needed rest. But on the other hand, he took up a life more active than that of almost any of his public contemporaries and worked himself to death twenty years before death was necessary.

But that was the minor part of his handicap. The greater handicap was spiritual: the fact that he was born into an upper class with large income, with friends who were persons of wealth and power and was called to a position in the crisis of his country, where he was compelled to face frankly the position of wealth in this country and the problem of its distribution among people.

35-2-463

Our system of ca ital and investment reached its highest point in the early years of the twentieth century. It was confident and boastful and it could point to extraordinary accomplishment. There was on earth, not excepting even the Great British and French Empires no country of anywhere near equal size that had the production of wealth, the prosperity of commerce, and the high standard of living among laborers, that the United States saw. No one when Franklin Roosevelt came into public life could have predicted that this enormous and successful economic org nization would face collapse in 1929.

The First World War can be blamed in part for this collapse, but not wholly. After all we did not really get into the first world war, so far as actual fighting was concerned. What we did was to furnish abundant material and labor which helped win the war. But this, instead of warning us and deterring us, filled us with a sense of unbounded power and we undertook, after the war, to put the United States into the position of being the great economic and financial dictator of the World. We outreached ourselves. We were so confident of a brilliant future that we began to speculate and bet on eternity the collapse of 1929 did not mean the end of the United States or the end of the capitalistic system, but it was a warning on a tremendous scale. It meant that the path which we were following, was a dangerous path and that something had to be done to guide our feet in the future.

I remember coming up from Atlanta, in 1933, with a small salary check in my pocket, because I was afraid to deposit it in the South, where banks were shaky. I remember passing through Washington on the rainy day when Franklin Roosevelt was inaugurated and I remember too my astonishment when I reached New York to find the banks closed. The banking system of the United States was at that time the head of the financial control of industry and economic organziation in this country and to a large extent of the world.

Nevertheless, on that morning when I arrived in New York, the banks were on their knees. They were not talking about free enterprise or individual initiative. They were not complaining of the power of the Federal Government. They were begging the Federal Government for God's sake to give them law and money in order to keep from collapse, not only their own institutions but the economic and industrial organization of their country.

Franklin Roosevelt was therefore compelled to undertake a plan of industrial organization in this country. He did not choose the New Deal, it chose him. There was no way in which he could avoid the tremendous problem placed on his shoulders. In the midst of nationwide despair,

bankruptcy, suicide, and unemployment, this man was called upon to reorganize our economic system. He did what everyone under such circumstances ought to have done. He called to his aid and counsel the best brains of the country that he could find: men in academic circuls who had studied economics; men of action and experience; men who had long thought out plans of betterment. He did not have in his own mind anyone plan or any path of progress, but he wanted from a wide circle of advisors to get the best. It was in this way that he planned the national recovery authority as a New Deal in production and distribution of wealth.

He planned employment for large numbers of people , willing to work and unable to earn a living. He planned floors to wages, government organization and furnishing of work for the unemployed and relief for the distressed. It was a tremendous system of national planning. Nothing of the sort had taken place in the world, in modern times except in Russia after the revolution of 1917.

It would have been something more than a miracle if this new planning had been entirely successful or if everybody had agreed with its methods and results. Suffice it to say that id did pull us out of the depths of bankruptcy and despair, and started us anew on a path of progress and social uplift. But as it was successful and in just so far as it was successful, it incurred bitter enmity especially among those industrial leaders who, having failed abysmally in their conduct of industry in the United States after the First World War, now that recovery was in sight, wanted to take unhindered hold of the reins agains and have all federan interference done away with. This was impossible. The planning that had begun in 1932 had to continue. You cannot walk from planning into anarchy, even as easily as you can be thrown from anarchy into planning.

35-2-469

The result was long and bitter controversy, in the midst of a planned economy, which was increasingly successful and which restored business, and above all, gradually did away with unemployment. Then came the interruption of the Second World War: an interruption which was simply a continuation of the national collapse of 1929 spread now to the international area. The assumption ofaself-regulating world market, which was going to guide world industry; the treatment of labor as a commodity and not as a group of human beings, and the attempt to make gold the one real medium of exchange. These three policies failed in the world: and it meant that the problem of an economy based on colonies and their materials and labor: the problems of dependent people, the problem of investment, were thrown before the world for investigation and rearrangement in the midst of the greatest of world wars precipitated by two men who tried to stop democracy by dictatorship.

As a result of this the whole world, after an orgy of murder was compelled to plan a world economy. We are in the midst of this new planning today. It is manifest in every country in the world. In no country is it more manifest than here in the United States. But unfortunately we have been deprived of the leadership of Franklin Roosevelt: of his unvarying good humor: of his clear and broad insight. And in his place we have indecision, determination to rule, bitter aversion to the carrying out of that very planning concerning industry, business and wages, which is inevitable to our world and to the present crisis. The demand of the twentieth century in America, just as in Europe is that the distribution of wealth be more logical and ethical.

Men have tried to avoid action to achieve this by arguing that the distribution of goods and services is a matter of "natural" law. We should know better than that today; we know, especially in America, that

planning of work does go on --on a wide scale and that it involves personal decisions and is based today on autocratic will and not on democratic methods. Managers and groups have power to plan industry and divide its results; groups carrying on organized industry, like general motors and general electric and the British unilevers--these groups own machines, materials, and inventions which enable them to reap large profits by marvelous and striking organization. Imports and exports depend upon the decisions of capitans of industry. Monopoly of natural resources and ownership of land play a tremendous part. Economic rent that comes with time and with growth of population, city sites, the shores of the ocean, the places suitedfor business and pleasure, all are controlled and distributed by individual or group decision. We know that the control of credit, the foreseeing of need for materials and machines, and supplying capital to t ose who can use it profitably, is in itself a field of tremendous planning and prophecy. We know that if the govenment does not come in and guide andcontrol, this planning, economic anarchy results. The field of government in industry is growing and must grow.

What now are the results of uncontrolled planning and why do these results make americans dissatisfied? We still have poverty, not nearly as much as many other parts of the world, but most Americans do not receive an income large enough to allow them to live in health and decency. This leads not only to envy but to fear and crime to the kind of competitive struggles which reveal themselves in strikes and race hatred. It leads to widespread loss of belief in hard work and to increased reliance on chance, so that gambling on stock exchanges and races today/among are our greatest business.

35-2-465

Poverty makes for ignorance: not simply illiteracy which is still serious among us, but for inexperience, the neglect of the lessons of history, reliance on selfish prejudices and conventions. Poverty leads to disease: it lets us spend more for war than for the perfectly possible extripation of tuberculosis, the lessening of cancer, and the physical welfare of children.

Poverty, ignorance, and disease are back of most of o r crime, and to this is added a curious lack of ethical guidance. Churches tend to teach dogma rather than what is right and wrong; and the funny strips exalt craftiness and laugh at suffering.

In contrast to all this comes the reign of luxury, conspicuous expenditure, the flauting of diamonds and furs: the demand for great estates and servants, while round about is sickness, starvation, and insanity. We demand profit for investment even at the expense of the public welfare. Thus the great business organizations of the United States struck and drove a hard bargain in blood and pain to increase profits during World War II. America invests in colonies--British, Dutch, and French; and colonies are slums used to make a profit from materials and cheap labor. We continually set before us the successful rich man as more typical of what America means than the student or the philanthropist or the unselfish man of small income and simple tastes.

It is this kind of thing which makes for our continued spiritual slavery. We demand freedom: but thousands upon thousands are toiling discontentedly at work which they hate, when more careful and thoughtful planning could make work much more agreeable by a more efficient distribution according to ability and taste. We curb thought and discussion because we are afraid that those who are powerful and comfortable under present conditions may be disturbed in their present control of the world. Our news is distorted and our newspapers prostituted by those who own and use them for profit and propaganda. Our "Free Press" is a series of tight little principalities which channel public opinion with prejudiced headlines , omissions and screened news.

Our training for careers and opening of opportunity for the working masses has been ~~x~~ hailed as the greatest in history. There can be no doubt but that more individuals have had opportunity to rise from repression and obscurity in America than in ~~xxx~~ Europe, Asia or Africa.

But even here we have not done anywhere near what we might, and today in many respects are retrograding toward race and class discrimination and special privileges for the rich. Only the Jews among us, as a class, carefully select and support talent and genius among the young: the Negroes are following this example as far as their resources and knowledge allow. It is for this very reason that ~~x~~ jealously of the gifted Jew and ambitious Negro is closing doors of opportunity in their faces. This led to the massacre of Jews in Germany.

35-2-466

In America they only path to preferment and promotion left open and beckoning, is that which industry thinks will make profit. The opening of other paths is left to the rare chance that genius in literature or art be coupled with "push" which means the boldness and crudity for self-advertising from which delicate ~~xx~~ souls shrink.

When by chance or benevolence a boy "makes good", we grant him a profession. If he studies law he can gain a large salary when he becomes a tool by which great corporations evade those laws which try to curb monopoly and distribute wealth more equitably. Large numbers of such lawyers become lawmakers, and they enact laws which can be circumvented. Others are raised to the bench, where they are above law and hig ly honored. They in many cases protect wealth and monopoly and "make examples" of the poor. The greatest work of Franklin Roosevelt was to start cleansing the Supreme Court of the accumulated refuse of reaction to economic democracy. Living men may yet see a Supreme Court with guts and common decency to throw out the window the whole body of legal color-caste in the South and elsewhere as both unconstitutional and uncivilized. At the other end of the scale our labor unions are ~~xx~~ monopolizing skills by limited apprenticeship and secret ritual. ~~xxxx~~ Despite this we find ourselves hastening towards war and bankruptcy.

Is there any wonder that the result is widespread fear? We are afraid of unemployment and loss or work: we are suspicious of other men, other races, and other nations: not because we are the poorest and most wretched, but just becuase here in America we have tasted the possibility of comfort and happiness, and strut when we have every cause to be meek and humble. We seek happiness and escape through drunkaness and night clubs. We couple our religion with hate, saying, "God so loved the world," and boasting how much we hate our enemies: we turn the other cheek to make bombs. We want peace and make war. We want truth and curb research. We produce our own wealth and steal it from others.

We Americans have invented an apt phrase to enrich the English language--"So What!" It expresses a singular complex: a great statesman comes from Britain and tells us that he wants a world of free states and democracy---and admits in the same breath that his britain allows nine-tenths of the subjects neither freedom nor democracy. So What? We see standing before the United Nations at San Francisco a prime minister elected by two million whites asking for recognition of "humanity"--and in the same voice telling the world that anyone who regards the eight million natives of South Africa as human in the same sense as white folk is "mad, quite man,". We have a secretary of State who arraings Russia for lack of democracy while he represents South Carolina, where the majority of people have never had a chance to vote. So What?

We keep trying to convince ourselves, that our crisis is a matter of the enmity of two nations, or of two experimants in economic planning , this is not true. It is rather a question of the future of present civilization: How far the mass of the people in the world are to be raised out of poverty with its attendants, ignorance and disease, and made a part of an organization of work and distribution of income and serivces, such as will make the democratic control of civilization possible. There are many attempted answers to this problem, and it is a problem that is going to require time and study. But one thing is certain, there can be no settlement of this problem by force or by threats, or by the attempt of any one country, East or West, North or South, to control the world and to make people follow its thinking and its dictatorship.

When we try through a secretary of State like Burns to replace the conciliation and understanding of Roosevelt with threats, when we try with a secretary like Marshall to buy restoration with our welath and power: we are seeking the impossible. Europe long has been built upon the exploitation of backward people. The United States has been prosperous because of her resources and because of the increasing intelligence of her people, she is now tempted to invest in the exploitation of backward people, at the very time when Europe is loosing control over them, and when those same people demand a voice in their own work and their own government. No such purchase is possible.

3-2-467

The only thing that the United States can do, is frankly to acknowledge that freedom of enterprise has got to be limited by social control: that individual initiative must yield to the wish and want of the mass of people: that other countries have been just as sincere and even more sincere in trying to bring about something of this sort by various efforts as the United States: that anyone who looks upon the suffering, the writhing, the crucifiction of the Russian people through the centuries and tries to picture them as a species of anti-social devils who are seeking to devour the world is simply denying the plain truth of history. That anybody who thinks that the United States as a nation is bent upon the control of the world b the atomic bomb and by her great wealth does not understand the real spirit of this country.

It is in such a situation that we are facing the election of a president and a congress and there is but one man who s candidate for the presidency represents what Franklin Roosevelt worked and died for and who is trying by a program of peace and understanding to accomplish what practically all the other candidates are seeking to do by force and threat.

There could be no greater tribute to the memory of Franklin Roosevelt than the election of Henry Wallace. Even if that election is ~~impossible~~ improbable or impossible, there can be nothing that any honest American citizen can do which would show what he wants for the future of the world and mankind than to cast his ballot for Wallace even if he knows that today he may not be successful.

In this country for ten long years, the abolitionists voted in vain against slavery and did not triumph even though the country was cast into a bitter civil war. It was not until after the war and after the victory that the people of the United States, realized ~~xxx~~ that human freedom was the thing that they wanted and must have if we were going to have a united and progressive nation. The same problem faces the country this day and it is personified in Henry Wallace.

The objections to the candidacy of Henry Wallace throw a strange light on the present plight of democracy in the United States. The Third Party is a basic concept of practical democracy. Political parties are methods of wide compromise calculated to concentrate in a few large groups, masses of voters who agree on a policy. If they can be arranged in two main groups, the settlement of differences and ease of government is enhanced. But if two parties cannot adequately express current public opinion or if parties with two names exprss but one fundamental policy, then a third party to express the feeling of opposing groups is not only permissable but imperative if democracy prevails. Today the republican and democratic party are in substantial agreement on foreign policy and the fundamentals of a domestic program. Both are preparing for war and both oppose any planned attack on the rule of industrial monopoly. There are other groups of persons in this nation, persons just as honest and patriotic who believe that war is suicidal and that monopoly must be curbed in the interest of the common man. Of the chief presidentail candidates, Dewey, Taft, Stassen, Truman and Wallace, only Henry Wallace expresses the firm belief of these progressives.

35-2-4108

Why then should not those who support the Wallace platform have the op ortunity to vote for him? There are two main objections voiced: First he may not be elected. So what? If the men who voted in vain for three presidential elections to curb slavery in America had followed this advice we might yet be a land where labor is sold at auction. It is an extraordinary doctrine that no one should cast his vote for a man or policy unless he is sure of immediate victory.

If his vote foretells victory in 50 years, he is justified. The next objection is even more subtle and dangerous in a day of hysteria: it is that communists, socialists, new-dealers and other elements who are regarded as subversive by many will support Mr. Wallace. Personally, I should regard this as the greatest possible source of hope. If communists are willing to support the platform of Henry Wallace, that is no more suspicious than it would be for republicans and democrats also to support him. He has announced his platform in clear firm terms. On that platform he welcomes the support of all men and regards such support as agreement with that platform and nothing more.

February 11, 1948
WOR Broadcast
W.E.B. DUBOIS

The rights of labor in the United States, won by long effort are threatened today as never before since the Civil War. The right to organize the right to bargain, the right to stop work, are beginning to be curbed by legislation, by court action and police force.

One reason for this is the failure of white workers to realize that the degradation of Negro workers is a labor problem.

Slavery in the United States was a labor problem and not a Negro problem. As long as the supply of cheap white labor satisfied the plantations, white labor was enslaved. When black labor became cheaper and more plentiful, Negro slavery ensued.

52-342

Emancipation and enfranchisement after the Civil War, meant freedom and votes for Labor, and not simply for Negroes. When the National Labor Union faced free Negro Labor at its first convention in 1867, it welcomed them; but later was overruled by race prejudice. Labor then tried separate unions and finally embarked on exclusion of black labor from most of the Union movement/

Thus Labor embarked on the Labor war of 1877, without the support of one-ninth of the working class and tried to keep this policy until the Steel strike. Then slowly the fight of the Negro for civil rights began to be felt. Slowly he forced his way into labor unions and slowly the unions began to recognize and welcome him; not all, even today; but the mass of the forward-looking and intelligent leaders of the working-class.

Slowly but surely the Labor movement in the United States is beginning to realize that when workers of a nation condone segregation, discrimination and disfranchisement, low wage forced on one tenth of their number, they are cutting their own throats.

The South for instance is our Number one economic problem, because there, white labor has helped disfranchise black labor and put into the hands of employers and monopoly the power to stop labor unionization and keep wages the lowest in the country. This procedure is shutting mills in the North with unions and high wage and sending them South to company unions, startation wage and no vote. False emphasis on the race problem has disfranchised the mass of the labor vote in the South, white and black and made democratic government in the whole nation impossible. How can democracy be effective when 7000 voters in Mississippi exercise the same power in Congress as 10,000 voters here in New York?

The fight of the Negro to enter the unions is but part of their fight for civil and political rights, and that fight is part of the struggle of all men for Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

80th Birthday Dinner
Hotel Roosevelt, New York City
February 23, 1948

41-19A-6

DE SENECTUTE
W. E. B. DU BOIS

I HAVE FIRST TO THANK MY KINDLY, EVEN IF MISGUIDED F IENDS, FOR THE HARD LABOR WHICH THIS DINNER REPRESENTS. I WARNED THEM, BUT THEY INSISTED. I DEEPLY APPRECIATE THEIR FAITH. IN MAKING REPLY TO WHAT HAS BEEN SAID, AND TO MORE THAT HAS BEEN THOUGHT, ON THIS OCCASION, I HAVE KEPT IN MIND SUGGESTIONS. SOME HAVE ADVISED A LIGHT AND EVEN FUNNY TOUGH. THIS, AFTER THOUGT, I HAVE REJECTED: I KNOW NOTHING MORE GHASTLY THAN ATTEMPTED HUMOR WHICH JUST FAILS. I HAVE THEREFORE STUBBORNELY DECIDED TO FACE THE REAL SUBJECT OF AN OCCASION SUCH AS THIS, THAT IS AGE, WHICH SO MANY PREFER NOT TO MENTION.

LOOKING THE PHYSICAL FACT OF EIGHTY YEARS OF LIFE STRAIGHT IN THE FACE, THERE IS IN IT NOTHING IMPORBABLE NOR STARTLING. GIVEN SOME ATTENTION TO THE CHOICE OF GR NDPARENTS: AND IN PARTNTS MORE CONSIDERATION TO BRAIN AND HIPS THAN LIPS, THERE IS NO REASON WHY A MAN SHOULD NOT LIVE AND WORK FOR THE BETTER PART OF A CENTURY WITHOUT LOOKING LIKE THE WRECK OF THE HESPERUS AND WITHOUT CONTINUING JOY OF LIFE. THIS HOWEVEN ENTAILS ADJ STMENT TO THE FACTS OF PHYSICAL EXISTENCE.

THE MAN OF FIFTY CANN T CONTINUE TO ACT AS THOUGH HE WERE STILL TWENTY. I KNOW A CAMPUS AROUND WHICH I USED TO WALK EACH MORNING. IT WAS A LOVELY VISTA OF BUILDINGS, FOLIAGE AND INTIMATE MEMORIES. BUT IN APPROACHING IT, I HAD TO TRAVERSE A CUT AND ASCEND AN ENCLOSED SET OF UGLY STONE STEPS. WHEN I CAME TO THESE I USED TO RUN UP AND LET THE VIEW BURST UPON ME. THERE CAME A TIME HOWEVER WHEN I BEGAN TO FEEL A CERTAIN SINKING OF HEART AS I REACHED THE TOP. THE VIEW DID NOT CAUSE IT, IT WAS STILL THE SAME---STILL GRIPPING: BUT I WAS 65,NOT 40. SO I STOPPED RUNNING. I DID NOT FIGHT AGE. I WALKED. BUT I KNOW PERSONS WHO WOULD HAVE FOUGHT BITTERLY RATHER THAN YIELD TO SUCH PROSAIC FACT. BUT WITH SUCH YIELDING AND ADJUSTMENT---- FOREGOING LATE SUPPERS, SLEEPING OF NIGHTS, RESTING INSTEAD OF RUSHING, LIFE CAN GO ON GRACIOUSLY, AND WITH DEEPENED INTEREST. INDEED I KNOW OF NO SICKNESS NOR DISCOMFORT OF AGE, WHICH EQUALLED THE HURT AND HORROR OF MEASLES WHEN I WAS EIGHT.

BUT THE FEAR AND ANTIPATHY OF PHYSICALLY GROWING OLD IS AS NOTHING TO THE PSYCHOLOGICAL RECOIL, WITH WHICH THIS DAY GREETS INCREASE OF YEARS.

41-19A-7

I BECAME CURIOUSLY AWARE OF THIS ONCE IN SHANGHAI IN 1936. I HAD HIRED AN INTELLIGENT CHINES GUIDE AND WE WERE SEEING THE SIGHTS PLEASANTLY CHATTING AS FRIENDS THE MATTER OF HIS FATHERS' AGE CAME UP AND QUITE CASUALLY I MENTIONED THAT I WAS 68. HE LOOKED STARTLED: SEIZED MY ARE SOLICITIOUSLY, AND HUNG ON TO IT THE REST OF THE DAY. I THINK HE WAS AFRIAD I MIGHT COLLAPSE AT ANY MINUTE. TODAY AGE SEEMS TO MOST A FEARFUL THING. THE ACCENT IS ON YOUTH, WHY DO SOME OLD FOLK INSIST ON ENCUMBERING THE EARTH? PERSONS MEET AND STARE AT ME AND ALMOST SAY ARE YOU STILL ALIVE? AND THEN ADD, AND WHY? THEY DO NOT SEEM TO REALIZE THE PARADOX OF THIER ATTITUDE: FOR IF LIFE IS SO MEANINGFUL AND MARVELOUS, WHY THIS FEAR OF IT AND IMPATI NCE WITH IT PROLONGATION?

THE WASTE OF THE MODERN WORLD, PARTICULARLY IN AMERICA, IS THE WASTE OF AGE: THE STUDIED IGNORING OF THE EXPERIENCE AND WISDOM WHICH LENGTH OF DAYS MAY BRING. NOT THAT LIFE IS AUTOMATICALLY WISDOM ANY MORE THAN YOUTH IS AUTOMATICALLY STRENGTH AND COURAGE. BUT THERE IS NO WISDOM WITHOUT EXPERIENCE THERE IS NO ACCOMPLISHMENT WITHOUT LIFE: AND WHEN A GENERATION GETS TO THINKING THAT HUSTLE AND BLIND BLUNDERING CAN REPLACE LONG EXPERIENCE AND HARD THOUGHT, THEN THE WORLD LANDS JUST WHERE WE ARE TODAY-----MUDDLED, DISTRAUGHT, INSANE.

AMERICA IS DRUNK WITH YOUTH ----THE "YOUNGEST" COLLEGE PRESIDENT---THE "YOUNGEST" SENATOR---THE "YOUNGEST" BASEBALL PLAYER----SO WHAT? WE CERTAINLY SHOULD NOT BLAME A GREAT ATHLETE FOR HIS YOUTH, NOR STRANGLE A WISE CHEMIST FOR HIS AGE: BUT OUR ACCENT SHOULD BE ON WHAT ONE KNOWS AND DOES AND NOT ON THE NUMBER OF YEARS HE HAS LIVED OR NOT LIVED. OUR NEGLECT TO DO THIS, DEPRIVES OUR AGE AND DAY OF JUST THE WISDOM WE SO SORELY NEED. EVEN SCHOLARSHIP AND RESEARCH C N NEVER ENTIRELY REPLACE THE MIRACLE OF THE UNIFIED CONTINUOUS MENTAL AND EMOTIONAL GRASP OF A BROAD EXPERIENCED HUMAN MIND WHO HAS LIVED WHAT OTHERS HAVE MERELY READ ABOUT. BUT IN OUR IMPATIENCE WE EVEN IGNORE SCHOLARSHIP IN FAVOR OF HASTE AND HUNCHES. WE ARE MAD TO GET THINGS DONE.

THOUGHTLESSLY AND IMPUDENTLY WE TURN OUR BACKS UPON THE MIGHTY AND ALL-WISE: UPON THAT VAST DEAD MAJORITY OF MANKIND WHO HAVE LIVED AND LEARNED: WHO IN THEIR DAY BOASTED JUST AS WE DO. IN FLORENCE, ~~1000x~~ 400 YEARS AGO, DISDAINFUL MODERN MEN LOOKED DOWN THEIR NOSES AT THE DEAD PAST: IN CORINTH, 2000 YEARS AGO, MODERN MEN LAUGHED AT DEAD BABYLONIANS JUST AS 3000 YEARS BEFORE, EGYPTIAN THEBES HAD

STOOD IN THE FOREMOST RANKS OF TIME. IT IS NOT THAT OUR ADVANCE OVER THESE BOASTFUL MODERNS HAS NOT BEEN VAST: BUT IT IS THE BITTER THOUGHT THAT OUR STUBBORN REFUSAL TO LEARN FROM X FAILURE: OUR CRIMINAL CARELESSNESS IN STUPIDLY REPEATING MISTAKE AFTER MISTAKE, HAS MADE THE RISE OF MAN SO MUCH SLOWER THAN IT NEED BE.

8-VOL-14

IF TO THE HURRYING VOTER, ABOUT TO CHOOSE RULERS FOR 140 MILLION PEOPLE YOU TRY TO SAY "PAUSE AND CONSIDER WITH ME WHAT HAPPENED 50 YEARS AGO"---- HE SIMPLY STARES: IF WE TIMIDLY SUGGEST THAT 5 YEARS AGO THERE WAS A MATTER-------- HE PLUNGES INTO THE SUBWAY, GRABS THE LATEST EDITION AND READS AVIDLY THAT THE MILLIONAIRE MARRIES THE MIAD DRESSED IN RED, WHILE ALL THE WORLD GOES GREEN. YET THAT PAST IS IMPORTANT TODAY: THE WORLD HAS TRIED BEFORE TO SCARE PEOPLE INTO CONFORMITY BY THREAT OF STARVATION, JUST AS WE ARE DOING TODAY: A THOUSAND TIMES WE HAVE CLOAKED EVIL AND WRONG WITH RESPECTABILITY AND MOBBED THE RIGHTOUS: BUT DOES THAT JUSTIFY OUR REPEATING THIS HOARY MISTAKE IN 1948?

TRUE IT IS THAT OUR REVOLT AGAINST AGE AND EXPERIENCE IS RECOIL FROM THE LONG DAYS, WHEN ELDERS RULED AND YOUTH WAS IN BONDAGE: WHEN WISDOM MEANT IMMOBILITY AND CHANGE WAS ERROR. BUT IT IS SILLY TO FALL INTO THE EQUALLY FATAL MISTAKE OF SURRENDERING THE WORLD TO DELIBERATE IGNORING OF THE PAST. NOT THE RULE OF AGE ALONE NOR THE BLIND RUSH OF YOUTH IS SUFFICIENT: BUT THAT VALANCE OF COURAGE AND EXPERIENCE OF KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIMENT, OF DARING AND WISDOM, WHICH WILL NOT ALLOW A GREAT CIVILIZATION DELIBERATELY TO COMMIT SUICIDE BY TURNING ITS BACK ON THE HISTORY OF TWO HORRIBLE WORLD WARS AND LIVE RAVING MANIACS THROW THEMSELVES AND ALL THEIR DREAMS INTO A THIRD AND LAST.

I REMEMBER VIVIDLY IN THE WET SPRING OF 1918, STANDING ON THE BATTLE FIELD OF THE ARGONNE, AMID ITS MUD AND DIRT, ITS ROTTING DEATH AND DESTRUCTION: AND SAYING, WELL AT ANY RATE, THIS IS THE END OF WAR: NO CIVILIZATION WHICH HAS SEEN THAT WITH ITS OWN EYES, WITH ITS MAIMED AND INSANE, ITS ORPHANS AND WIDOWS, NO SUCH PEOPLE WILL, ON ANY PRETENSE SUFFER ANOTHER WORLD WAR. I WAS WRONG. I WAS TERRIBLY, INCONCEIVABLY WRONG. WHAT A HUMAN BEING WILL LET HIMSELF FORGET, IS THE MOST MADDENING OF HUMAN EXPERIENCES.

WE NEED AND NEED DESPERATELY THE TESTIMONY OF AGE AND DEATH. WE FACE TODAY NOT A GREAT TRIUMPH OF HUMANITY, BUT AN AGE OF DECADENCE, OF MORAL DEATH, ETHICAL

IRRESPONSIBILITY, AND DECAY. WE MUST TURN TO THE PAST AND LEARN. WE MUST SEEK THE LIVING PAST AND USE HIS KNOWLEDGE.

INSTEAD OF DISMISSING THE EXPERIENCED ARTISAN OF 65: IGNORING THE TEACHER OF 70; REFUSING EVEN A DECENT LIVING TO THE MAN OF 75 EVENTFUL YEARS WHOSE THOUGHT IS INFINITELY MORE VALUABLE THAN THE TIRELESSNESS OF A CHILD OF 15 OR THE STRENGTH OF A MAN OF 25, CAN WE NOT BUILD A CULTURE WHICH WILL THINK AS WELL AS ADVENTURE: GET WISE AS WELL AS RICH: AND DISTRUBUTE CONTRUCTIVELY AS WELL AS PRODUCE ABUNDANTLY?

41-194-9

WE NOT ONLY IGNORE AGE TODAY, BUT PUNISH WITH INSECURITY WITH THREAT OF STARVATION. I REMEMBER BUT FIVE YEARS AGO, WHEN THE HORROR OF SUCH A FATE STRUCK ME SUDDENLY. AFTER A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF PROPAGANDA I HAD VOLUNTARILY GONE BACK TO THE IVORY TOWER OF TEACHING AND THINKING, UNTIL THE END OF TIME. MY FRIEND AND I ESSAYED HIGH ADVENTURE IN A NEW UNIVERSITY. BUT HE LET MEN KILL HIM WITH WORRY AND NEEDLESS STRAIN, LEAVING ME ALONE. THEN SUDDENLY, WITHOUT WARNING I FOUND MYSELF AT 75 RETIRED WITHOUT WORK OR WAGE. IT WAS A FRIGHTENING MOMENT, NOT SIMPLY FOR ME, BUT IN MY REALIZATION OF THE FATE OF MOST WORKERS IN THIS WORLD. I SAW THE SHAPE OF FEAR AS MOST MEN SEE IT. IN MY CASE IT HAPPENED THAT FOUR DOORS OF REFUGE OPENED GRACIOUSLY AND I CHOOSE ONE. BUT I SHALL NOT FORGET THAT MOMENT OF UTTER DISMAY THAT REALIZATION OF THE BLIGHT OF THOSE TO WHOM ALL DOORS CLOSE. NO DECENT CIVILIZATION CAN TREAT MEN THIS WAY. BUT THIS DAY AND TIME IS NOT DECENT. IT IS SUCH TREATMENT OF AGE THAT FRIGHTENS EVEN YOUTH: WHAT IS TRUTH IT ASKS AND WHERE IS VIRTUE? ALL IS VANITY.

SUCH IS THE PHILOSOPHY THAT FORCES ITS LIE ON ONE LIKE ME, BORN IN THE VICTORIAN AGE, BEGINNING SCHOOL IN THE SECOND DECADE OF DARWINS' EVOLUTION: LIVING TO SEE THE RISE AND FALL OF GERMANY, THE FALL AND RISE OF RUSSIA, THE CRUCIFICTION OF FRANCE THE RE-INCARNATION OF INDIA AND CHINA, THE WRITHING OF BLACK FOLK IN AFRICA AND AMERICA AND THE PANDEMONIUM WHICH IS AMERICA.

YET I AM CALM, I MUST BE, FOR I SIT ABOVE TIME AND TIME CONCURS. IN THE WIDE LEISURE WHICH IS INCREASINGLY MINE, DESPITE THE HURRY OF THE WORLD, I HAVE VENTURED, IN PREPARATION FOR THIS DAY, TO READ AGAIN CICERO "ON OLD AGE" AND HEAR THE WISDOM OF CATO WHO HAD REACHED THE AGE OF 84. CICERO MAKES CATO SAY:

"OLD AGE IS HONORED IF IT MAINTAINS ITSELF, IF IT KEEPS UP ITS OWN RIGHT, IF IT IS

41-19A-10

SUBSERVIENT TO NONE: IF EVEN TO ITS LAST BREATH IT EXERCISES CONTROL. FOR I LIKE A YOUNG MAN IN WHOM THERE IS SOMETHING OF THE OBL: AND AN OLD MAN IN WHOM THERE IS SOMETHING YOUNG."

"FOR THOSE WHO HAVE NO RESOURCE IN THEMSELVES FOR LIVING WELL AND HAPPILY, EVERY AGE IS BURDENSOME: BUT TO THOSE WHO SEEK ALL GOOD THINGS, NOTHING CAN APPEAR EVIL WHICH THE NECESSITY OF NATURE ENTAILS. IN WHICH CLASS PARTICULARLY IS OLD AGE, WHICH ALL MEN WISH TO ATTAIN AND YET COMPLAIN WHEN THEY HAVE ATTAINED IT. SO GREAT IS THE INCONSISTENCY AND WAYWARDNESS OF FOLLY"

AND FINALLY CATO SAYS: "THOSE WHO SAY OLD AGE HAS NO ACTIVE DUTIES, TALK AS IF THE PILOT OF A SHIP IS UNEMPLOYED, BECAUSE WHILE SOME CLIMB THE MAST, RUN UP AND DOWN THE DECK AND EMPTY BILGE WATER, THE PILOT SITS AT EASE HOLDING THE HELM AND MERELY STEERING."

"VIOLENCE TAKES LIFE FROM YOUTH: MATURITY FROM THE OLD: A STATE TO ME SO DELIGHTFUL THAT THE NEARER I APPROACH DEATH, I SEEM TO BE GETTING SIGHT OF X LAND AFTER A LONG VOYAGE."

TO THIS WALT WHITMAN ADDS: "THE DELICIOUS, NEARBY ASSURANCE OF DEATH." AND NOW I PERCEIVE FROM ALL TOO EVIDENT SIGNS, THAT I AM TRESPASSING ON THE LIMITS OF DECENCY FOR WHILE DEATH COMES TO ALL NONE DISCUSS IT IN POLITE SOCIETY.

OR IF THEY DO, IT IS GAILY TO ASSURE ALL THAT THERE IS NOT DEATH. PERHAPS THAT IS TRUE: YET SO FAR AS SCIENCE CAN SAY ALL MEN DIE AND DEATH IS NOT SLEEP NOR DREAM IT IS THE END. THAT IS INCONCEIVABLE TO MANY: BUT INCONCEIVABLE THINGS MAYBE TRUE. SCIENCE SURELY DOES NOT KNO ALL AND NEVER PRETENEDD TO, IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE THAT INDIVIDUAL LIFE DOES PERSIST. IF IT DOES, I AM NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT IT. I SHALL LIVE IT OF COURSE, IF I MUST BUT NOT BY CHOICE FOR WHYC HAVING DONE ONE LIFE, SOME FOLK SHOULD BE SO EAGER FOR ANOTHER AND WORK THEMSELVES INTO SUCH A LATHER OF EXCITEMENT ABOUT IT, IX IS A LITTLE BEYOND ME. I MUCH PREFER TO DO ONE LIFE REASONABLY WELL AND STOP.

AND NOW TO CLOSE, MAY I ADD TO MY ALREADY EXPRESSED APPRECIATION OF YOUR PRESENC A WORD FOR MY WIFE, WHOSE ILLNESS PREVENTS HER BEING HERE AND FROM MY DAUGHTER AND GRANDDAUGHTER WHO ARE HERE WITH ME.

80th Birthday Anniversary
Hotel Roosevelt, New York City
February 23, 1948

DE SENECTUTE

W. E. B. Du Bois

I have first to thank my kindly, even if misguided friends, for the hard labor which this dinner represents. I warned them but they insisted. I deeply appreciate their faith. In making reply to what has been said, and to more that has been thought on this occasion, I have kept in mind many suggestions. Some have advised a light and even funny touch. This, after thought, I have rejected. I know nothing more ghastly than attempted humor which just fails. I have, therefore, stubbornly decided to face the real subject of an occasion such as this, which is Age, which so many prefer not to mention.

L oking the physical fact of eighty years of life straight in the face, there is in it nothing improbably nor startling. Given some attention to the choice of grandparents, and in parents more consideration to brains and hips than lips, there is no reason why a man should not live and work for the better part of a century without looking like the wreck of the Hesperus and without continuing joy of life. This, however, entails adjustment to the facts of physical existence. The man of fifty cannot continue to act as though he were still twenty. I know a campus around which I used to walk each morning. It was a lovely vista of buildings, foliage and intimate memories. But in approaching it, I had to traverse a cut and ascend an enclosed set of ugly stone steps. When I came to these I used to run up and let the view burst upon me. There came a ti e, however, when I began to feel a certain sinking of heart as I reached the top. The view did not cause it. It was still the same---still gripping; but I was 65, not 40. So I xxxx stopped running. I did not fight Age. I walked. But I know persons who would have fought bitterly rather than yield to such prosaic fact. But with such yielding and adjustment---resisting with foregoing late suppers, with sleeping of night, resting instead of rushing, Life can go on graciously, and with deepened interest. Indeed, I know no sickness nor discomfort of age, which equalled the hurt and horror of measles when I was eight.

But the fear and antipathy of physically growing old is as nothing to the psychological recoil, with which this day greets increase of years. I became curiously aware of this once in Shanghai in 1936. I had hired an intelligent Chinese guide and we were seeing the sights pleasantly, chatting as friends. The matter of his father's age came up and quite casually I mentioned that I was 68. He looked startled; seized my solicitously, and hung on to it the rest of the day. I think he was afraid I might collapse at any minute. Today Age Age seems to most a fearful thing. The accent is on Youth. Why do some old folk insist on encumbering the earth? Persons meet and stare at me and almost say; "Are you still alive? And then, add, And why?" They do not seem to realize the paradox of their attitude: for if Life is so meaningful and marvelous, why this fear of it and impatience with its prolongation?

The waste of the modern world, particularly in America, is the waste of Age; the studied ignoring of the experience and wisdom which length of days may bring. Not that long life is automatically wisdom, any more than Youth is automatically strength and courage. But there is no wisdom without experience; there is no accomplishment without life; and when a generation gets to thinking that hustle and blind blundering can replace long experience and hard thought, then the world lands just where we are today---muddled, distraught, insane.

America is drunk with Youth---the "Youngest" College President, the "Youngest"

Senator, the "Youngest" baseball player. So what? We certainly should not blame a great athlete for his youth, nor strangle a wise chemist for his age; but our accent should be on what one knows and does and not on the number of years he has lived or not lived. Our neglect to do this, deprives our age and day of just the wisdom we sorely need. Even scholarship and research can never entirely replace the miracle of the unified continuous mental and emotional grasp of a broad experienced human mind, who has lived what others have merely read about. But in our stupid impatience, we even ignore scholarship in favor of haste and hunches. We are mad to get things done.

Thoughtlessly and impudently we turn our backs upon the Mighty and All-wise; upon that vast majority of mankind who have lived and learned; who in their day boasted just as we do. In Florence, 400 years ago, disdainful modern men looked down their noses at the dead past; in Cornith, 2000 years ago, modern men laughed at dead Babylonians, just as 3000 years before, Egyptian Thebes had stood in the foremost ranks of time. It is not that our advance over these boastful moderns has not been vast; but it is the bitter thought that our stubborn refusal to learn from failure; our criminal carelessness in stupidly repeating mistake after mistake, has made the rise of man so much slower than it need be.

23-29-122

If to the hurrying voter about to choose rulers for 140,000,000 people you try to say, "Pause and consider with me what happened fifty years ago," he simply stares. If we timidly suggest that five years ago there was a matter---he plunges into the subway, grabs the last edition and reads avidly that the millionaire marries the maid dressed in red, while all the world goes green. Yet that past is important today: the world has tried before to scare people into conformity by threat of starvation, just as we are doing today; a thousand times we have cloaked evil and wrong with respectability and mobbed the righteous, but does that justify our repeating this hoary mistake in 1948?

True it is that our revolt against age and experience is recoil from the long days when Elders ruled and Youth was in bondage; when wisdom meant immobility and change was error. But it is silly to fall into the equally fatal mistake of surrendering the world to deliberate ignoring of the past. Not the rule of age alone, nor the blind rush of youth is sufficient alone; but that balance of courage and experience, of knowledge and experiment, of daring and wisdom, which will not allow a great civilization deliberately to commit suicide by turning its back on the history of two horrible world wars and like raving maniacs throw themselves and all their dreams into a third and last.

I remember vividly in the wet spring of 1918 standing on the battle field of the Argonne, amid its mud and dirt, its rotting death and destruction; and saying, "Well, at any rate, this is the end of war; no civilization which has seen this with its own eyes, with its maimed and insane, its orphans and widows, no such people will on any pretense suffer another World War." I was wrong. I was terribly, inconceivably wrong. What a human being will let himself forget is the most maddening of human experiences.

We need and need desperately the testimony of age and death. We face today not a great triumph of humanity, but an age of decadence, of moral death, ethical insensibility, and decay. We must turn to the past and learn. We must seek the living past and use his knowledge.

Instead of dismissing the experienced artisan of 65, ignoring the teacher of 70, refusing even a decent living to the man of 75 eventful years whose thought is infinitely more valuable than the tirelessness of a child of fifteen, or the strength of a man of twenty-five, can we not build a culture which will think, as well as adventure; get wise as well as rich; and distribute constructively,

as well as produce abundantly?

We not only ignore it today, but punish it with insecurity, with threat of starvation. I remember but five years ago, when the horror of such a fate struck me suddenly. After a quarter century of propaganda, I had voluntarily gone back to the ivory tower of teaching and thinking, until the end of time. My friend and I essayed high adventure in a new university. But he let men kill him with needless worry and strain, leaving me alone. Then suddenly, without warning, I found myself at seventy-five, retired without work or wage. It was a frightening moment, not simply for me, but in my realization of the fate of most workers in this world. I saw the Shape of Fear as most men see it. In my case it happened that four doors of refuge opened graciously and I chose one. But I shall not forget that moment of utter dismay, that realization of the plight of those to whom all doors close. No decent civilization can treat men this way. But this day and time is not decent. It is such treatment of age that frightens even youth: what is truth, it asks, and where is virtue? All is vanity.

Such is the philosophy that forces itself on one like me, born in the Victorian age, beginning school in the second decade of Darwinian evolution, and living to see the rise and fall of Germany, the fall and rise of Russia, the crucifixion of France, the reincarnation of India and China, the writhing of black folk in Africa and America, and the pandemonium which is America.

23-39-123

Yet I am calm. I must be. For I sit above Time and Time conquers. In the wide leisure which is increasingly mine, despite the hurry of my world, I have ventured in preparation for this day to read again Cicero "On Old Age" and hear the wisdom of Cato who had reached the age of 84. Cicero makes Cato say:

> "Old age is honored if it maintains itself, if it keeps up its own right, if it is subservient to no one; if even to its last breath it exercises control. For I like a young man in whom there is something of the old, and an old man in whom there is something young."

And again:

> "For those who have no resource in themselves for living well and happily, every age is burdensome; but to those who seek all good things, nothing can appear evil which the necessity of nature entails. In which class particularly is old age, which all men wish to attain and yet complain when they have attained it. So great is the inconsistency and waywardness of folly."

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To this Walt Whitman adds: a reminder of:

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And now to close, may I add to my already expressed appreciation of your presence, a word for my wife, whose illness prevents her ~~presence~~ being here; and from my daughter and granddaughter who are here with me.

23-39-124

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Haas

DE SENECTUTE

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DE Senectute-DuBois

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C94-2-55

August, 1948

Grand Boule, Sigma Pi Phi
Wilberforce, Ohio,
August 11-13, 1948

THE TALENTED TENTH

W.E.B. DuBois

SOME YEARS AGO I USED THE PHRASE "THE TALENTED TENTH," MEANING LEADERSHIP OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA BY A TRAINED FEW. SINCE THEN THIS IDEA HAS BEEN CRITICIZED. IT WAS SAID THAT I HAD IN MIND THE BUILDING OF AN ARISTOCRACY WITH NEGLECT OF THE MASSES. THIS CRITICISM HAS BECOME EVEN MORE VALID, BECAUSE OF EMPHASIS ON THE MEANING AND POWER OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE, TO WHICH KARL MARX GAVE VOICE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, AND WHICH HAS BEEN GROWING IN POWER AND INFLUENCE EVER SINCE. THERE HAVE COME OTHER CHANGES IN THESE DAYS WHICH A GREAT MANY OF US DO NOT REALIZE AS REVOLUTION, THROUGH WHICH WE ARE PASSING. BECAUSE OF THIS GREAT CHANGE IT IS NECESSARY TO EXAMINE THE WORLD ABOUT US AND OUR THOUGHTS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD IT. FOR THESE REASONS, I WANT TO RE-EXAMINE AND RESTATE THE THESIS OF THE TALENTED TENTH WHICH I LAID DOWN MANY YEARS AGO.

IN A DAY WHEN CULTURE IS COMPARATIVELY STATIC, A MAN ONCE GROUNDED IN THE FUNDAMENTALS OF KNOWLEDGE, RECEIVED THROUGH CURRENT EDUCATION, CAN DEPEND FOR THE FUTURE ON

THE MORE OR LESS CHANCE ABSORPTION OF FURTHER KNOWLEDGE FOR KEEPING UP WITH THE WORLD. THIS WAS TRUE FOR SEVERAL DECADES DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, AND USUALLY HAS BEEN TRUE IN THE SLOW DRIFT OF OTHER CENTURIES. BUT TODAY, THE TIDE RUNS SWIFTLY AND ALMOST EVERY FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPT WHICH MOST OF US LEARNED IN COLLEGE HAS UNDERGONE RADICAL CHANGE. SO THAT A MAN WHO WAS BROADLY EDUCATED IN 1900 MAY BE IGNORANT IN 1948, UNLESS HE HAS MADE CONSCIOUS, CONTINUOUS, AND DETERMINED EFFORT TO KEEP ABREAST WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF KNOWLEDGE AND OF THOUGHT IN THE LAST HALF CENTURY.

FOR INSTANCE, SINCE 1900, PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY HAVE BEEN REVOLUTIONIZED IN MANY OF THEIR BASIC CONCEPTS. ASTRONOMY IS TODAY ALMOST A NEW SCIENCE, AS COMPARED WITH THE TIME OF COPERNICUS. BIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY HAVE CHANGED AND EXPANDED WIDELY: AND HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY HAVE BEGUN IN THE MIDDLE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FIRST, TO TAKE ON THE SHAPE OF REAL SCIENCES, RATHER THAN BEING SIMPLY THEORY AND OPINION.

IF NOW A COLLEGE MAN OF 1900, OR EVEN OF 1925, HAS SPENT HIS TIME SINCE GRADUATION MAINLY IN MAKING A LIVING, HE IS IN FAIR WAY NOT TO BE ABLE TO UNDERSTAND THE WORLD

OF 1950. IT IS NECESSARY THEN, FOR MEN OF EDUCATION CONTINUALLY TO READJUST THEIR KNOWLEDGE, AND THIS IS DOUBLY NECESSARY IN THIS DAY OF SWIFT REVOLUTION IN IDEAS, IN IDEALS, IN INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUES, IN SWIFT TRAVEL, AND IN VARIETIES AND KINDS OF HUMAN CONTACTS.

TURN NOW TO THAT COMPLEX OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS WHICH SURROUNDS AND CONDITIONS OUR LIFE, AND WHICH WE CALL MORE OR LESS VAGUELY, THE NEGRO PROBLEM. IT IS CLEAR THAT IN 1900, AMERICAN NEGROES WERE AN INFERIOR CASTE, WERE LYNCHED AND MOBBED, WIDELY DISFRANCHISED, AND USUALLY SEGREGATED IN THE MAIN AREAS OF LIFE. AS STUDENT AND WORKER AT THAT TIME, I LOOKED UPON THEM AND SAW SALVATION THROUGH INTELLIGENT LEADERSHIP, AS I SAID, THROUGH A TALENTED TENTH. AND FOR THIS INTELLIGENCE I ARGUED WE NEEDED COLLEGE-TRAINED MEN. THEREFORE, I STRESSED COLLEGE AND HIGHER TRAINING. FOR THESE MEN WITH THEIR COLLEGE TRAINING THERE WOULD BE NEEDED THOROUGH UNDERSTANDING OF THE MASS OF NEGROES AND THEIR PROBLEMS, AND, THEREFORE, I EMPHASIZED SCIENTIFIC STUDY. WILLINGNESS TO WORK AND MAKE PERSONAL SACRIFICE FOR SOLVING

THESE PROBLEMS, OF COURSE, WAS THE FIRST PREREQUISITE AND <u>SINA QUA NON.</u> I DID NOT STRESS THIS, I ASSUMED IT.

I ASSUMED THAT WITH KNOWLEDGE SACRIFICE WOULD AUTOMATICALLY FOLLOW. IN MY YOUTH AND IDEALISM I DID NOT REALIZE THAT SELFISHNESS IS EVEN MORE NATURAL THAN SACRIFICE. I MADE THIS ASSUMPTION OF ITS WIDE AVAILABILITY BECAUSE OF THE SPIRIT OF SACRIFICE LEARNED IN MY MISSION SCHOOL TRAINING.

I WENT SOUTH TO FISK UNIVERSITY AT THE AGE OF 17, WHEN MY MIND WAS PECULIARLY OPEN TO IMPRESSION, FROM A REGION WHICH HAD OPENED IT BUT DID NOT FILL THE VOID. AT FISK I MET A GROUP OF TEACHERS WHO WOULD BE UNUSUAL IN ANY TIME OR PLACE. THEY WERE NOT ONLY MEN OF GREAT LEARNING AND EXPERIENCE, BUT MEN AND WOMEN OF CHARACTER AND FANATIC DEVOTION. IT WAS A GREAT EXPERIENCE TO SIT UNDER THEIR VOICE AND INFLUENCE. IT WAS FROM THAT EXPERIENCE THAT I ASSUMED EASILY THAT EDUCATED PEOPLE, IN MOST CASES, WERE GOING OUT INTO LIFE TO SEE HOW FAR THEY COULD BETTER THE WORLD. OF COURSE, AS

I LOOKED ABOUT ME, I MIGHT HAVE UNDERSTOOD EASILY THAT ALL STUDENTS OF FISK UNIVERSITY WERE NOT PERSONS OF THIS SORT. THERE WAS NO LACK OF SMALL AND SELFISH SOULS. THERE WERE AMONG THE STUDENT BODY CARELESS AND LSZY FELLOWS. AND THERE WERE ESPECIALLY SHARP YOUNG PERSONS WHO RECEIVED THE EDUCATION GIVEN VERY CHIEFLY AT FISK UNIVERSITY WITH THE DISTINCT AND SINGLE-MINDED IDEA OF SEEING HOW MUCH THEY COULD MAKE OUT OF IT FOR THEMSELVES, AND NOBODY ELSE.

WHEN I CAME OUT OF COLLEGE INTO THE WORLD OF WORK, I REALIZED THAT IT WAS QUITE POSSIBLE THAT MY PLAN OF TRAINING A TALENTED TENTH MIGHT PUT IN CONTROL AND POWER A GROUP OF SELFISH, SELF-INDULGENT, WELL-TO-DO MEN WHOSE BASIC INTEREST IN SOLVING THE NEGRO PROBLEM WAS PERSONAL; PERSONAL FREEDOM AND UNHAMPERED ENJOYMENT AND USE OF THE WORLD, WITHOUT ANY REAL CARE AS TO WHAT BECAME OF THE MASS OF AMERICAN NEGROES, OR OF THE MASS OF ANY PEOPLE. MY TALENTED TENTH, I COULD SEE, MIGHT RESULT IN A SORT OF INTERRACIAL FREE-FOR-ALL, WITH THE DEVIL TAKING THE HINDMOST AND THE FOREMOST TAKING ANYTHING THEY COULD GET HANDS ON. THIS, HISTORICALLY, HAS BEEN ALWAYS THE DANGER OF

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ARISTOCRACY. IT WAS FOR A LONG TIME REGARDED AS ALMOST INEVITABLE, BECAUSE OF THE SCARCITY OF ABILITY AMONG MEN, AND BECAUSE, NATURALLY, THE ARISTOCRAT CAME TO REGARD HIMSELF AND HIS WHIMS AS NECESSARILY THE END AND ONLY END OF CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE. AS LONG AS THE MASSES SUPPORTED THIS DOCTRINE, ARISTOCRACY AND MASS MISERY LIVED AMIABLY TOGETHER.

INTO THIS SITUATION CAME THE REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT, FIRST VOICED IN FORMER AGES BY GREAT MORAL LEADERS WHICH ASKED CHARITY FOR THE POOR AND SYMPATHY FOR THE IGNORANT AND RICH. BUT IN THE SUDDENLY EXPANDING ECONOMY AND MARVELOUS TECHNIQUE OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES, THERE CAME THE VOICE OF KARL MARX, TO SAY THAT THE POOR NEED NOT ALWAYS BE WITH US, AND THAT ALL MEN COULD AND SHOULD LEARN.

KARL MARX STRESSED THE FACT THAT NOT MERELY THE UPPER CLASS, BUT THE MASS OF MEN WERE THE REAL PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. HE INSISTED THAT THE MASSES WERE POOR, IGNORANT, AND SICK NOT BY NATURE BUT BY OPPRESSION. HE PREACHED THAT PLANNED PRODUCTION OF GOODS, AND ETHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME WOULD ABOLISH POVERTY, IGNORANCE, AND

DISEASE, AND MAKE THE SO-CALLED UPPER-CLASSES NOT THE EXCEPTION BUT THE RULE AMONG MANKIND. HE DECLARED THAT THE WORLD WAS NOT FOR THE FEW BUT FOR THE MANY; THAT OUT OF THE MASSES OF MEN COULD COME OVERWHELMING FLOODS OF ABILITY AND GENIUS, IF WE FREED MEN BY PLAN AND NOT BY RARE CHANCE. CIVILIZATION NOT ONLY COULD BE SHARED BY THE VAST MAJORITY OF MEN, BUT SUCH CIVILIZATION, FOUNDED ON A WIDE HUMAN BASE, WOULD BE BETTER AND MORE ENDURING THAN ANYTHING THAT THE WORLD HAD SEEN. THE WORLD WOULD THUS ESCAPE THE ENDURING DANGER OF BEING RUN BY A SELFISH MINORITY FOR ITS OWN ADVANTAGE.

VERY GRADUALLY AS THE PHILOSOPHY OF KARL MARX AND MANY OF HIS SUCCESSORS SEEPED INTO MY UNDERSTANDING, I TRIED TO CHANGE MY OWN DOCTRINE WITH REGARD TO NEGROES. MY TALENTED TENTH NEED NOT BE A FEW PERSONS; IT COULD BE MANY, VERY MANY. ITS PASSPORT TO LEADERSHIP WAS NOT SIMPLY LEARNING. LEARNING, KNOWLEDGE, SCIENCE CAREFULLY INCULCATED AND DEEPLY STUDIED IT MUST HAVE; BUT FUNDAMENTAL WOULD BE ITS WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE AND PLAN FOR SUCH ECONOMIC REVOLUTION IN INDUSTRY AND JUST DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AS WOULD MAKE THE RISE OF THE GROUP POSSIBLE.

MOREOVER, BIOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY WERE RECONSTRUCTING MY IDEA OF THE GROUP. THIS GROUP WAS NOT SIMPLY A PHYSICAL ENTITY, A BLACK PEOPLE, OR A PEOPLE DESCENDED FROM BLACK FOLK. IT WAS, WHAT ALL RACES REALLY ARE, A CULTURAL GROUP. IT IS TOO BAD THAT WE HAVE TO USE THE WORD "CULTURAL" FOR SO MANY MEANINGS. BUT WHAT IT MEANS IN MODERN SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT IS THAT 15,000,000 MEN AND WOMEN, WHO FOR THREE CENTURIES HAVE SHARED COMMON EXPERIENCES AND COMMON SUFFERING, AND HAVE WORKED ALL THOSE DAYS AND NIGHTS TOGETHER FOR THEIR OWN SURVIVAL AND PROGRESS ; THAT THIS COMPLEX OF HABITS AND MANNERS COULD NOT AND MUST NOT BE LOST. IT MUST BE CONSERVED FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE THEMSELVES, AND FOR MANKIND. I CAME THEN TO ADVOCATE, NOT MERELY A PRIDE OF PHYSICAL RACE, BUT A CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT BY A SERIES OF IDEALS, INTEGRATED AND EXPANDED SO AS TO FORM THE OBJECT OF AMERICAN NEGRO PROGRESS.

IMMEDIATELY THIS PROPOSED A PARADOX. THOSE NEGROES WHO HAD LONG TRAINED THEMSELVES FOR PERSONAL SUCCESS AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM WERE COMING TO REGARD THE END OF SEGREGATION AS AN IDEAL AND NOT AS A MEANS. THEY WANTED TO BE AMERICANS, AND THEY DID NOT

CARE SO MUCH AS TO WHAT KIND OF FOLK AMERICANS WERE, AS TO THE RIGHT TO BE RECOGNIZED AS ONE OF THEM. THEY NOT ONLY DID NOT WANT TO FIGHT FOR A NEGRO CULTURE, THEY TENDED TO REPUDIATE THAT OBJECT; THEY EVEN DENIED THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY SUCH ANIMAL, CERTAINLY ITS DESIRABILITY, EVEN IF IT COULD BE MADE TO EXIST. THE LEADERSHIP, THEN, OF MY TALENTED TENTH OVER THE MASS OF YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN WHO WERE COLLEGE-TRAINED AND ENTERING UPON THEIR CAREERS, FACED OBLIVION AND DISAPPEARANCE OF THE NEGRO, BOTH AS A RACE AND AS A CULTURE WAS THE UNSPOKEN GOAL.

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BUT THIS, AS I HAVE SAID, WAS PARADOXICAL. THE UNITED STATES HAS A LARGE NUMBER OF NEGROES. WE NUMBER AS MANY AS THE INHABITANTS OF THE ARGENTINE OR CZECHOSLOVAKIA, OR THE WHOLE OF SCANDINAVIA, INCLUDING SWEDEN, NORWAY, AND DENMARK. WE ARE VERY NEARLY THE SIZE OF EGYPT, RUMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA. WE ARE LARGER THAN CANADA, SAUDI ARABIA, ETHIOPIA, HUNGARY, OR THE NETHERLANDS. WE HAVE TWICE AS MANY PERSONS AS AUSTRALIA OR SWITZERLAND, AND MORE THAN THE WHOLE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. WE HAVE MORE PEOPLE THAN PORTUGAL OR PERU; TWICE AS MANY AS GREECE AND NEARLY AS MANY AS TURKEY. WE HAVE MORE PEOPLE BY FAR THAN BELGIUM, AND HALF AS MANY AS SPAIN. A NATION

OF SUCH SIZE, SUCH HISTORY, SUCH ACCOMPLISHMENT, SHOULD BE ABLE TO LOOK FORWARD TO SOMETHING MORE THAN COMPLETE EFFACEMENT AND UTTER NIRVANA IN ANOTHER AND FOREIGN ENTITY. IT SHOULD HAVE OTHER AND FUTURE DREAMS OF CONTINUITY, UNITY, AND IMMORTALITY. IT SHOULD PLAN A LIFE AND FUTURE, NOT IN WORLD ANTAGONISM AND ENMITY, BUT IN HIGHER AND BROADER HELPFULNESS TO ALL THROUGH SELF-KNOWLEDGE, SELF-REALIZATION, AND SELF-CONTROL. NOT ONLY THAT, BUT THE WORLD HAS 250,000,000 NEGROES AND NEGROIDS. THEY CANNOT DISAPPEAR PHYSICALLY, MUCH LESS CULTURALLY, WITHOUT DEEP LOSS TO THEMSELVES AND HUMANITY. MOREOVER, IT WOULD BE AN ESPECIAL CALAMITY TO HAVE AMERICAN NEGRO HISTORY AND CULTURE FORGOTTEN OR UNUSED OR UNDEVELOPED. IT MUST AND WILL BE PRESERVED. BUT THE QUESTION IS: HOW AND BY WHOM?

THE METHOD MUST BE IN CLOSE ALLIANCE WITH THE BEST SOCIAL MOVEMENTS OF THE WORLD; NOT SIMPLY THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS OF AMERICA, BUT OF THE GREATER WORLD OF HUMAN CULTURE. IN OUR CONCENTRATION OF THOUGHT ON THE UNITED STATES AS THE LOCUS OF OUR FIGHT WE HAVE COME TO THINK OF THIS LAND AS THE CENTER OF THE UNIVERSE AND LATELY AS THE

PREDESTINED LEADER OF CIVILIZATION. THIS IS BECAUSE OF OUR RECENT GROWTH IN WORLD POWER.

BASED ON UNUSUAL NATURAL RESOURCES; A DEMOCRACY ON GOVERNMENT WHICH ALLOWED LOWER CLASSES, EVEN SLAVES TO WORK AND RECEIVE HIGH WAGES; AND, FINALLY, BECAUSE THE LEADING NATIONS OF EUROPE LOST THEIR POWER THROUGH RIVALRY, EXPLOITATION, AND WAR. IT WAS NOT AMERICA'S VIRTUES, BUT EUROPE'S MISTAKES THAT GAVE US PRESENT PRIMACY. WE NEGROES HAVE THOUGHTLESSLY FAILED TO RECOGNIZE THIS AND HAVE TRIED TO BECOME MORE AMERICAN THAN THE AMERICANS; LOUD IN OUR CONVERSATION, UNCRITICAL IN OUR BOASTFULNESS AND ARROGANCE, SHOWY AND OSTENTATIOUS IN DRESS, CARELESS IN MANNERS, AND WASTEFUL IN COMSPICUOUS EXPENDITURE. LIKE ALL AMERICA WE READ COMPARATIVELY FEW BOOKS; WE GET SUPERFICIAL "NEWS" FROM RADIO GOSSIP AND OPINION FROM A PRESS KNOWN TO BE PREJUDICED AND MONOPOLIZED. WE DO NOT REALIZE THAT TODAY THE UNITED STATES IS PROBABLY THE MOST THOROUGHLY HATED AND DESPISED NATION ON EARTH, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE CULTURED AND CIVILIZED. ITS NATURAL RESOURCES, INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUES, AND

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CONTROL OF CREDIT MAKE IT POWERFUL AND FEARED; BUT IT IS NOT RECOGNIZED AS LEADING IN SCIENCE, IN MORALS, OR TOWARDS HUMAN HAPPINESS.

THE REMAKING OF HUMAN CULTURE SO AS TO FASHION A DECENT WORLD IS NOT THE RECOGNIZED TASK OF AMERICA, BUT IS BEING PURSUED TODAY MAINLY IN EUROPE AND ASIA. COOPERATION THEN WITH THE FORWARD-LOOKING FORCES OF CIVILIZATION IN THE WORLD, CAN BE CARRIED OUT IN THIS LAND BY NEGROES EVEN BETTER THAN BY ANY OTHER LARGE COHERENT AMERICAN GROUP. THIS IS RECOGNIZED WIDELY TODAY IN FOREIGN THOUGHT. IT IS BECOMING A MATTER OF OPEN EXPRESSION AMONG HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN AFRICA AND IN ASIA. THESE PEOPLE OF AFRICA AND ASIA ARE NOT, AS WE USUALLY ASSUME WHEN WE UNCONSCIOUSLY TAKE OVER AMERICAN PREJUDICES, PEOPLE WHO DESERVED TO BE IGNORED IN OUR ESTIMATE OF THE WORLD AND IN OUR DREAMS OF WHAT THE WORLD MAY BE. NOT ONLY HAVE THEY BEEN POWERFUL AND INFLUENTIAL IN THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PAST, BUT TODAY THERE IS A LEADERSHIP FROM THE COLORED WORLD WHICH IS BEGINNING TO BE POWERFUL ON EARTH.

NOW THE CENTRAL THOUGHT OF ANY CULTURAL EFFORT TO RESTORE THE CIVILIZATION WHICH HAS COLLAPSED IN TWO WORLD WARS, AND BUILD SOMETHING BETTER, IS ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION. IGNORANCE OF THIS CENTRAL FACT IS WIDESPREAD. ECONOMICS IS NOT BEING TAUGHT AS IT SHOULD BE IN THE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES TODAY; AND I MEAN, OF COURSE, BY ECONOMICS, KNOWLEDGE OF HOW TO DO THE WORLD'S WORK AND TO PRODUCE GOODS AND SHARE THEM. OF ALL THE GREAT CENTERS OF CIVILIZATION THE UNITED STATES ALMOST ALONE -- WITH SPAIN, THE ARGENTINE, AND GREECE, BUT THE UNITED STATES PREEMINENTLY -- IS STUBBORNLY TRYING TO BLOCK THE CLEAR ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF THE WORLD. IT IS MISLEADING KNOWLEDGE OF THIS AMONG AMERICANS, BY A MONOPOLIZED AND COMMERCIALIZED PRESS, AND BY A RADIO USED FOR ALL SORTS OF PURPOSES EXCEPT THE BEST. IT IS TRYING TODAY ESPECIALLY TO KEEP PERSONS FROM THINKING BY A DISGRACEFUL SERIES OF WITCH-HUNTS.

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THE NEW ECONOMICS, STARTING ALMOST EXACTLY A HUNDRED YEARS AGO, IS CLEAR AND UNANSWERABLE IN ITS FACTS AND KNOWLEDGE. IT SAYS THAT NATURE IS THE SOURCE OF ALL WEALTH; THAT HUMAN EFFORT TRANSFORMS NATURAL RESOURCES FOR HUMAN USE; THAT THE RESULTS OF THIS WORK SHOULD BE DIVIDED AMONG MEN ACCORDING TO NEED AND NOT BY CHANCE

OR BY INDIVIDUAL POWER. IT SAYS THAT INDUSTRY SHOULD BE CONTROLLED BY THE STATE, PLANNED BY SCIENCE, AND THAT ALL GOODS SHOULD BE OWNED AND DISTRIBUTED IN SUCH WAYS AS RESULT IN THE GREATEST GOOD TO ALL. ALL PERSONS SHOULD BE EDUCATED ACCORDING TO ABILITY AND SHOULD LABOR ACCORDING TO EFFICIENCY AND ACCOMPLISHMENT. HEALTH AND HOUSING, SOCIAL SECURITY, FACILITIES FOR RECREATION AND FOR UNHAMPERED HUMAN INTERCOURSE SHOULD BE PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITIES. WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK OF NECESSARY WORK FOR GENERAL WELFARE, THERE SHOULD BE THE WIDEST POSSIBLE AREA FOR LIBERTY OF THOUGHT, AND OF ACTION, AND OF CREATIVE IDEAL.

THIS PROGRAM OF PROGRESS IS THE CONSENSUS OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD TODAY. IT IS CALLED BY MANY NAMES: SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM, LIBERALISM, CONSUMERS COOPERATION, OR PROGRESSIVISM, TAKING ITS NAME ACCORDING TO PLACE AND TIME, AND EMPHASIS. IN THE UNITED STATES ALONE, IT IS BEING BITTERLY FOUGHT BY MISREPRESENTATION, BRIBERY, FEAR, AND IMPRISONMENT. THIS NATION IS SEEKING DESPERATELY TO FORCE MEN STILL TO BELIEVE

WHAT THEY TRIED TO BELIEVE IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES -- THAT INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE WITH THE LEAST POSSIBLE SOCIAL CONTROL, AND SPURRED MAINLY BY THE INCENTIVE OF PRIVATE PROFIT, IS THE ONLY METHOD WHICH CAN BRING AND PRESERVE PROSPERITY AND FREEDOM. IT IS PREACHING THIS IN SPITE OF TWO WORLD WARS DUE CHIEFLY TO THIS VERY PROGRAM, AND WITH THE MEMORY OF SIX INDUSTRIAL CRISES AND A GREAT DEPRESSION WHICH THREW WORLD INDUSTRY INTO DISASTER; AND WITH THE SHADOW OF ANOTHER DEPRESSION HOVERING OVER US. IT IS SUICIDE FOR US, AS NEGROES AND AS AMERICANS, TO ASSENT TO THIS PROGRAM. WHATEVER WE CAN DO TO CHANGE IT, IS OUR BOUNDEN DUTY.

THE QUESTION THEN IS: WHO CAN LEAD THE WAY IN THIS EFFORT? HERE COMES A NEW IDEA OF A TALENTED TENTH: THE CONCEPT OF A GROUP LEADERSHIP, NOT SIMPLY EDUCATED AND SELF-SACRIFICING BUT WITH CLEAR VISION OF WORLD CONDITIONS AND DANGERS, AND CONDUCTING AN INTEGRATED GROUP OF AMERICAN NEGROES, EDUCATED AND ABREAST WITH THE WORLD, TO ALLIANCE WITH CULTURE GROUPS IN EUROPE, AMERICA, ASIA, AND AFRICA, AND LOOKING TOWARD A NEW WORLD CULTURE. WE CAN DO IT. WE HAVE THE ABILITY. THE ONLY QUESTION IS, HAVE WE THE WILL?

THIS BRINGS ME TO THINK ABOUT AND CONSIDER THIS FRATERNITY, THE SIGMA PI PHI. HOW FAR IS IT ADAPTED OR COULD IT BE ADAPTED TO LEAD IN SUCH A ROLE? WE CONSIST OF 425 FAMILIES, (OMITTING THE BOULES OF BALTIMORE AND BUFFALO, FROM WHOM REPEATED LETTERS AND CARDS, AIRMAILED AND SPECIAL DELIVERED, HAVE ELICITED NO RESPONSE. I ASSUME THAT THEY CAN BE LEFT OUT OF ACCOUNT). OF 3,000,000 NEGRO FAMILIES, WE REPRESENT SOMETHING OVER 400; NOT A TENTH, BUT A TEN THOUSANDTH OF THE GROUP.

FIRST OF ALL, WE ARE OLD MEN. ONLY ONE IS UNDER THIRTY; MOST OF THE ARCHONS ARE BETWEEN 30 AND 60, AND PROBABLY NEARER 60. MORE THAN A FOURTH ARE OVER 60. THIS MEANS, THAT BY AND LARGE, WE RECEIVED OUR COLLEGE EDUCATION IN THE LAST CENTURY OR THE FIRST DECADE OF THIS, WHEN THE ATOM WAS INDIVISIBLE; WHEN LIGHT ALWAYS SPEAD IN STRAIGHT LINES; WHEN EVOLUTION WAS THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST: AND WHEN MANKIND CONSISTED OF FIVE SEPARATE, INDESTRUCTABLE RACES, AND SOCIALISM WAS A FOOL'S DREAM.

IN OCCUPATION, OUR MEMBERSHIP IS NOT WELL-BALANCED. NEARLY HALF, 193 ARE

PHYSICIANS, DENTISTS, AND PHARMACISTS. THEY ARE THUS MEMBERS OF A CLOSED TRADE UNION WITH RULES COMING DOWN FROM ANOTHER CENTURY; WITH HIGHLY INDIVIDUALIZED ACTIVITIES, AND RESTRICTED PUBLIC CONTACT AND SOCIAL INTERCOURSE. ON THE OTHER HAND, WITH DEEP PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF INDIVIDUAL HUMAN NATURE.

THE NEXT GROUP, 137 IN NUMBER, ARE TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS OF SCHOOLS, MINISTERS AND SOCIAL WORKERS. THESE MEN ARE MORE IN TOUCH WITH THE NEW SCIENCE AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, BUT HAVE LITTLE PRACTICAL FIRST-HAND EXPERIENCE IN MODERN INDUSTRY; THAT IS, IN THE VERY ACTIVITY WHICH IS RULING AND CONDITIONING THE MODERN WORLD.

A FURTHER GROUP OF 65 PERSONS CONSISTS OF LAWYERS AND BUSINESS MEN. THEY NOT ONLY THEMSELVES HAVE LIMITED CONTACT WITH THE LABORING CLASSES AND THEIR PROBLEMS, BUT ARE OVER-EXPOSED TO AMERICAN BUSINESS PHILOSOPHY -- TO THE IDEA OF INDUSTRY PRIMARILY FOR PROFIT, OF TRADE UNIONS AS NUISANCES, AND OF HIGH WAGES AS INFLATIONARY. THIS COMES NOT ONLY FROM THEIR WORK, BUT FROM THEIR CONTACT WITH WHITE FELLOW MEN IN THEIR PROFESSIONS, WHO ARE NEARLY ALL OF THE REACTIONARY GROUP. IN THE CASE OF OUR

MEN THIS IS MITIGATED SOMEWHAT BY OUR CONTACT WITH THE CRIMINAL CLASSES AND WITH THE POOR. THE REMAINING 30 MEMBERS ARE VARIED IN OCCUPATION, BUT DO NOT FILL A CLEAR VACANCY WHICH WE HAVE, SO FAR AS AUTHORS AND ARTISTS ARE CONCERNED. WE HAVE 9 TECHNICIANS BUT THAT IS VERY SMALL NUMBER.

WE DO NOT REPRESENT THEN TYPICAL AMERICA, NOR DO WE REPRESENT AT ALL THE SCIENTIFIC SOCIAL LEADERSHIP OF THE MODERN WORLD, BECAUSE WE ARE OVERLOADED WITH MEMBERS OF THE PROFESSIONS; WEIGHTED TOWARDS AMERICAN BUSINESS WHILE SCIENCE AND ART, DESPITE OUR TEACHERS, FALL FAR BEHIND. WE ARE, THEN, IN THE MASS AN OLD, CONSERVATIVE GROUP.

WE ARE NOT, ACCORDING TO AMERICAN STANDARDS RICH, BUT ACCORDING TO WORLD STANDARDS, WE ARE DISTINCTLY WELL-TO-DO AND IN THE UPPER ECONOMIC CLASSES. ANOTHER 1/11 OF OUR MEMBERSHIP RECEIVE OVER $10,000 A YEAR, AND ALMOST A SCORE, 16, GET OVER $25,000. THERE ARE 193 FAMILIES WHO RECEIVE FROM $5,000 TO $10,000 A YEAR, AND ONLY 77 WHO CONFESS TO LESS THAN $5,000, WHICH MAY BE MODESTY. OUR INTERESTS THEN ARE

NOT NORMALLY WITH THE POOR AND HUNGRY, OR EVEN WITH THE UNHOUSED AND THE ORDINARY LABORER.

IT IS A MATTER OF SORROW OR CONGRATULATION, ACCORDING TO ONE'S POINT OF VIEW, WHEN WE REMEMBER THAT THIS GROUP IS PROBABLY BOUND FOR EVENTUAL EXTINCTION. OF THE FAMILIES, 153 HAVE NO CHILDREN, AND 84 ONLY ONE CHILD; 317 FAMILIES HAVE NO GRAND-CHILDREN, AND 38 ONLY ONE GRANDCHILD. OUR OTHER 185 MEMBERS MAY, BARRING ACCIDENTS, REPRODUCE OUR NUMBER, BUT AT PRESENT THEY HAVE ONLY 190 GRANDCHILDREN, WHEN SURVIVAL WOULD CALL FOR APPROXIMATELY 760.

THEORETICALLY, THEN, THIS IS NOT AN IDEAL GROUP FOR THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP WHICH I HAVE IN MIND. MOREOVER, IT FACES PECULIAR TRENDS AND DIFFICULTIES. MAY I NAME SIX OF THESE: FIRST, A DISTINCT INDISPOSITION TO REEXAMINE TRENDS AND KNOWLEDGE, OR TO QUESTION CONCLUSIONS OF THE PAST.

SECOND, A DISPOSITION TO ACCEPT THE VALUES AND DECISIONS OF PRESENT DAY AMERICA.

THIRD, A DEEP-SEATED DISBELIEF IN ASIA AND AFRICA, AND EVEN THE WEST INDIES,

PARTIALLY SPRINGING FROM THE PREJUDICE OF SURROUNDING AMERICANS; PARTIALLY FROM THE IDEA THAT WE ARE UNUSUAL AND EXCEPTIONAL COLORED FOLK.

FOURTH, A FEELING OF HELPLESSNESS AGAINST TOO GREAT ODDS AND TENDENCIES: IF THE WHITE WORLD IS GOING ALONG AN ACCEPTED PATH, EVEN IF THAT IS SUICIDE, AFTER ALL, WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT IT AND WHAT DO WE WANT TO DO ABOUT IT?

FIFTH, A CURRENT PHILOSOPHY AMONG US AS OLD AS HUMANITY, "EAT, DRINK, AND BE MERRY"---- A REACTION TOWARDS THROWING OFF THE EXTREME DEPRESSION OF THE DAYS WHEN WE WERE FIGHTING FOR SHEER EXISTENCE, DETERMINATION TO ENJOY SOME OF THE POSSIBILITIES WHICH OUR INCOME AND NEW FREEDOM OPEN TO US TODAY.

THIS EXPLAINS OUR INDULGENCE IN LUXURY, HOMES, OUR POKER PLAYING, FREE SPENDING AND NEGLECT OF THRIFT. AND FINALLY, IN SPITE OF SOME OF THE EXTRAORDINARY THINGS, WHICH WE HAVE SEEN NEGROES DO IN THE LAST GENERATION IN AMERICA, THERE STILL LINGERS AMONG US THE DEEP-SEATED DOUBT OF NEGRO ABILITY TO COPE WITH THE WHITE WORLD.

WE ARE PAINFULLY AWARE OF THE DEGRADATION OF MILLIONS OF OUR MASSES, OF THE CRIME AND LECHERY THAT LURK IN NEW YORK, CHICAGO, AND NEW ORLEANS; OF THE LYING, DISHONESTY, AND DOUBLE-DEALING THAT MARK SO MANY, EVEN OF OUR INTELLIGENT AND RICH, THAT WE ASSOCIATE COLOR AND DEGRADATION, AND CANNOT MAKE OURSELVES BELIEVE IN ANY REAL TRIUMPH OF BLACK FOLK. FEW OF US KNOW, OR TRY TO KNOW WHAT HUMAN DEGRADATION ON THIS EARTH CAN BE, AND HAS BEEN, AND IS AMONG OTHER AND FAIRER PEOPLES.

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BASICALLY, OF COURSE, ALL OF THIS HAS TO DO WITH THAT QUESTION OF CHARACTER WHICH I LEFT OUT OF ACCOUNT, OR RATHER ASSUMED WHEN I FIRST LOOKED TO A TALENTED TENTH TO LEAD THIS ISREAL OUT OF EGYPT. IN MY REORIENTATION OF IDEAS, MY POINTING OUT THE NEW KNOWLEDGE NECESSARY FOR LEADERSHIP, AND NEW IDEAS OF RACE AND CULTURE, THERE STILL STANDS THAT FUNDAMENTAL AND BASIC REQUIREMENT OF ANY SUCCESSFUL LEADERSHIP TOWARD GREAT IDEALS, EVEN IF THE IDEALS ARE GREAT AND CLEARLY PERCEIVED. AND THAT IS HONESTY OF CHARACTER AND PURITY OF MOTIVE, WITHOUT WHICH NO EFFORT SUCCEEDS, OR DESERVES TO SUCCEED. WE USED TO TALK MUCH OF CHARACTER -- PERHAPS TOO MUCH. AT

FISK, WE HAD IT DINNED INTO OUR EARS. AT HARVARD, WE NEVER MENTIONED IT. AT BERLIN, WE QUITE FORGOT IT. BUT THAT WAS REACTION. WE CANNOT HAVE PERFECTION. WE HAVE FEW SAINTS. BUT WE MUST HAVE HONEST MEN, OR WE DIE. WE MUST HAVE UNSELFISH, FAR-SEEING LEADERSHIP, OR WE FAIL.

WHAT CAN SIGMA PI PHI DO TO SEE THAT WE GET IT FOR THE AMERICAN NEGRO? SO FAR AS THE GROUP BEFORE ME IS CONCERNED LITTLE CAN BE DONE, FOR THE SIMPLE REASON THAT MOST OF OUR PRESENT MEMBERSHIP WILL SOON BE DEAD. UNLESS WE BEGIN TO RECRUIT THIS FRATERNITY MEMBERSHIP WITH YOUNG MEN, AND LARGE NUMBERS OF THEM, OUR BIENNIAL CONCLAVES WILL BE INCREASINGLY DEVOTED TO OBITUARIES. WE SHOULD HAVE A LARGE INCREASE OF MEMBERSHIP DRAWN FROM MEN WHO HAVE RECEIVED THEIR COLLEGE EDUCATION SINCE THE FIRST WORLD WAR. THIS NEW NEW MEMBERSHIP MUST NOT SIMPLY BE SUCCESSFUL IN THE AMERICAN SENSE OF BEING RICH; THEY MUST NOT ALL BE PHYSICIANS, AND LAWYERS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE TECHNICIANS, BUSINESS MEN, TEACHERS AND SOCIAL WORKERS ADMITTED MUST BE THOSE

WHO REALIZE THE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION NOW SWEEPING THE WORLD AND DO NOT THINK THAT PRIVATE PROFIT IS THE MEASURE OF PUBLIC WELFARE. AND, TOO, WE MUST DELIBERATELY SEEK HONEST MEN.

THIS SCREENED YOUNG MEMBERSHIP MUST BE FAR GREATER IN NUMBER THAN IT IS NOW. BALTIMORE, FOR INSTANCE, HAS MORE THAN 166,000 NEGROES AND 23 IN ITS BOULE, REPRESENTING LESS THAN 100 PERSONS. SURELY THERE MUST BE AT LEAST 23 OTHER PERSONS IN BALTIMORE WORTHY OF FELLOWSHIP. IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT WE SHOULD EVEN FOR A MOMENT DREAM THAT WITH A MEMBERSHIP OF 400 WE HAVE EVEN SCRATCHED THE TOP OF THE SURFACE OF A GROUP REPRESENTATIVE OF NEGRO LEADERSHIP IN AMERICA. NOTHING BUT CONGENITAL LAZINESS SHOULD KEEP US FROM A MEMBERSHIP OF 4,000 BY THE NEXT BIENNIUM, WITHOUT ANY LOWERING OF QUALITY; AND A MEMBERSHIP OF 40,000 BY 1960. THIS WOULD BE AN ACTUAL NUMERICAL TENTH OF OUR RACE; A BODY LARGE ENOUGH TO REALLY REPRESENT ALL, YET SMALL ENOUGH TO INSURE EXCEPTIONAL QUALITY, AND SCREENED FOR INTELLIGENT AND DISINTERESTED PLANNING FOR THE AMERICAN NEGRO. WITH A LARGE, VIRILE MEMBERSHIP,

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TEN TIMES OUR PRESENT NUMBER AND NOT SIMPLY EDUCATED BUT TRAINED IN MODERN ECONOMIC OUTLOOK AND DEPENDABLE IN CHARACTER, WHAT CAN BE OUR PROGRAM?

FIRST, WE MUST PREPARE FOR FUTURE MANHOOD AND WOMANHOOD; WE MUST DELIBERATELY PLAN MARRIAGES; WE MUST GUIDE SELECTION OF MATES BY NEW EMPHASIS ON PHYSIQUE, HEREDITY, AND BRAINS, WITH LESS STRESS ON COLOR AND BEAUTY. OUR GRANDCHILDREN MUST MARRY YOUNG AND HAVE LIMITED NUMBERS OF HEALTHY OFFSPRING. NOTHING HAS SUPPLANTED IN HUMAN CULTURE THE PLACE OF THE INTEGRATED FAMILY GROUP. THIS GROUP MUST SHARE IN EDUCATING THE CHILD AND PREPARING IT FOR WORK. THE SCHOOLS, WHERE THESE CHILDREN ARE SENT, MUST NOT BE CHOSEN BECAUSE THEY ARE ATTENDED AND TAUGHT BY WHITE PEOPLE, NOR BECAUSE THEY ARE NEGRO SCHOOLS, BUT SOLELY BECAUSE THEY CAN AND WILL EDUCATE ANY PARTICULAR CHILD INTO ITS BEST POSSIBILITIES.

CAREERS FOR THESE GRANDCHILDREN MUST NOT BE LEFT TO CHANCE AND OPPORTUNITY. THEY MUST BE PLANNED IN ACCORD WITH ABILITY, NATIONAL AND WORLD CONDITIONS AND

HAVING NOW GOTTEN A GROUP OF PREDOMINANTLY ACTIVE, VIRILE MEN OF MIDDLE AGE AND SETTLED OPINIONS, WHO HAVE FINISHED THEIR EDUCATION AND BEGUN THEIR LIFE WORK, WHAT CAN THEY DO? THEY MUST FIRST OF ALL RECOGNIZE THE FACT THAT THEIR PLACE IN LIFE IS PRIMARILY A MATTER OF OPPORTUNITY, RATHER THAN SIMPLY ABILITY; THAT IF SUCH OPPORTUNITY WERE EXTENDED AND BROADENED, A THOUSAND TIMES AS MANY NEGROES COULD JOIN THE RANKS OF THE EDUCATED AND ABLE, INSTEAD OF SINKING INTO POVERTY, DISEASE, AND CRIME: THAT THE PRIMARY DUTY OF THIS ORGANIZATION WOULD BE TO FIND DESERT, ABILITY, AND CHARACTER AMONG YOUNG NEGROES AND GIVE THEM EDUCATION AND OPPORTUNITY; THAT THE MAJOR OPPORTUNITY SHOULD BE SEEN AS WORK ACCORDING TO GIFT AND TRAINING, WITH PAY SUFFICIENT TO FURNISH A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING; EARLY MARRIAGE AND SUPPORT AND TRAINING OF TWO OR THREE CHILDREN; THAT THEY MUST DELIBERATELY PLAN MARRIAGES; THEY MUST GUIDE SELECTION OF MATES BY NEW EMPHASIS ON PHYSIQUE, HEREDITY, AND BRAINS, WITH LESS STRESS ON COLOR AND BEAUTY. THE CHILDREN MUST MARRY YOUNG AND HAVE LIMITED NUMBERS OF HEALTHY OFFSPRING. NOTHING HAS SUPPLANTED IN HUMAN CULTURE THE PLACE OF THE INTEGRATED FAMILY GROUP. THIS GROUP MUST SHARE IN EDUCATING THE CHILD AND PREPARING IT FOR WORK. THE SCHOOLS, WHERE THESE CHILDREN ARE SENT, MUST NOT BE CHOSEN BECAUSE THEY

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ARE ATTENDED AND TAUGHT BY WHITE PEOPLE, NOR BECAUSE THEY ARE NEGRO SCHOOLS, BUT SOLELY BECAUSE THEY CAN AND WILL EDUCATE ANY PARTICULAR CHILD INTO ITS BEST POSSIBILITIES.

OCCUPATION SHOULD NOT AND NEED NOT BE LEFT TO CHANCE; OR CONFINED TO WHAT WHITES ARE DOING, OR ARE WILLING TO LET US DO. IT MUST INVOLVE INNOVATION AND EXPERIMENT AND PIONEERING; IT MUST BE A CAREFULLY PLANNED, THOROUGHLY THOUGHT OUT, WIDE STUDY OF HUMAN WANTS, TECHNICAL POWER, TRAINED EFFORT, AND CONSECRATED DEVOTION, WITH THE USE OF EVERY SCIENTIFIC PROCEDURE IN PHYSICS, CHEMISTRY, BIOLOGY, PSYCHOLOGY, SOCIOLOGY AND HISTORY.

TO THIS EMERGING GENERATION SHOULD BE FURNISHED THE BEST ADVICE OF EXPERIENCE: PLAIN LIVING AND HIGH THINKING; APPRAISAL OF MEN BY DESERT AND DEED, AND NOT SIMPLY BY MONEY AND PUBLIC APPLAUSE; THE REHABILITATION OF THE INDISPENSABLE FAMILY GROUP AS A CENTER OF EDUCATION, WITH HEALTHY CONVENIENT HOMES, WITH DIRTY, BACK-BREAKING DRUDGERY ELIMINATED AND TIME TO READ AND DISCUSS BOOKS AND LITERATURE, HEAR AND APPRECIATE MUSIC, AND ENTERTAIN FRIENDS.

FOR THIS CENTRAL OBJECT OF PLANNED WORK, THIS ORGANIZATION SHOULD ASSEMBLE THE BEST KNOWLEDGE, SCIENCE AND EXPERIENCE. IT SHOULD ENCOURAGE PIONEERING AND ADVENTURE, ATTACKING

DESERT PLACES WITH MODERN TECHNIQUE; PRODUCING NEW GOODS BY NEW PROCESSES; AVOIDING THE FACTORY SYSTEM AND MASS PRODUCTION AS THE LAST WORD IN WORK, AND RETURNING TO THE IDEAL OF PERSONAL CONSUMPTION, ARTISTIC TASTE AND HUMAN DESIRE; THINKING OF CONSUMPTION AND THE CONSUMER AS COMING BEFORE AND GUIDING PRODUCTION AND NOT OF PRODUCTION AS THE END OF INDUSTRY AND PROFIT AS ITS MOTIVE.

THE NEW GENERATION MUST LEARN THAT THE OBJECT OF WORK IS NOT PROFIT, BUT SERVICE AND HAPPINESS. THEY MUST, THEREFORE, BE DIRECTED AWAY FROM CAREERS WHICH ARE ANTI-SOCIAL AND DISHONEST BUT IMMENSELY PROFITABLE. INSURANCE CAN BE A SOCIAL HELP, BUT MOST OF IT TODAY IS ORGANIZED THEFT. WE MUST HAVE DRUG STORES, BUT THE PATENT NOSTRUMS IN WHICH SO MANY OF THEM DEAL DESERVE THE PENITENTIARY. GAMBLING, NOT ONLY AS TEMPTING DIVERSION, BUT AS A PROFITABLE CAREER, IS SEEPING THROUGH ALL KINDS OF AMERICAN BUSINESS, FROM THE STOCK MARKET, FACTORY, AND WHOLESALE STORE, TO THE NUMBERS RACKET, HORSE RACING, AND RADIO GIFTS. EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO WARN THE NEXT GENERATION AWAY FROM THIS DRY ROT OF DEATH AND CRIME.

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WE ARE NEGLECTING AND MISUSING OUR ART AND ART HERITAGE. MUSIC IS NOT DESIGNED SOLELY FOR NIGHT CLUBS. DANCING IS NOT MAINLY THE HANDMAID OF DRUNKENNESS AND PROSTITUTION.

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BOOKS CAN BE GOOD WITHOUT BEING BEST SELLERS. WE HAVE A MARVELOUS ART HERITAGE WHICH SHRIEKS FOR NEW AND UNIQUE DEVELOPMENT BY THE GIFTED YOUNG.

OUR RELIGION, WITH ALL OF ITS DOGMA, DEMAGOGUERY, AND SHOWMANSHIP, CAN AND MUST BE A CENTER TO TEACH CHARACTER, RIGHT CONDUCT, AND SACRIFICE. THERE LIES HERE A CAREER FOR A NEGRO GANDHI AND A HOST OF EARNEST FOLLOWERS.

THE DARK HOSTS OF LIBERIA, AND ETHIOPIA, AND OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA, TOGETHER WITH ASIA, THE PACIFIC LANDS, SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA, AND THE CARIBBEAN AREA, HAVE NEED FOR THAT BROAD KNOWLEDGE OF THE WORLD AND SPECIAL TRAINING IN TECHNIQUE WHICH WE MIGHT LEARN AND TAKE TO THEM. THEY DO NOT NEED US FOR EXPLOITATION AND GET-RICH-QUICK SCHEMES. THERE IS NO REASON WHY THE SORT OF THOUGHT AND TEACHING, WHICH 2,000 YEARS AGO MADE THE GROVES OF ATHENS THE CENTER OF THE WORLD'S SALVATION, COULD NOT LIVE AGAIN IN TEN THOUSAND NEGRO HOMES IN AMERICA TODAY.

THIS WILL INVOLVE THE EXPENDITURE OF LARGE FUNDS. THE SACRIFICE NECESSARY TO PROVIDE SUCH FUNDS SHOULD BE REGARDED NOT AS SENTIMENTAL CHARITY, OR MUSHY RELIGIOUS FERVOR, BUT AS FORESIGHT AND INVESTMENT IN THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA; AND CANNY

INSURANCE AGAINST LOSS ON OUR PART, AND THE PART OF OUR CHILDREN, BY WHOLESALE NEGLECT OF VALUABLE HUMAN RESOURCES. WE MAY REACH THE HIGH IDEAL WHEN AGAIN THE TITHE, THE TENTH OF OUR INCOME WILL GO TO THE PERFECTLY FEASIBLE EFFORT OF SO CIVILIZING THE AMERICAN NEGRO THAT HE WILL BE ABLE TO LEAD THE WORLD, AND WILL WANT TO DO SO.

THIS, THEN, IS MY RE-EXAMINED AND RESTATED THEORY OF THE "TALENTED TENTH."

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Sigma Pi Phi Boulé
Wilberforce Univ.
Wilberforce, Ohio
Aug. 11-13, 1948

exactly as delivered

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THE TALENTED TENTH

W. E. B. DuBois

Some years ago I used the phrase "The Talented Tenth," meaning leadership of the Negro race in America by a trained few. Since then this idea has been criticized. It has been said that I had in mind the building of an aristocracy with neglect of the masses. This criticism has seemed even more valid because of emphasis on the meaning and power of the mass of people to which Karl Marx gave voice in the middle of the nineteenth century, and which has been growing in influence ever since. There have come other changes in these days, which a great many of us do not realize as Revolution through which we are passing. Because of this, it is necessary to examine the world about us and our thoughts and attitudes toward it. I want then to re-examine and restate the thesis of the Talented Tenth which I laid down many years ago.

In a day when culture is comparatively static, a man once grounded in the fundamentals of knowledge, received through current education, can depend on the more or less routine absorption of knowledge for keeping up with the world. This was true for decades during the nineteenth century, and usually has been true in the slow drift of many other centuries. But today, the tide runs swiftly, and almost every fundamental concept which most of us learned in college has undergone radical change; so that a man who was broadly educated in 1900 may be widely ignorant in 1948, unless he has made conscious, continuous, and determined effort to

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keep abreast with the development of knowledge and of thought in the last half century.

For instance, since 1900 physics and chemistry have been revolutionized in many of their basic concepts. Astronomy is today almost a new science as compared with the time of Cpernicus. Psychology has risen from guess-work and introspection to an exact science. Biology and anthropology have changed and expanded widely and history and sociology have begun in the middle of the twentieth century, first, to take on the shape of real sciences rather than being largely theory and opinion.

If, now, a college man of 1900, or even of 1925, has spent his time since graduation mainly in making a living, he is in fair way not to be able to understand the world of 1950. It is necessary then for men of education continually to readjust their knowledge, and this is doubly necessary in this day of swift revolution in ideas, in ideals, in industrial techniques, in rapid travel, and in varieties and kinds of human contacts.

Turn now to that complex of social problems, which surrounds and conditions our life, and which we call more or less vaguely, The Negro Problem. It is clear that in 1900, American Negroes were an inferior caste, were frequently lynched and mobbed, widely disfranchised, and usually segregated in the main areas of life. As student and worker at that time, I looked upon them and saw salvation through intelligent leadership; as I said, through a Talented Tenth. And for this intelligence I argued we needed college-trained men. Therefore, I stressed college and higher

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training. For these men with their college training there would be needed through understanding of the mass of Negroes and their problems, and, therefore, I emphasized scientific study. Willingness to work and make personal sacrifice for solving these problems was of course, the first prerequisite and Sine Qua Non. I did not stress this, I assumed it.

I assumed that with knowledge, sacrifice would automatically follow. In my youth and idealism, I did not realize that selfishness is even more natural than sacrifice. I made the assumption of its wide availability because of the spirit of sacrifice learned in my mission school training.

I went South to Fisk University at the age of 17, when I was peculiarly impressionable, from a region which had opened my mind but had not filled the void. At Fisk I met a group of teachers who would be unusual in any time or place. They were not only men of learning and experience, but men and women of character and almost fanatic devotion. It was a great experience to sit under their voice and influence. It was from that experience that I assumed easily that educated people, in most cases were going out into life to see how far they could better the world. Of course, as I looked about me, I might have understood, that all students of Fisk University were not persons of this sort. There was no lack of small and selfish souls; there were among the student body, careless and lazy p fellows; and there were especially sharp young persons, who received the education given very cheaply at Fisk University, with the distinct and single-minded idea, of seeing

how much they could make out of it for themselfves, and nobody else.

When I came out of college Into the world of work I realized that it was quite possible that my plan of training a talented tenth might put in control and power a group of selfish self-indulgent, well-to-do men, whose basic interest insolving the Negro problem was personal; personal freedom and unhampered enjoyment and use of the world, without any real care or certainly no arousing care as to what became of the mass of American Negroes, or of the mass of any people. My Talented Tenth, I could see, might result in a sort of interracial free-for-all, with the devil taking the hindmost and the foremost taking anything they could lay hands on. This, historically, has always been the danger of aristocracy. It was for a long time regarded as almost inevitable because of the scarcity of ability among men and because, naturally the aristocrat came to regard himself and his whims as necessarily the end and only end of civilization and culture. As long as the masses supported this doctrine, aristocracy and mass misery lived amiably together.

Into this situation, came the revolutionary thought first voiced in former ages by great moral leaders which asked charity for the poor and sympathy for the ignorant and sick. And even intimated eventual justice in heaven. But in the suddenly expanding economy and marvelour technique of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries t ere came prophets and reformers, but especially the voice of Karl Marx, to say that the poor need not always be with us, and that all men could and should be free from poverty.

Karl Marx stressed the fact that not merely the upper class but the mass of men were the real people of the world. He in-

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sisted that the masses were poor, ignorant, and sick, not by sin or by nature but by oppression. He preached that planned production of goods and just distribution of income would abolish poverty, ignorance and disease, and make the so-called upper-class, not the exception, but the rule among mankind. He declared that the world was not for the few, but for the many; that out of the masses of men could come overwhelming floods of ability and genius, if we freed men by plan and not by rare chance. Civilization not only could be shared by the vast majority of men, but such civilization founded on a wide human base would be better and more enduring than anything that the world has seen. The world would thus escape the enduring danger of bieng run by a selfish few for their own advantage.

Very gradually as the philosophy of Karl Marx and many of his successors seeped into my understanding, I tried to apply this doctrine with regard to Negroes. My Talented Tenth must be more than talented and work not simply as individuals. Itspassport to leadership was not alone learning but expert knowledge of modern economics as it affected American Negroes; and in addition to this and fundamental would be its willingness to sacrifice and plan for such economic revolution in industry and just distribution of wealth as would make the rise of our group possible.

Moreover, biology and sociology were reconstructing my idea of race. This group was not simply a physical entity. A black people, or a people descended from black folk. It was, what all races really are, a cultural group. It is too bad that we have

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to use the word "cultural" for so many meanings. But what it means in modern scientific thought is that 15,000,000 men and women who for three centuries have shared common experiences and common suffering and have worked all those days and nights together for their own survival and progress; that this complex of habits and manners could not and must not be lost. That persons sharing this experience formed a race no matter what their blood might be. That this race must be conserved for the benefit of the Negro people themselves and for mankind. I came then to advocate, not pride of biological race, but pride in a cultural group integrated and expanded by developed ideals soa as to form a method of progress.

Immediately this posed a paradox. Those Negroes who had long trained themselves for personal success and individual freedom were coming to regard the disappearance of segregation as an end and not a means. They wanted to be Americans, and they did not care so much what kind of Folk Americans were, as for the right to be one of them. They, not only, did not want to fight for a Negro culture, they even denied the possibility of any such animal, certainly its desirability even if it could be made to exist. The leadership, then, of my Talented Tenth over the mass of young colored men and women, college-trained and entering their careers, faced rejection and disappearance of the Negro, both as a race and as a culture.

But this, as I have said, was paradoxical. The United States has a large number of Negroes. We number as many as the inhabitants of the Argentine or of Czecholovakia; on the whole of Scandinavia, including Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. We are very nearly the

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size of Egypt, Rumana and Yugoslavia. And we are larger than Candda, Saudie Arabia, Ethiopia, Hungary, or the netherlands. We have twice as many persons as Australia or Switzerland, and more than the whole Union of South Africa. We have more people than Portugal or Peru; twice as many as Greece and nearly as many as Turkey. We have more people by far than Belgium, and half as many as Spain. A nation of such size, such history, such accomplishment, should be able to look forward to something more than complete effacement and utter absorption in another and foreign entity. It should have legitimate dreams of continuity, unity, and immortality.

It should plan a life and future, not in world antagonism and enmity or narrow provincialism, but in higher and broader helpfulness to all, through self-knowledge, self-realization, and self-control, not only that, but the world has at least 250,000,000 Negroes and Negroids. They cannot disappear physically, much less culturally, without deep loss to themselves and humanity.

The question is: how and by whom can Negro culture be preserved? Not simply the social movements of America, but of the greater world of human culture.

In our concentration of thought on the United States, as the locus of our fight, we have come to think of this land as the center of the universe and lately as the predestined leader of civilization. This is because of our recent growth in world power, based on unusual natural resources; a democracy in government which emancipated former lower classes, and gave them work and high wages; and

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finally, because the leading nations of Europe lost their power through rivalry, exploitation, and war.

It was not America's virtues, but Europe's mistakes, that gave us persent primacy. We Negroes have thoughtlessly failed to recognize this and have tried to become more American than the Americans; loud in our conversation, uncritical in our boasting and arrogance, showy and ostentatious in dress, careless in manners, wasteful in conspicuous expenditure, and smug and uncritical in judgement. Like all America we read few books; we get superficial "news" from radio gossip and doctored opinion from a press known to be prejudiced and monopolized. We do not realize, that today the United States is probably the most thoroughly hated and despised nation on earth, especially among the really cultured and civilized. Its natural resources, industrial techniques, and control of credit make it powerful and feared; but it is not recognized as leading in science, in morals, or toward human happiness. The remaking of human culture, so as to fashion a decent world, is being pursued today mainly in Europe and Asia.

Cooperation then, with the forward-looking forces of civilization in the world, can be carried out in this land by Negroes, as well as by any other large coherent American group. This is recognized in foreign thought. It is becoming a matter of open expression among hundreds of millions of people in Africa and in Asia. These people are not, as we usually assume when we unconsciously take over American prejudices, people who deserve to

be ignored, in our estimate of the world and in our dreams of what the world may be. Not only have they been influential in their contributions to the past, but today, there is a leadership from the colored world which is beginning to be powerful on earth.

Now the central thought of any cultural effort to restore the civilization which has collapsed in two world wars and to build something better is economic reconstruction. Ignorance of this central fact is widespread. Economics is not being taught as it should be in the schools and colleges today: and I mean of course by economics--knowledge of the meaning of work, of how it may best be done; of the significance and ownership of machines of the role of credit and money; of the distribution of goods and services of the possibilities of human effort today.

The new economics starting almost exactly a hundred years ago is clear and unanswerable in its facts and knowledge. It says that nature is the source of all wealth: that human effort transforms natural resources for human use: that the results of t is ork should be divided among men according to need and not by chance, or priviledge or by individual power. It says th t industry should be controlled by the state, and planned by science and that all goods should be owned and distributed in such ways as result in the greatest good to all. ll persons should be educated accordin to ability and should labor according to efficiency.

Health and housin , social security, facilities for recreation and for human intercourse should be public responsibilities.

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Within this framework of necessary work for general welfare there should be the widest possible area reserved for liberty of thought and of action and for creative ideal.

This program of progress is the consensus of the civilized world today. It is called by many names: Socialism, Communism, Liberalism, Consumers-Cooperation, The New Deal, or Progressivism takings its name according to place and time and emphasis.

In the United States, this idea has made wide-progress beginning with the populist movement, progressing with Bryan and La-Follette and culminating with the New Deal under Franklin Roosevelt.

But it has been steadily and often successfully opposed by industrial interests which have tried desperately to make Americans turn back to the belief of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that free individual enterprise with the least possible social control and spurred mainly by the incentive of private profit is the only method which can bring and preserve prosperity. This doctrine is contradicted by Two World Wars and the imminence of a third. It is denied in our own history by six industrial crises, a great depression which threw world industry into scaos, and threat of another tomorrow.

Yet triumphant reaction spurred by fantastic war profit is forcing the United States against the consensus of the best opinion of the world to block real economic progress by misdirecting knowledge through a monopolized and commercialized press and by a series of witch-hunts to scare and silence thought.

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This is a day of critical danger to us and to the world. Whatever we can do to avert disaster, is our bounden duty to attempt.

The question is then: Who can lead the way in this effort? Here comes a new idea of a Talented Tenth: The concept of a group-leadership not simply educated and self-sacrificing but with clear vision of present world conditions and dangers and conducting American Negroes to alliance with culture groups in Europe, America, Asia, and Africa, and looking toward a new world culture. We can do it. We have the ability. The only question is, have we the will?

This calls for leadership through special organization. Such organization calls for more than a tenth of our number. One one-hundredth, or thirty thousand persons is indicated with a directing council composed of educated and specially trained experts in the main branches of science and the main categories of human work, and a paid executive committee of five or six persons to carry out the program.

To launch so large a scheme as a new organization would call for so much time, money and effort, that it would be more practical if an already existing body could be adapted to this work. Some of the secret orders might do it. The college fraternities would occur to all as best placed by education to inaugurate this work if they could be persuaded of its necessity and feasibility. The under-graduate fraternities, even with their graduate chapters have probably a constituency too young and too busy trying to make a living. Then too, they are dominated by rather youthful ideals of the mis-called college spirit. I turn then to this fraternity

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but with some misgiving. What the guiding idea of Sigma Pi Phi was, I have never been able to learn. I believe it was rooted in a certain exclusiveness and snobbery for which we all have a yearning even if unconfessed. But such an object belongs to days of peace and security. Today is a time of crisis. Could then, this organization be adapted to the role of organized scientific leadership of the American Negro?

We consist of 440 families, (omitting the Boule of Baltimore from whom repeated letters and cards, airmailed and special delivered have elicited no response.)

Of 3,000,000 Negro families, we represent not a tenth, but a ten-thousandth of the group;

First of all, we are old men. Only one is under thirty: three-fourths of the Archons are between 30 and 60, and most probably nearer 60. More than a fourth are over 60. This means that by and large we received our college education in the last century or the first decade of this, when the atom was indivisible: when light always spread in straight lines: when evolution was the survival of the fittest: when mankind consisted of five separate, indestructable races and when socialism was a fool's dream.

In occupation our membership is not well-balanced. Nearly half (201) are physicians, dentists, and pharmacists. They are thus members of closed trade unions with rules coming down from another century: with highly individualized activities and restricted public contracts.

The next group, (144 in number) are teachers and administrators of schools, ministers and social workers. These men are more in

touch with the new science and social movements but have little first-hand experience in modern industry: that is, in the very activity which is ruling and conditioning the modern world.

A further group of 65 persons consists of lawyers and business men. They not only themselves have limited contact with the laboring classes and their problems, but are over-exposed to American business philosophy--to the idea of industry primarily for profit of trade unions as nuisances and of high wages as inflationary. This comes from their contact with white fellow men in their professions who are nearly all of the reactionary group.

The remaining 30 members are varied in occupation but do not fill the clear vacancy which we have so far as authors and artists are concerned. We have 9 technicians but that is a very small number.

We do not represent then typical America. Nor do we represent at all the scientific and social leadership of the modern world because we are overloaded with members of the professions, weighted towards American business, while science and art despite our teachers fall far behind. We are then in the mass, an old, timid, conservative group.

We are not according to American tandards rich, but according to world standards we are distinctly well-to-do and in the upper economic brackets. Of our ~~membership~~ 440 families, 127 receive over $10,000 a year and almost a score of these get over $25,000. There are 199 families who receive from $5,000 to $10,000 a year and only 86 who confess to less than $5,000, which may be modesty. Our interests then are not normally with the poor and hungry, yet we are not aware

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of this: we assume on the one hand our identity with the poor and yet we act and sympathize with the rich, an unconscious and danger-our dichotomy.

It is a matter of sorrow or congratulation according to one's point of view, when we remember that this group is probably bound for extinction. Of the families, 159 have no children, and 88 only one child: three-fourths of the families have no grandchildren, and 39 only one grandchild. Our other 72 members may, barring accidents, partly reproduce our number, but at present there are only 243 grandchildren; when survival would call for 880!

Theoretically then this is not an ideal group for the kind of leadership which I have in mind. Moreover it faces peculiar trends and difficulties. May I name six of these: first, a distinct indisposition to re-examine trends and knowledge or to question conclusions of the past.

Second, a disposition to accept the values and decisions of present day America. Third, a deep seated disbelief in Asia and Africa and even of the West Indies, springing partially from the prejudice of surrounding Americans: partially from the idea that we, ourselves, are unusual and exceptional colored folk.

Fourth, a feeling of helplessness against too great odds and tendencies: if the white world is going along an accepted path even if that is suicide after all, what can we do about it, and what do we want to do about it?

Fifth, a current philosophy among us as old as humanity, "eat drink, and be merry"---a reaction towards throwing off of the extreme

depression of the days when we were fighting for sheer existence and determination to enjoy some of the possibilities which our income and new freedom open to us today.

And finally in spite of some of the extraordinary things which we have seen Negroes do in the last generation in America, there still lingers among us the deep-seated doubt of Negro ability to cope with the white world.

We are so painfully aware of the degradation of millions of our masses of the crime and lechery that lurk in New York, Chicago and New Orleans; of the lying, dishonesty, and double dealing that mark so many even of our intelligent and rich, that we associate color and degradation and cannot make ourselves believe in any real triumph of black folk. Few of us know or try to know what human degradation on this earth can be and has been and is among other and fairer peoples.

Basically this confronts us with two problems: the leadership of the masses and the sacrifice necessary to leadership. The uplift of the mass cannot be left to chance. Marx and Lenin firmly believed it could only be accomplished by a dictatorship. I think in the case of Russia they were right but in our plight, I think we can feww our mass by organization and group influence exercised through a self-sacrificing leadership. This is primaril a question of character which I failed to emphasize in my first proposal of a Talented Tenth.

In this reorientation of my ideas, my pointing our the new knowledge necessary for leadership and new ideas of race and culture there still remains that fundamental and basic requirement of

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character for any successful leadership toward great ideals. Even if the ideals are clearly perceived, honesty of character and purity of motive is needed without which no effort succeeds or deserves to succeed. We used to talk much of character--perhaps too much. At Fisk, we had it dinned into our ears. At Harvard we never mentioned it. We thought of it: but it was not good taste to talk of it: At Berlin we quite forgot it. But that was reaction. We cannot have perfection. We have few saints. But we must have honest men or we die. We must have unselfish far seeing leadership or we fail.

What can Sigma Pi Phi do to see that we get it for the American Negro? So far as the group before me is concerned little can be done for the simple reason that most of our present membership will soon be dead. Unless we begin to recruit this fraternity membership with young men and large numbers of them our biennial conclaves will be increasingly devoted to obituaries. We should have a large increase of membership drawn from men who have received their college education since the First World War. This new membership must not simply be successful in the American Sense of being of being rich: they must not all be physicians and lawyers. The technicians, business men, teachers and social workers admitted must be those who realize the economic revolution now sweeping the world and do not think that private profit is the measure of public welfare. And too: we must deliberately seek honest men.

This screened young membership must be far greater in number than it is now. Baltimore for instance has more than 166,000 Negroes

and only 23 in its Boule, representing less than 100 persons. Surely there must be at least 23 other persons in Baltimore worthy of fellowship. It is inconceivable that we should even for a moment dream that with a membership of 440 we have scratched even the tip of the top of the surface of a group representative of potential Negro leadership in America. Nothing but congenital laziness should keep us from a membership of 3,000 by the next biennium without any lowering of quality and a membership of 30,000 by 1960. This would be an actual numerical one hundredth of our race: a body large enough really to represent all. Yet small enough to insure exceptional quality; if screened for intelligent and disinterested planning.

Having gotten a group of predominantly active virile men of middle age and settled opinions who have finished their education and begun their life work what can they do? They must first of all recognize the fact that their own place in life is primarily a matter of opportunity rather than simply desert or ability. That if such opportunity were extended and broadened a thousand times as many Negroes could join the ranks of the educated and able: instead of sinking into poverty, disease and crime: that the primary duty of this organization would be to find desert, ability, and character among young Negroes and get for them education and opportunity. That the major opportunity should be seen as work according to gift and training with pay sufficient to furnish a decent standard of living.

A national organization of this sort must be prepared to

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use propaganda, make investigation, plan procedures and even finance projects. This will call for an initial body of belief which even now can be forecast in outline.

We would want to impress on the emerging generations of Negroes in America the ideal of plain living and high thinking: in defiance of American noise, waste and display; the rehabilitation of the indispensable family group by deliberate planning of marriages with mates selected for heredity, physique, health and brains, with less insistence on color, comeliness or romantic sex lure, mis-called love: youth should marry young and have a limited number of healthy children. The home must be a place of education, rather than cleaning and cooking, with books, discussion and entertainment.

The schools where these children are sent must not be chosen for the color of their teachers or students but for their efficiency in educating a particular child. In home and out children should learn not to neglect our art heritage: music is not designed soley for night clubs, drama is not aimed at Broadway, dancing is not the handmaid of prostitution, and writing is not mainly for income.

Our religion with all of its dogma, demagoguery, and showmanship can be a center to teach character, right conduct and sacrifice. There lies here a career for a Negro Gandhi and a host of earnest followers.

The dark hosts of Liberia and Ethiopia and other parts of Africa together with Asia, the Pacific lands, South and Central America, and the Caribbean area have need for that broad knowledge of the world and special training in technique which we might learn and take to them. They do not need us for explcitation and

get-rich-quick schemes. There is no reason why the sort of thought and teaching which 2,000 years ago made the groves of Athens the center of the world's salvation could not live again in ten thousand Negro homes in America today.

Occupation should not and need not be left to chance or confined to what whites are doing or are willing to let us do. It must involve innovation and experiment. It must be a carefully planned throughly thought out with wide study of human wants of every scientific procedure in physics, chemistry, biology, psychology, sociology and history.

For this central object of planned work, this organization should assemble the best knowledge and experience. It should encourage pioneering and adventure, attacking desert places with modern technique: producing new goods by new processes: avoiding the factory system and mass production as the last word in work and returning to the ideal of personal consumption, personal taste and human desire: thinking of consumption and the consumers as coming before production and not of production as the end of industry and profit as its motive.

The new generation must learn that the object of the world is not profit but service and happiness. They must therefore be directed away from careers which are anti-social and dishonest but immensly profitable. Insurance can be a social help but much of it today is organized theft. We must have drug stores but the patent nostrums in which so many of them deal deserve the penitentiary. Gambling not only as poker-playing but as a profitable career, is seeping through all kinds of American business

from the stock market, factory and wholesale store, to the numbers racket, horse racing, and ridio gifts. Every effort should be made to warn the next generation away from this dry rot of death and crime.

An organization adapted to such a program of propaganda and work of guidance and able to search for and select ability and character and finance efforts to give it opportunity will need large funds at its disposal. The sacrifice necessary to provide such funds should be regarded not as sentimental charity or mushy religious ferver but as foresight and investment in the future of the Negro in America, and canny insurance against loss by wholesale neglect of invaluable human resources.

We may reach the high ideal when again the tithe, the tenth of our income will go to the perfectly feasible effort of so civilizing the American Negro that he will be able to lead the world and will want to do so.

This, then, is my re-examined and restated theory of the "Talented Tenth," which has thus become the doctrine of the "Guiding Hundredth."

Naturally, I do not dream, that a word of mine will transform to any essential degree, the form and trends of this fraternity, but I am certain the idea called for expression and that the seed must be dropped whether in this or other soil today or tomorrow.

Haas

THE TALENTED TENTH

THE RE-EXAMINATION OF A CONCEPT

By
W. E. B. Du Bois

1948

Forty-five years ago in my book, THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, I wrote a chapter which I called The Talented Tenth. In that chapter I tried to develop the thesis that the leadership of American Negroes should be in the hands of a talented and educated minority, who should become their leaders in order to guide and conduct them out of their condition of semi-slavery. Since that time on several occasions this thesis has been attacked. Some have said for instance, that I was laying down the world old theory of aristocracy that I conceived that those Negroes who were advantaged in gift and property, should be educated and should become the group which spoke for the Negro and assumed that they represented the Negro; just as in practically all civilization we have had a small number which became a ruling aristocracy and which assumed to be and was regarded as the real representatives of the people. Then again, and from another point of view, my idea of the Talented Tenth was critized because as men said I was thinking of the exceptional persons and the persons who had and could get advantages and losing sight entirely of the great mass of people in the race, and that my program therefore contemplated the uplift of the few, rather than the development of the many.

Neither of these criticisms were really fair to my meaning, although I can easily see today that it was perfectly natural for critics to draw these conclusions. In order to understand, however, just what I had in mind, one must remember certain aspects of my education and what I regarded as the talented tenth. In the surroundings of my family in a little New England town, I felt myself always as a more or less isolated evangelist, who's going to teach the world what my people meant and what they could do. The problem in my mind was not so much as to whether my people could accomplish such things, but as to how their accomplishment could be brought to the attention of the outer world. Now this attitude was tremendously emphasized

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and made vivid. When I went to Fisk University in the fall of 1885, I do not think that most northern Negroes, and certainly few white people who have not come in ~~xx~~ close contact with the older type of Southern Negro college, realize just what an extraordinary institution it was. Of course, therehave been very many varieties, and that this which I attended was by no means typical of all the schools. This Fisk University in 1885 was an excellent shool. I mean by that, that it had good trained teachers, it had sound and thoughtful discipline, it had adequate buildings and while the library and the laboratories were poor; nevertheless, they were places where people could learn. In the second place, the number of students in the college grades of those schoold was very small. They were a selected group. At Fisk University when I went there the whole college department was not more than 25 persons. Teaching these persons, there were a number of unusual white people. There was Adam Spence, who was a gret teacher of Greek and of Music by any standard. There was Chase, who knew his chemistry and physics and also knew human beings and made excellent interpretation. There was Chase who taught German and taught it effectively. There was Morris, a young colored man, younger brother of the great lawyer Edward Morris, who had one of the keenest minds that I have ever come across. Now these teachers devoted themselves wholeheartedly to their work and their ideals were broad and high. They were of course, to some extent, straightlaced in their ethics and narrow in their religion; but in none of these cases were they fanatics.

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Now it was this group of teachers who developed in me, and I am sure in the majority of my fellow students, the idea of the Negro problem as being an evangel, a gospel where chosen men were trained and armed , and went out to take the leadership of the mass. That idea of leadership was continually dinned in our ears and was all the more fruitful, because certainly in my case, and I think in most others we were ready for that concept. We did not regard ourselves as separate and superior to the masses, but rather as a part of the mass which was being equipted and armed for leadership and that

leadership was of course for the benefit of the mass. I can realize now, looking back, that there were some of my fellow students to whom this high ideal was a matter of words and not of ddep and fanatic belief. They listened ~~xx~~ casually and were determined to go out and do the best they could for themselves . They had no deep idea of any sacrifice for the colored people. On the other hand, as I have said there was a considerable number, and I believe majority to whom the idea of the talented tenth was the idea of sacrifice for the mass of people who were worth the sacrifice and who were going to show the world what could be done by pwople who were released from slavery. Now, of course, as I came out into the world and began to work with others for objects which I and they had conceived; I began to realize naturally that there were a great many people who had had the advantage of training, who did not propose to use that training for anything else but their own advancement; and that therefore it did not logically and necessarily follow that because a tenth of the people were talented, that all that talent was going to be used for the people. Moreover, another variation of that idea soon came to me; although that came later, and that was , that the talented tenth did not exist by divine right , that you did not have a group of people of ability coming forward naturally and inevitably so that when you saw the educated and successful man, you saw most of the people who by native ability who should be educated and successful. No! I began to realize that near all this there was a tremendous element of pure accident and chance that we could translate what the great Puritan ~~Englishman~~ said when he saw fellon going to the ~~hangman's noose~~ gallows, "There but ~~by~~ for the grace of God ~~go I~~ John Bradford," that the Negroes who were in school and getting an education were not by any means necessarily and inevitably the Negroes who ought to have had the chance. That large numbers of Negroes of great ability and talent never had the chance to learn, even to read and ~~xxx~~ write. And that therefore the Talented Tenth had no right to preen itself upon the natural way in which it had risen to leadership; but rather should be extremely ~~xxxxx~~ humble to think that by good fate they had the chance to be educated

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when others who deserved even more than they did, had no such opportunity.

When my self criticism began to go further than that, when the socialists, the communists, and other radicals began to say concerning the NAACP and the Urban League and other orgnizations, here you have an example of people who by accident have gotten education, have gotten hold of money and position and are becoming a typical bourgeoisie. You realize, of course, the meaning of that term---the bourgeoisie were the people living in the cities composed a large part of slaves who had run away from the feudalized country and these city dwellers becoming traders and merchants had begun to make money and then insisted upon their right to make money and finally raised the cry of freedom in the 18th century when freedom meant not what we are trying to say today ---the right to think and do as one will, no, it meant freedom of trade and accumulation of wealth . And when there came the revolt--100 years ago this year against the bourgeoisie it was a revolt against the wealth-makers who were trying to be rulers of the world.

Today wealth does rule, to an extent that even those who see and understand it hardly realize. The road to wealth is not as we use to conceive, a free-for-all race with talent and dessert at the head. It is, on the contrary a battle repression with every kind of force in use, slavery, conquest, cheating, war and financial crisis. I need not point out that this is not only true in international relations, it is true in business carried on within the country, where everything from lying, cheating to theft and murder has put people in possession of property and large income . Now the question comes, are we parterners in this kind of oppression and monopoly of income and opportunity, if we are this is a very serious thing. For a long time, I denied this, I answered socialists and communists and radicals of various sort and said , when it comes to the American Negro, you are mistaken in thinking that a well-to-do and satisfied minority is living either by exploitation of their poorer and weaker brothers or by condoning their

exploitation through the hands of other people. We as Negroes, I said, have developed very little differences in wealth and income and consequently those class distinctions due to differences of income which have risen in other groups have not arisen in our group. We are all so near the working class and so bound to them by blood relationship and fellowship that there can be among Negroes no important class distinctions or oppression. I find however, that as time has gone on either I see more clearly and know more, or else things have changed. That as a matter of fact, differences of income within the Negro race have become large and important . Larger and larger number of Negroes are living on the use and exploitation of the labor of other Negroes and that we are building up within the American Negro group, the same kind of economic hierachy which you can see in larger and more developed forms in England, France, the former Germany, Italy and Spain. Now the question is , what shall we do about it? Is it something concerning which we are satisfied nothing can be done, that this is a normal and irrestible development, or is it a situation which can be attacked and changed? No sooner do we state such possibility and the Negro group shares the fear of all other groups that men who advocate economic and social reform are mainly fools and crackpots. Or as we say today are communists and socialists and that it is not only dangerous but unwise to listen to any talk of that sort .

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Our first duty however here is to understand, to understand just what a world wave of reform is trending toward. We are in a situation today, where in every civilized land the problem of the distribution of income is of foremost importance and where thinking men are unwilling to continue to pursue the development which has been paramount in western Europe for two or three centuries. They are asking if it is inevitable that a few people should gain from org nized industry great wealth and power while the mass of people are poor ignorant and diseased and I think it is fair to say that with increasing and almost overwhelming voice they are saying that his situation

can be changed and that if it is not changed, war and financial crisis are goingto ruin present civilization. What we American Negroes must therefore do specifically is to recognize, select and train talent, we must do it naturally among our own children, and if we have no children, we should much more largely adopt children than we do .

There is no excuse today among colored people particularly x for well-to-do single couples to use their ample income simply for their own enjoyment and not to share the burden of the race and the world by adopting and training children and sharing in the burden and vicissitudes of such training . Beyond this we should turn our attention to the organization of the mass of American Negroes. First of all and perhaps formost because we have so many prosperous and successful physicans we should look to the socialization of medicine so as to prevent disease among the mass of people, treat it in modern ways with adequate numbers of practioners and at a price which the mass of people can meet. We in America do not realize how far this is being done in European countries and how far the opposition to it in this country is selfish and unreal for absence of physicans and hospitals, we are the ones that suffer even though we can accomplish income and comfort while the mass of Negroes die. Beyond that we have got to take a stand which will enable Negroes to earn better incomes. The greatest single ? as I have tried to point out for 25 years is Consumers Cooperation. Consumers Cooperation is sweeping the world. It is growing by leaps and bounds in the United States and simply because it is not advertised on the front page of our monopolized press or talked about over the radio, we must not get the impression that it is impractical and inadvisable. It is the greatest organized defense that common people have. Practically the whole population of England is organized in Consumers Cooperatives. Scandinavia bases its prosperity upon them. The Russian Revolution adopted Consumers Cooperation as one of its basic instruments. It was wide-spread in Germany and plays its part in France. There

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should be a concerted movement to bring the facts of Consumers Corporation before the people. I need say but one thing to show its importance, here in the United States we talk and stress production, we advocate selling, we fill the papers with pictures and the radio with advertisements to push the products of the producers, on the other hand, for the most part the consumers stands helpless, unorganized not knowing what he should buy or what he should pay. Consumers Corporation is the organization of the consumers; beyond that our attitude toward the distribution of power, the knowledge of technique and the monopoly of natural resources has got radically to be changed. We have got to realize that wealth is not simply gratification; wealth is power, the power to say what shall be produced, under what conditions producers shall work, what wages they shall get and how much of the income of the state shall be spent for education and the fighting of disease. This power, today and its application through our technical knowledge is monopolized to a degree that is simply unbelievable until one studies it. It has been said recently that a thousand persons practically own and direct power in the United States. Sixty great family fortunes rule the country and in cooperation with similar groups rule the world.

35-2-543.

This kind of monopoly of power has got to be opposed by political and social action and we are the ones joined with other groups and peoples of the world to oppose this monopoly. As a step toward this we need inner organization For a long time the trend has been to oppose or give little t ought to the inner orgnization to the American Negro; with the assumption that any organization which we begin or carry on is a sort of self-imposed segregation which keeps us from admission to world organization or to national cooperation. This is untrue, the world works by means of families, and groups and nations. Nothing has done more to help the Negro into understanding and cooperation with the world than the inner organizations which he has carried on like the Negro church, the Negro college, the Negro fraternity. There is no doubt

but what this inner organization may go too far, it may lead to silly and selfish introversion but on the other hand it is a school of action which trains people for life. You cannot train a citizen of the world by giving up the training which he receives or ought to receive in the family circle. For this reason we should stress the cultural development of American Negroes. And I mean by that not simply those culture patterns which we have inherited from Africa; which probably are not many, but nevertheless in a wide number of cases very valuable. One must remember that cultural patterns are being built up all of the time; that in the three hundred years of our working as a group in America we have organized and carried out varieties of ways in which human beings meet the problems of living and these together make a body of cultural knowledge of infinite value, not only for ourselves, but for others. They should be reserved and guided .

35-2-549

Above all, the family among the well-to-do American Negroes as represented by an organization like this should be carefully established and nurtured. In the first place, our children should be enabled to marry early and have children early, it would be better for the children and better for the parents in the long run. The family could be limited according to common sense by careful and scientific methods. As it is we have followed a European and American pattern of letting the marriages of our children being merely questions of chance, of meetings here and there with persons by no means fitted for married life.

The French method, which was once strong was a great deal better where the parents deliberately planned and arranged marriages of children. Meetings like this for instance ought to be places where marriages are arranged among the children of Archons and where effort was made to see that those children had the economic chance of marriage and could marry early. This means of course especial interest in the careers of young men. There is wide-spread feeling among the younger generation of colored men and women that the older

successful people not only care little about the careers of the young, but actually form a kind of bulwark to keep out and exclude the young from sharing their prosperity. Perhaps this feeling is exa gerated, but there is some bases in it. I have seen professional men and men in business who gave little thought or care as to how their work could be shared and handed on, and the income and position which they had achieved be shared by another generation. This of course is a serious matter, now beyond all this and b ack to this matter of Negro culture. We used to talk of race pride and race loyalty which of course put the stress upon the physical bases of race defictions. We know now that was a wrong emphasis and what we have in the United States bxxxx is a group of people, bound together not so much by their physical characteristics as by their cultural unity, by the fact that they remember the same things, have gone through the same history are suffering the same disadvantages today; so that we still have the beauty and necessity of stressin this cultural unity of asking ourselves and our young people to be loyal to the history of our strife and accompolishment; to know about it, to carry it out, to make it more impressive and effective than it has been in the past.

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THE MORE OR LESS ROUTINE ABSORPTION OF KNOWLEDGE FOR KEEPING UP WITH THE WORLD. THIS WAS TRUE FOR DECADES DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, AND USUALLY HAS BEEN TRUE IN THE SLOW DRIFT OF MANY OTHER CENTURIES. BUT TODAY, THE TIDE RUNS SWIFTLY, AND ALMOST EVERY FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPT WHICH MOST OF US LEARNED IN COLLEGE HAS UNDERGONE RADICAL CHANGE; SO THAT A MAN WHO WAS BROADLY EDUCATED IN 1900 MAY BE WIDELY IGNORANT IN 1948, UNLESS HE HAS MADE CONSCIOUS, CONTINUOUS, AND DETERMINED EFFORT TO KEEP ABREAST WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF KNOWLEDGE AND OF THOUGHT IN THE LAST HALF CENTURY.

41-148-17

FOR INSTANCE, SINCE 1900, PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY HAVE BEEN REVOLUTIONIZED IN MANY OF THEIR BASIC CONCEPTS. ASTRONOMY IS TODAY ALMOST A NEW SCIENCE, AS COMPARED WITH THE TIME OF COPERNICUS. PSYCHOLOGY HAS RISEN FROM GUESS-WORK AND INTROSPECTION TO AN EXACT SCIENCE. BIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY HAVE CHANGED AND EXPANDED WIDELY AND HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY HAVE BEGUN IN THE MIDDLE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, FIRST, TO TAKE ON THE SHAPE OF REAL SCIENCES RATHER THAN

BEING LARGELY THEORY AND OPINION.

IF, NOW, A COLLEGE MAN OF 1900, OR EVEN OF 1925, HAS SPENT HIS TIME SCINCE GRADUATION MAINLY IN MAKING A LIVING, HE IS IN FAIR WAY NOT TO BE ABLE TO UNDERSTAND THE WORLD

[pp 3-5 missing]

ARISTOCRACY. IT WAS FOR A LONG TIME REGARDED AS ALMOST INEVITABLE BECAUSE OF THE SCARCITY OF ABILITY AMONG MEN AND BECAUSE, NATURALLY THE ARISTOCRAT CAME TO REGARD HIMSELF AND HIS WHIMS AS NECESSARILY THE END AND ONLY END OF CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE. AS LONG AS THE MASSES SUPPORTED THIS DOCTRINE, ARISTOCRACY AND MASS MISERY LIVED AMIABLY TOGETHER.

INTO THIS SITUATION, CAME THE REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT FIRST VOICED IN FORMER AGES BY GREAT MORAL LEADERS WHICH ASKED CHARITY FOR THE POOR AND SYMPATHY FOR THE IGNORANT AND SICK. AND EVEN INTIMATED EVENTUAL JUSTICE IN HEAVEN. BUT IN THE SUDDENLY EXPANDING ECONOMY AND MARVELOUS TECHNIQUE OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINTEENTH CENTURIES THERE CAME THE VOICE OF KARL MARX, TO SAY THAT THE POOR NEED NOT ALWAYS BE WITH US, AND THAT ALL MEN COULD AND SHOULD BE FREE FROM POVERTY.

41-149-18

KARL MARX STRESSED THE FACE THAT NOT MERELY THE UPPER CLASS BUT THE MASS OF MEN WERE THE REAL PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. HE INSISTED THAT THE MASSES WERE POOR, IGNORANT, AND SICK, NOT BY SIN OR BY NATURE BUT BY OPPRESSION. HE PREACHED THAT PLANNED PRODUCTION OF GOODS AND JUST DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME WOULD ABOLISH POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE, AND MAKE THE SO-CALLED UPPER-CLASSES, NOT THE EXCEPTION, BUT THE RULE AMONG MANKIND. HE DECLARED THAT THE WORLD WAS NOT FOR THE FEW, BUT FOR THE MANY; THAT OUT OF THE MASSES OF MEN COULD COME OVERWHELMING FLOODS OF ABILITY AND GENIUS, IF WE FREED MEN BY PLAN AND NOT BY RARE CHANCE. CIVILIZATION NOT ONLY COULD BE SHARED BY THE VAST MAJORITY OF MEN, BUT SUCH CIVILIZATION FOUNDED ON A WIDE HUMAN BASE WOULD BE BETTER AND MORE ENDURING THAN ANYTHING THAT THE WORLD HAS SEEN. THE WORLD WOULD THUS ESCAPE THE ENDURING DANGER OF BEING RUN BY A SELFISH FEW FOR ITS OWN ADVANTAGE

ADVANTAGE

VERY GRADUALLY AS THE PHILOSOPHY OF KARL MARX AND MANY OF HIS SUCCESSORS SEEPED INTO MY UNDERSTANDING, I TRIED TO APPLY THIS DOCTRINE WITH REGARD TO NEGROES. MY TALENTED TENTH MUST BE MORE THAN SIMPLY TALENTED AND WORK NOT SIMPLY AS INDIVIDUALS. ITS PASSPORT TO LEADERSHIP WAS NOT SIMPLY LEARNING BUT EXPERT KNOWLEDGE OF MODERN ECONOMICS AS IT AFFECTED AMERICAN NEGROES; AND IN ADDITION TO THIS AND FUNDAMENTAL WOULD BE ITS WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE AND PLAN FOR SUCH ECONOMIC REVOLUTION IN INDUSTRY AND JUST DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AS WOULD MAKE THE RISE OF OUR GROUP POSSIBLE.

41-149-19

MOREOVER, BIOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY WERE RECONSTRUCTING MY IDEA OF RACE. THIS GROUP WAS NOT SIMPLY A PHYSICAL ENTITY. A BLACK PEOPLE, OR A PEOPLE DESCENDED FROM BLACK FOLK. IT WAS, WHAT ALL RACES REALLY ARE, A CULTURAL GROUP. IT IS TOO BAD THAT WE HAVE TO USE THE WORD "CULTURAL" FOR SO MANY MEANINGS. BUT WHAT IT MEANS IN

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THOUGHT IS THAT 15,000

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MODERN SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT IS THAT 15,000,000 MEN AND WOMEN WHO FOR THREE CENTURIES HAVE SHARED COMMON EXPERIENCES AND COMMON SUFFERING AND HAVE WORKED ALL THOSE DAYS AND NIGHTS TOGETHER FOR THEIR OWN SURVIVAL AND PROGRESS; THAT THIS COMPLEX OF HABITS AND MANNERS COULD NOT AND MUST NOT BE LOST. THAT PERSONS SHARING THIS EXPERIENCE FORMED A RACE NO MATTER WHAT THEIR BLOOD MIGHT BE. THAT THIS RACE MUST BE CONSERVED FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE THEMSELVES AND FOR MANKIND. I CAME THEN TO ADVOCATE, NOT MERELY PRIDE OF BIOLOGICAL RACE, BUT A CULTURAL GROUP INTEGRATED AND EXPANDED BY DEVELOPED IDEALS SO AS TO FORM A METHOD OF AMERICAN NEGRO PROGRESS.

IMMEDIATELY THIS POSED A PARADOX. THOSE NEGROES WHO HAD LONG TRA NED THEMSELVES FOR PERSONAL SUCCESS AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM WERE COMING TO REGARD THE DISAPPEARANCE OF SEGREGATION AS AN END AND NOT AS A MEANS. THEY WANTED TO BE AMERICANS, AND THEY DID NOT

41-14A-20

[41 9-12 MISSING]

NOW THE CENTRAL THOUGHT OF ANY CULTURAL EFFORT TO RESTORE THE CIVILIZATION WHICH HAS COLLAPSED IN TOW WORLD WARS AND TO BUILD SOMETHING BETTER IS ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION. IGNORANCE OF THIS CENTRAL FACE IS WIDESPREAD. ECONOMICS IS NOT BEING TAUGHT AS IT SHOULD BE IN THE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES TODAY: AND I MEAN OF COURSE BY ECONOMICS--KNOWLEDGE OF THE MEANING OF WORK, OF HOW IT MAY BEST BE DONE; OF THE SIGNIFICANCE AND OWNERSHIP OF MACHINES OF M THE ROLE OF CREDIT AND MONEY; OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS AND SERVICES OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF HUMAN EFFORT TODAY.

41-149-21

THE NEW ECONOMICS STA TING ALMOST EXACTLY A HUNDRED YEARS AGO IS CLEAR AND UNANSWERABLE IN ITS FACTS AND KNOWLEDGE. IT SAYS THAT NATURE IS THE SOURCE OF ALL WEALTH: THAT HUMAN EFFORT TRANSFORMS NATURAL RESOURCES FOR HUMAN USE: THAT THE RESULTS OF THIS WORK SHOULD BE DIVIDED AMONG MEN ACCORDING TO NEED AND NOT BY CHANCE, OR PRIVILEDGE OR BY INDIVIDUAL POWER. IT SAYS THAT INDUSTRY SHOULD BE

CONTROLLED BY THE STATE. PLANNED BY SCIENCE AND THAT ALL GOODS SHOULD BE OWNED AND DISTRIBUTED IN SUCH WAYS AS RESULT IN THE GREATEST GOOD TO ALL. ALL PERSONS SHOULD BE DUCATED ACCORD NG TO ABILITY AND SHOULD LABOR ACCORDING TO EFFICIENCY AND ACCOMPILSHMENT HEALTH AND HOUSING SOCIAL SECURITY FACILITIES FOR ECREATION AND FOR UNHAMPERED HUMAN INTERCOURSE SHOULD BE PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITIES. WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK OF NECESSARY WORK FOR GENERAL WELFARE THERE ~~MMM~~ SHOULD BE THE WIDEST POSSIBLE AREA RESERVED FOR LIBERTY OF THOUGHT AND OF ACTION AND FOR CREATIVE IDEAL.

THIS PROGRAM OF PROGRESS IS THE CONSENSUS OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD TODAY. IT IS CALLED BY MANY NAMES: SOCIALISM COMMUNISM LIBERALISM CONSUMERS COOPERATION OR PROGRESSIVISM TAKING ITS NAME ACCORDING TO PLACE AND TIME AND EMPHASIS .

IN THE UNITED STATES THIS IDEA HAS MADE WIDE PROGRESS BEGINNING WITH THE POPULIST MOVEMENT, PROGRESSING WITH BRYAN AND LAFOLLETTE AND CULMINATING WITH THE NEW DEAL UNDER FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT BUT IT HAS BEEN STEADILY AND OFTEN SUCCESSFULLY OPPOSED BY INDUSTRIAL INTERESTS WHICH HAVE TRIED DESPERATELY TO MAKE AMERICANS TURN BACK TO THE BELIEF OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES THAT FREE INDIVIDUALENTERPRISE WITH THE LEAST POSSIBLE SOCIAL CONTROL AND SPURRED MAINLY BY THE INCENTIVE OF PRIVATE PROFIT IS THE ONLY METHOD WHICH CAN BRING AND PRESERVE PROSPERITY. THIS DOCTRINE IS CONTRADICTED BY TWO WORLD WARS AND THE IMMINENCE OF A THIRD. IT IS DENIED IN OUR OWN HISTORY BY SIX INDUSTRIAL CRISES , A GREAT DEPRESSION WHICH THREW WORLD INDUSTRY INTO CHAOS, AND THREAT OF ANOTHER TOMORROW.

YET RRIUMPHANT REACTION SPURRED BY FANTASTIC WAR PROFIT IS FORCING THE UNITED STATES AGAINST THE CONSCIOUS OF THE BEST OPINION

41-149-22

OF THE WORLD TO BLOCK REAL ECONOMIC PROGRESS BY MISDIRECTING KNOWLEDGE THROUGH A MONOPOLIZED AND COMMERCIALIZED PRESS AND BY A SERIES OF WITCH-HUNTS TO SCARE AND SILENCE THOUGHT.

T IS IS A DAY OF CRITICAL DANGER TO US AND TO THE WORLD. WHATEVER WE CAN DO TO AVERT DISASTER, IS OUR BOUNDEN DUTY TO ATTEMPT.

THE QUESTION IS THEN: WHO CAN LEAD THE WAY IN THIS EFFORT? HERE COMES A NEW IDEA OF A TALENTED TENTH: THE CONCEPT OF A GROUP LEADERS IP NOT SIMPLY EDUCATED AND SELF-SACRIFICING BUT WITH CLEAR VISION ~~E~~ OF PRESENT WORLD CONDITIONS AND DANGERS AND CONDUCTING AMERICAN NEGROES TO ALLIANCE WITH CULTURE GROUPS IN EUROPE, AMERICA ASIA, AND AFRICA, AND LOOKING TOWARD A NEW WORLD CULTURE. WE CAN DO IT. WE HAVE THE ABILITY. THE ONLY QUESTION IS, HAVE WE THE WILL?

THIS CALLS FOR LEADERSHIP THROUGH SPECIAL ORGANIZATION. THIS ORGANIZATION CALLS FOR MORE THAN A TENTH OF OUR NUMBER. ONE ONE-HUNDREDTH, OR THIRTY THOUSAND PERSONS IS INDICATED WITH A DIRECTING

COUNCIL COMPOSED OF EDUCATED AND SPECIALLY TRAINED EXPERTS IN THE MAIN BRANCHES OF SCIENCE AND THE MAIN CATEGORIES OF HUMAN WORK, SHOULD PRESIDE OVER THIS AND A PAID EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF FIVE OR SIX PERSONS TO CARRY OUT THE PROGRAM.

TO LAUNCH SO LARGE A SCHEME WOULD CALL FOR SO MUCH TIME, MONEY, AND EFFORT, THAT IT WOULD OF COURSE BE MORE PRACTICAL IF AN ALREADY EXISTING BODY COULD BE ADAPTED TO THIS WORK. THE COLLEGE FRATERNITIES WOULD OCCUR TO ALL AS BEST PLACED TO INAUGURATE THIS WORK IF THEY COULD BE PERSUADED OF ITS NECESSITY AND FEASIBILITY. THE UNDER-GRADUATE FRATERNITIES, EVEN WITH THEIR GRADUATE CHAPTERS HAVE PROBABLY A CONSTITUENCY TOO YOUNG AND TOO BUSY TRYING TO MAKE A LIVING. THEN TOO THEY ARE DOMINATED BY RATHER YOUTHFUL IDEALS OF THE MIS-CALLED COLLEGE SPIRIT. NATURALLY I TURN FIRST TO THIS FRATERNITY BUT WITH SOME MISGIVING. WHAT THE GUIDING IDEA OF SIGMA PI PHI WAS, I HAVE NEVER BEEN ABLE TO LEARN. I BELIEVE IT WAS ROOTED IN A CERTAIN

41-1419-23

EXCLUSIVENESS AND SNOBBERY FOR WHICH WE ALL HAVE A YEARNING EVEN IF UNCONFESSED. BUT SUCH AN OBJECT BELONGS TO DAYS OF PEACE AND SECURITY. TODAY IS A TIME OF CRISIS. COULD THEN THIS ORGANIZATION BE ADAPTED TO THE ROLE OF ORGANIZED/SCIENTIFIC LEADERSHIP OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO?

WE CONSIST OF 425 FAMILIES, (OMITTING THE BOULES OF BALTIMORE AND LITTLE ROCK FROM WHOM REPEATED LETTERS AND CARDS, AIRMAILED AND SPECIAL DELIVERED HAVE ELICITED NO RESPONSE. I ASSUME THAT THEY CAN BE LEFT OUT OF ACCOUNT). OF 3,000,000 NEGRO FAMILIES. WE REPRESENT NOT A TENTH, BUT A TEN THOUSANDTH OF THE GROUP.

FIRST OF ALL, WE ARE OLD MEN. ONLY ONE IS UNDER THIRTY: MOST OF THE ARCHONS ARE BETWEEN 30 and 60, AND PROBABLY NEARER 60. MORE THAN A FOURTH ARE OVER _) 60. THIS MEANS THAT BY AND LARGE WE RECEIVED OUR COLLEGE EDUCATION IN THE LAST CENTURY OR THE FIRST FORT DECADE OF THIS, WHEN THE ATOM WAS INDIVISIBLE: WHEN LIGHT ALWAYS SPEAD IN STRAIGHT LINES: WHEN EVOLUTION WAS THE SURVIVAL OF THE

FITTEST: AND WHEN MANKIND CONSISTED OF FIVE SEPARATE, INDESTRUCTABLE RACES AND SOCIALISM WAS A FOOL'S DREAM.

IN OCCUPATION OUR MEMBERSHIP IS NOT WELL-BALANCED. NEARLY HALF (200) ARE PHYSICIANS, DENTISTS, AND PHARMACISTS. THEY ARE THUS MEMBERS OF CLOSED TRADE UNIONS WITH RULES COMING DOWN FROM ANOTHER CENTURY: WITH HIGHLY INDIVIDUALIZED ACTIVITIES AND RESTRICTED PUBLIC CONTACTS AND SOCIAL INTERCOURSE. ON THE OTHER HAND, WITH DEEP PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF INDIVIDUAL HUMAN NATURE.

THE NEXT GROUP, (144 IN NUMBER) ARE TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS OF SCHOOLS, MINISTERS AND SOCIAL WORKERS. THESE MEN ARE MORE IN TOUCH WITH THE NEW E SCIENCE AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS BUT HAVE LITTLE PRACTICAL FIRST-HAND EXPERIENCE IN MODERN INDUSTRY: THAT IS, IN THE VERY ACTIVITY WHICH IS RULING AND CONDITIONING THE MODERN WORLD.

41-14A-24

A FURTHER GROUP OF 65 PERSONS CONSISTS OF LAWYERS AND BUSINESS MEN. THEY NOT ONLY THEMSELVES HAVE LIMITED CONTACT WITH THE LABORING

CLASSES AND THEIR PROBLEMS, BUT ARE OVER-EXPOSED TO AMERICAN BUSINESS PHILOSOPHY--TO THE IDEA OF INDUSTRY PRIMARILY FOR PROFIT OF TRADE UNIONS AS NUISANCES AND OF HIGH WAGES AS INFLATIONARY. THIS COMES NOT ONLY FROM THEIR WORK BUT FROM THEIR CONTACT WITH WHITE FELLOW MEN IN THEIR PROFESSIONS WHO ARE NEARLY ALL OF THE REACTIONARY GROUP. IN THE CASE OF OUR MEN THIS IS MITIGATED SOMEWHAT BY OUR CONTACT WITH THE CRIMINAL CLASSES AND WITH THE POOR. THE REMAINING 30 MEMBERS ARE VARIED IN OCCUPATION BUT DO NOT FILL THE CLEAR VACANCY WHICH WE HAVE SO FAR AS AUTHORS AND ARTISTS ARE CONCERNED. WE HAVE 9 TECHNICIANS BUT THAT IS VERY SMALL NUMBER.

WE DO NOT REPRESENT THEN TYPICAL AMERICA. NOR DO WE REPRESENT AT ALL THE SCIENTIFIC AND SOCIAL LEADERSHIP OF THE MODERN WORLD BECAUSE WE ARE OVERLOADED WITH MEMBERS OF THE PROFESSIONS WEIGHTED TOWARDS AMERICAN BUSINESS WHILE SCIENCE AND ART DESPITE OUR TEACHERS

FALL FAR BEHIND. WE ARE THEN IN THE MASS OF AN OLD TIMID CONSER*-VATIVE GROUP.

WE ARE NOT ACCORDING TO AMERICAN STANDARDS RICH BUT ACCORDING TO WORLD STANDARDS WE ARE DISTINCTLY WELL-TO-DO AND IN THE UPPER ECONOMIC BRACKETS. OF OUR MEMBERSHIP, (126) RECEIVE OVER $10,000 A YEAR AND ALMOST A SCORE OF THESE GET OVER $25,000. THERE ARE 199 FAMILIES WHO RECEIVE FROM $5,000 TO $10,000 A YEAR AND ONLY 86 WHO C NFESS TO LESS THAN $5,000, wHICH MAY BE MODESTY. OUR INTERESTS THEN ARE NOT NORMALLY WITH THE POOR AND HUNGRY, OR EVEN WITH THE UNHOUSED AND THE ORDINARY LABORER. YET WE ARE NOT AWARE OF THIS: WE ASSUME ON THE ONE HAND OUR IDENTITY WITH THE ~~LABORER~~ POOR AND YET WE ACT AND SYMPAT IZE WITH THE RICH AND UNCONSCIOUS DICHOTOMY IT IS A MATTER OF SORROW OR CONGRATULATION ACCORDING TO ONE'S POINT OF VIEW, WHEN WE REMEMBER THAT THIS GROUP IS PROBABLY BOUND FOR EXTINCTION. OF THE FAMILIES 159 HAVE NO CHILDREN. AND 88 ONLY ONE CHILD: 329 FAMILIES HAVE NO GRANDCHILDREN, AND 39 ONLY ONE GRAND-

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CHILD. OUR OTHER 188 MEMBERS MAY, BARRING ACCIDENTS, PARTLY REPRODUCE OUR NUMBER BUT AT PRESENT THEY HAVE ONLY 190 GRANDCHILDREN . WHEN SURVIVAL WOULD CALL FOR APPROXIMATELY 760.

THEORETICALLY THEN THIS IS NOT AN IDEAL GROUP FOR THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP WHICH I HAVE IN MIND. MOREOVER IT FACES PECULIAR TRENDS AND DIFFICULTIES. MAY I NAME SIX OF THESE: FIRST, A DISTINCT IN-DISPOSITION TO RE-EXAMINE TRENDS AND KNOWLEDGE OR TO QUESTION CON-CLUSIONS OF THE PAST.

SECOND, A DISPOSIT ON TO ACCEPT THE VALUES AND DECISIONS OF PRESENT DAY AMERICA. THIRD, A DEEP SEATED DISBELIEF IN ASIA AND AFRICA AND EVEN OF THE WEST INDIES, SPRINGING PARTIALLY FROM THE PREJUDICE OF SURROUNDING AMERICANS: PARTIALLY FROM THE IDEA THAT WE ARE UNUSUAL AND EXCEPTIONAL COLORED FOLK.

FOURTH, A FEELING OF HELPLESSNESS AGAINST TOO GREAT ODDS AND TENDENCIES: IF THE WHITE WORLD IS GOING ALONG AN ACCEPTED PATH

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EVEN IF THAT IS SUICIDE AFTER ALL WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT IT, AND WHAT DO WE WANT TO DO ABOUT IT?

FIFTH, A CURRENT PHILOSOPHY AMONG US AS OLD AS HUMANITY, " EAT DRINK, AND BE MERRY"----A REACTION TOWARDS THROWING OFF THE EXTREME DEPRESSION OF THE DAYS WHEN WE WERE FIGHTING FOR SHEER EXISTENCE AND DETERMINATION TO ENJOY S ME OF THE POSSIBILITIES WHICH OUR INCOME AND NEW FREEDOM OPEN TO US TODAY.

41-14A-26

THIS EXPLAINS THE GENERAL INDULGENCE OF UPPER CLASS NEGROES IN LUXURY, IN POKER PLAYING, FREE SPENDING AND NEGLECT OF THRIFT. AND FINALLY IN SPITE OF SOME OF THE EXTRAORDINARY THINGS WHICH WE HAVE SEEN NEGROES DO IN THE LAST GENERATION IN AMERICA THERE STILL LINGERS AMONG US THE DEEP*SEATED DOUBT OF NEGRO ABILITY TO COPE WITH THE WHITE WORLD.

WE ARE SO PAI FULLY AWARE OF THE DEGRADATION OF MILLIONS OF OUR

MASSES OF THE CRIME AND LECHERY THAT LURK IN NEW YORK, CHICAGO AND NEW ORLEANS: OF THE LYING, DISHONESTY, AND DOUBLE DEALING THAT MARK SO MANY EVEN OF OUR INTELLIGENT AND RICH, THAT WE ASSOCIATE COLOR AND DEGREDATION AND CANNOT MAKE OURSELVES BELIEVE IN ANY REAL TRIUMPH OF BLACK FOLK. FEW OF US KNOW OR TRY TO KNOW WHAT HUMAN DEGRADATION ON THIS EARTH CAN BE AND HAS BEEN AND IS AMONG OTHER AND FAIRER PEOPLES.

BASICALLY THIS CONFRONTS US WITH TWO PROBLEMS: THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MASSES AND THE SACRIFICE NECESSARY TO LEADERSHIP THE UPLIFT OF THE MASS CANNOT BE LEFT TO CHANCE. MARX AND LENIN FIRMLY BELIEVED IT COULD ONLY BE ACCOMPLISHED BY A DICTATORSHIP. I THINK IN THE CASE OF RUSSIA THEY WERE RIGHT BUT IN OUR PLIGHT I THINK WE CAN FREE OUR MASS BY RACE ORGANIZATION AND GROUP INFLUENCE EXERCISED THROUGH A SELF SACRIFICING LEADERSHIP. THIS IS PRIMARILY A QUESTION XXXX OF CHARACTER WHICH I FAILED TO EMPHASIZE IN MY FIRST XXXXXXXXXX

PROPOSAL OF A TALENTED TENTH.

IN THIS REORINTATION OF MY IDEAS MY POINTING OUT THE NEW KNOWLEDGE NECESSARY FOR LEADERSHIP AND NEW IDEAS OF RACE AND CULTURE THERE STILL REMAINS THAT FUNDAMENTAL OF CHARACTER AND BASIC REQUIREMENT FOR ANY SUCCESSFUL LEADERSHIP TOWARD GREAT IDEALS. EVEN IF THE IDEALS ARE CLEARLY PERCEIVED. HONESTY OF CHARACTER AND PURITY OF MOTIVE IS NEEDED WITHOUT WHICH NO EFFORT SUCCEEDS OR DESERVES TO SUCCEED. WE USED TO TALK MUCH OF CHARACTER--PERHAPS TOO MUCH. AT FISK, WE HAD IT DINNED INTO OUR EARS. AT HARVARD WE NEVER MENTIONED IT. WE THOUGHT OF IT: BUT IT WAS NOT GOOD TASTE TO TALK OF IT: AT BERLIN WE QUITE FORGOT IT. BUT THAT WAS REACTION. WE CANNOT HAVE PERFECTION. WE HAVE FEW SAINTS. BUT WE MUST HAVE HONEST MEN OR WE DIE. WE MUST HAVE XXXXXX UNSELFISH FAR SEEING LEADERSHIP OR WE FAIL.

WHAT CAN SIGMA PI PHI DO TO SEE THAT WE GET IT FOR THE AMERICAN NEGRO? SO FAR AS THE GROUP BEFORE ME IS CONCERNED LITTLE

CAN BE DONE FOR THE SIMPLE REASON THAT MOST OF OUR PRESENT MEMBERSHIP WILL SOON BE DEAD. UNLESS WE BEGIN TO RECRUIT THIS FRATERNITY MEMBERSHIP WITH YOUNG MEN AND LARGE NUMBERS OF THEM OUR BIENNIAL CONCLAVES WILL BE INCREASINGLY DEVOTED TO OBITUARIES. WE SHOULD HAVE A LARGE INCREASE OF MEMBERSHIP DRAWN FROM MEN WHO HAVE RECEIVED THEIR COLLEGE EDUCATION SINCE THE FIRST WORLD WAR. THIS NEW MEMBERSHIP MUST NOT SIMPLY BE SUCCESSFUL IN THE AMERICAN SENSE OF BEING RICH: THEY MUST NOT ALL BE PHYSICIANS AND LAWYERS. ON THE OTHER HAND THE TECHNICIANS , BUSINESS MEN, TEACHERS AND SOCIAL WORKERS ADMITTED MUST BE THOSE WHO REALIZE THE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION NOW SWEEPING THE WORLD AND DO NOT THINK THAT PRIVATE PROFIT IS THE MEASURE OF PUBLIC WELFARE. AND TOO: WE MUST DELIBERATELY SEEK HONEST MEN.

THIS SCREENED YOUNG MEMBERSHIP MUST BE FAR GREATER IN NUMBER THAN IT IS NOW. BALTIMORE FOR INSTANCE HAS MORE THEN 166,00 NEGROES

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AND 23 IN ITS BOULE, REPRESENTING LESS THAN 100 PERSONS. SURELY THERE MUST BE AT LEAST 23 OTHER PERSONS IN BALTIMORE WORTHY OF FELLOWSHIP. IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT WE SHOULD EVEN FOR A MOMENT DREAM THAT WITH A MEMBERSHIP OF 440 WE HAVE SCRATCHED EVEN THE TIP OF THE TOP OF THE SURFACE OF A GROUP REPRESENTATIVE OF PONTENTIAL NEGRO LEADERSHIP IN AMERICA. NOTHING BUT CONGENITAL LAZINESS SHOULD KEEP US FROM A MEMBERSHIP OF 3,000 BY THE NEXT BIENNIUM WITHOUT ANY LOWERING OF QUALITY AND A MEMBERSHIP OF 30,000 by 1960. THIS WOULD BE AN ACTUAL NUMERICAL ONE HUNDREDTH OF OUR RACE: A BODY LARGE ENOUGH REALLY TO REPRESENT ALL. YET SMALL ENOUGH TO INSURE EXCEPTIONAL QUALITY: IF SCREENED FOR INTELLIGENT AND DISINTERESTED PLANNING FOR THE AMERICAN NEGRO.

HAVING GOTTEN A GROUP OF PREDOMINANTLY ACTIVE VIRILE MEN OF MIDDLE AGE AND SETTLED OPINIONS WHO HAVE FINISHED THEIR EDUCATION AND BEGUN THEIR LIFE WORK WHAT CAN THEY DO? THEY MUST FIRST OF ALL

41-149-28

RECOGNIZE THE FACT THAT THEIR OWN PLACE IN LIFE IS RIMARILY A MATTER OF OPPORTUNITY RATHER THAN SIMPLY DESERT OR ABILITY. THAT IF SUCH OPPORTUNITY WERE EXTENDED AND BROADENED TEN THOUSAND TIMES AS MANY NEGROES COULD JOIN THE RANKS OF THE EUDCATED AND ABLE: INSTEAD OF SINKING INTO POVERTY DISEASE AND CRIME: THAT THE PRIMARY DUTY OF THIS ORGANIZATION WOULD BE TO FIND DESERT, ABILITY, AND CHARACTER AMONG YOUNG NEGROES AND GIVE THEM EDUCATION AND OPPORTUNITY THAT THE MAJOR OPPORTUNITY SHOULD BE SEEN AS WORK ACCORDING TO GIFT AND TRAINING WITH PAY SUFFICIENT TO FURNISH A DECENT STANDARD OF LIFING AND A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THIS SORT MUST BE PREPARED TO USE PROPAGANDA, MAKE INVESTIGATION PLAN PROCEDURES AND FINANCE PROJECTS. THIS WILL CALL FOR AN INITIAL BODY OF BELIEF WHICH EVEN NOW CAN BE FORECASTE IN OUTLINE.

WE WOULD WANT TO IMPRESS ON THE EMERGING GENERATIONS OF NEGROES IN AMERICA THE IDEAL OF PLAIN LIVING AND HIGH THINKING: THE RE-

HABLITAT ON OF THE INDISPENSABLE FAMILY GROUP BY DELIBERATE PLANINNG OF MARRIAGES WITH MATES SELECTED FOR HEREDITY, PHYSIQUE HEALTH AND BRAINS, WITH LESS INSISTENCE ON COLOR COMELINESS OR ROMANTIC SEX LURE MISCALLED LOVE: YOUTH SHOULD MARRY YOUNG AND HAVE A LIMITED NUMBER OF HEALTHY CHILDREN. THE HOME MUST BE A PLACE OF EDUCATION BOOKS, DISCUSSION AND ENTERTAINM NT, WITH BACK-BREAKING HOUSE WORK ELIMINATED. THE SCHOOLS WHERE THESE CHILDREN ARE SENT MUST NOT BE CHOSEN FOR THE COLOR OF THEIR TEACHERS OR STUDENTS BUT FOR THEIR EFFICIENCY IN EDUCATIONG A PARTICULAR CHILD. IN HOME AND OUT CHILDREN SHOULD LEARN NOT TO NEGLECT OUR ART HERITAGE: MUSIC IS NOT DESIGN [redacted] FOR NIGHT CLUBS AND DANCING IS NOT THE HANDMAID OF PROSTITUTION.

OUR RELIGION WITH ALL OF ITS DOGMA, DEMAGOGUERY, AND SHOWMANSHIP CAN BE A CENTER TO TEACH CHARACTER, RIGHT CONDUCT AND SACRIFICE THERE LIES HERE A CAREER FOR A NEGRO GANDHI AND A HOST OF EARNEST FOLLOWERS.

62-9411-14

THE DARK HOSTS OF LIBERIA, AND ETHIOPIA AND OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA TOGETHER WITH ASIA THE EX PACIFIC LANDS, SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA, AND THE CARIBBEAN AREA HAVE NEED FOR THAT BROAD KNOWLEDGE OF THE WORLD AND SPECIAL TRA NING IN TECHINQUE WHICH WE MIGHT LEARN AND TAKE TO THEM. THEY DO NOT NEED US FOR EXPLOITATION AND GET RICH QUICK SCHEMES. THERE IS NO REASON WHY THE SORT OF THOUGHT AND TEACHING WHICH 2,000 YEARS AGO MADE THE GROVES OF ATHENS THE CENTER OF THE WORLD'S SALVATION COULD NOT LIVE AGAIN IN TEN THOUSAND NEGRO HOMES IN AMERICA TODAY.

OCCUPATION SHOULD NOT AND NEED NOT BE LEFT TO CHANCE OR CONFINED TO WHAT WHITES ARE DOING OR ARE WILLING TO LET US DO. IT MUST INVOLVE INNOVATION AND EXPERIMENT AND PIONEERING: IT MUST BE A CAREFULLY PLANNED THROUGHLY THOUGHT OUT WITH WIDE STUDY OF HUMAN WANTS TECHNICAL POWER, TRA NED EFFORT AND CONSECRATED DEVOTION WITH THE USE OF EVERY SCIENTIFIC PROCEDURE IN PHYSICS, CHEMISTRY, BIOLOGY,

PSYCHOLOGY, SOCIOLOGY AND HISTORY.

FOR THIS CENTRAL OBJECT OF PLANNED WORK, THIS ORGANIZATION SHOULD ASSEMBLE THE BEST KNOWLEDGE SCIENCE AND EXPERIENCE. IT SHOULD ENCOURAGE PIONEERING AND ADVENTURE, ATTACKING DESERT PLACES WITH MODERN TECHNIQUE: PRODUCING NEW GOODS BY NEW PROCESSES: AVOIDING THE FACTORY SYSTEM AND MASS PRODUCTION AS THE LAST WORD IN WORK AND RETURNING TO THE IDEAL OF PERSONAL CONSUMPTION, PERSONAL ARTISTIC TASTE AND HUMAN DESIRE: THINKING OF CONSUMPTION AND THE CONSUMER AS COMING BEFORE AND GUIDING PRODUCTION AND NOT OF PRODUCTION AS THE END OF INDUSTRY AND PROFIT AS ITS MOTIVE.

41-149-30

THE NEW GENERATION MUST LEARN THAT THE OBJECT OF WORL IS NOT PROFIT BUT SERVICE AND HAPPINESS. THEY MUST THEREFORE BE DIRECTED AWAY FROM CAREERS WHICH ARE ANTI SOCIAL AND DISHONEST BUT IMMENSLY PROFITABLE. INSURANCE CAN BE A SOCIAL HELP BUT MUCH OF IT TODAY IS ORGANIZED THEFT. WE MUST HAVE DRUG STORES BUT THE PATENT NOSTRUMS

IN WHICH SO MANY OF THEM DEAL DESERVE THE PENITENTIARY. GAMBLING NOT ONLY AS TEMPTING DIVERSION BUT AS A PROFITABLE CAREER IS SEEPING THROUGH ALL KINDS OF AMERICA BUSINESS FROM THE STOCK MARKET, FACTORY AND WHOLESALE STORE, TO THE NUMBERS RACKET, HORSE RACING, AND RADIO GIFTS. EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO WARN THE NEXT GENERATION AWAY FROM THIS DRY ROT OF DEATH AND CRIME.

AN ORGANIZATION ADAPTED TO SUCH A PROGRAM OF PROPAGANDA AND WORK OF GUIDANCE AND ABLE TO SEARCH FOR AND SELECT ABILITY AND CHARACTER AND FINANCE EFFORTS TO GIVE IT OPPORTUNITY WILL NEED LARGE FUNDS AT ITS DISPOSAL. THE SACRIFICE NECESSARY TO PROVIDE SUCH FUNDS SHOULD BE REGARDED NOT AS SENTIMENTAL CHARITY? OR MUSHY RELIGIOUS FERVOR BUT AS FORESIGHT AND INVESTMENT IN THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA, AND CANNY INSURANCE AGAINST LOSS ON OUR PART AND THE PART OF OUR CHILDREN BY WHOSESALE NEGLECT OF VALUABLE HUMAN RESOURCES.

WE MAY REACH THE HIGH IDEAL WHEN AGAIN THE TITHE, THE TENTH OF OUR INCOME WILL GO TO THE PERFECTLY FEASIBLE EFFORT OF SO CIVILIZING THE AMERICAN NEGRO THAT HE WILL BE ABLE TO LEAD THE WORLD AND WILL WANT TO DO SO.

THIS, THEN, IS MY RE-EXAMINED AND RESTATED THEORY OF THE "TALENTED TENTH," WHICH HAS THUM BECOME THE DOCTRINE OF THE "GUIDING HUNDREDTH."

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ST. NICHOLAS ARENA
NEW YORK, N.Y.

(1)

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and Professions

BEARTOWN BEEBE

By

W. E. B. Du Bois

and Freedom

23-24-1

Continually in my thought of Democracy, I find myself harking back to my boyhood and to that incredible figure of the old and dirty hermit whom we called Beartown Beebe. I was thirteen or fourteen years of age and a student in a small high school with two teachers and perhaps 25 pupils. The High School was not too popular in this rural New England and received from the town a much too small appropriation. But the thing that wxasperated me, was that every Spring at Town Meeting, which I religiously attended, a huge, ragged old man came down from the hills and for an hour or more reviled the High School and demanded its discontinuance.

I remember distinctly how furious I used to get at the stolid town folk, who sat and listened to him. He was nothing and nobody. Yet the town heard him gravely and when he was through, they calmly voted the usual funds for the High School. Gradually as I grew up, I began to see that this was the essence of democracy: listening to the other man's opinion and then voting your own honestly and intelligently.

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With this experience behind me, I am increasingly alarmed today at the recession of this basic idea of the democratic process. I see people growing alarmed at freedom of speech, at expression of opinion, at individual action. And this fear goes far beyond disapprobation of libel, fear of incitement to evil and recoil from injury. On the contrary today we apparently want to stop any expression of ideas which we do not agree with, keep persons from thinking differently from what we think, or acting in any way that we dislike.

We do not seem to realize that here lies danger, if not irreparable disaster: danger of ignorance, danger of fatal mistake and the disaster of failing to do what must be done for human salvation.

(3)

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All this I have felt for many years; but recently it has struck me, personally, so violent a blow that I venture for the first time publicly to make clear my experience, not in defense or attack, but simply to show how absence of free, democratic methods can jeopardize a great cause.

In my active life I have served two institutions: Atlanta University in Georgia, and the NAACP in New York, giving to one 23 years of work, and to the other 27. But my terms of service have been so divided that I have alternated between the two masters. At Atlanta University, from 1897 to 1910, I found a singularly democratic organization. Save in matters of high finance, investment, etc., the faculty of eight members ruled a school of some 200 students of all grades. The students to be sure shared but imperfectly in the democratic method and were under pretty strict discipline. But teachers, president and dean settled all matters after frank and even sharp debate and came to agreement nearly always unanimously. I left this school and was away for 23 years. When I returned in 1934 I was simply aghast at the change. Outside their own

(4)

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classes, the faculty had no part in administration. They met simply to hear decisions made by the President or trustees. Often they knew less than the students of current affairs and they knew that interviews with the president were not desired nor profitable. On the other hand the president was often in the dark as to affairs and thought in the different departments. My dream of helping to build a real and influential university in the lower South faded with the untimely death of President John Hope and after more than two years of groping, I was suddenly retired without notice for the unanswerable reason of age, at a limit which I had already passed when I was hired.

But the prospect was not dark, for I had four offers of employment, two of which would have enabled me to continue my overall study of social conditions in the South. Then came an unexpected and unsolicited offer to rejoin the NAACP. At first I did not reply. But friends and officials put

strong pressure upon me/and reiterated their assurance/of the unanimous desire of all concerned/that I return./ I was flattered and pleased./ I returned oto the NAACP in 1944.

23-24-5

The old NAACP/which I helped found in 1910/ was at the time,/ an unpopular,/ radical organization/ without funds/and with meagre support/among either white or colored people./ A quarter of a century/of back-breaking work,/brought it up to a hundred thousand members,/ a national organ, THE CRISIS,/read throughout the country/ a series of legal triumphs/before the Supreme and state courts/and a program for fighting/lynching, mob-law and discrimination.// But to my mind, when I left in 1934,/ we had but started our work./ We had learned how to fight / but not how to build./ Our program was destructive/but not constructive./ We needed to learn/how to handle the facts of group segregation;/we needed an economic policy/to meet the profit-making ideas of the country;/and we needed a program for Africa and colonial peoples./ But the CRISIS, the open forum/in which I

(6)

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had begun to discuss these steps,/ now failed to be self-supporting/in the depression./ This magazine which I had founded/ without capital in 1910/and which for the last ten years had paid all expenses/ including my salary/at no cost to the NAACP,/ now began to fail to pay outlay./ If it was to survive,/ the NAACP must help support it/from its general funds./ Under such circumstances/I could not hope for that freedom of opinion which I had always exercised/ especially since a considerable part/of the administration/sharply disagreed/with my ideas on segregation, economics and Africa.

Against the desires/of the Board of Directors/ I resigned in 1934,/ and was given a flattering vote/ of regret and appreciation/for what I had tried to do in 23 years.// Up to this time/the NAACP was under the democratic control/ of a Board of Directors/ with free full and sometimes bitter discussion,/ at well-attended meetings/and decisions by majority vote./ Into sharing this democratic

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control/the branches and membership/had not been admitted;/but we knew their admission/was only a matter of time;/ although but the organization/of this wider democracy/ over a vast country/presented a difficult problem.

I returned to the NAACP/after an absence of ten years/during which I had not followed closely/the developments.// The results astonished me. The income had quadrupled,/the membership approached a half-million;/the staff had tripled or more.// It had become a big business,/smoothly run and extraordinarily influential./ The newspapers vied for its releases,/ courts listened to its attorneys,/ and men of prominence/accepted readily/places on its Board of Directors.

But one thing,/ almost from the beginning,/ amazed me/and filled me with foreboding;/ almost every vestige/of democratic method and control/had disappeared/from the central organization./ This change slapped me/hard in the face/within three months.// I had hesitated in accepting this work; I had conferred with officials and friends;/ I had written down my understanding/which with the Secretary

(6)

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assured me/was accepted by the Board "unanimously and with enthusiam."/ Yet When I came for work/the two offices/so necessary for my writing and study/were not furnished me/as promised distinctly;//and when finally in desperation/I hired an outside office/the Board of Directors/without giving me a hearing/voted that I had "exceeded my authority"/and refused to pay the rent./ I lost $476/before the NAACP gave me a small office/in the new building.

I closed my mouth and went to work./ In four years/I wrote two books on colonies and Africa,/ edited two others,/ wrote articles and pamphlets,/ attended four world conferences/and many others/and travelled 20,000 miles/to deliver 150 lectures/ on subjects connected with my department.

Meantime/I tried to grasp how the NAACP/was being directed./ For two years/I attended the meetings of the Board of Directors./ Few persons were present;/there was almost no real discussion./ The only business was to accept/the report/of the Committee on Administration/and refer to this committee/most new

(9)

or unfinished business. Manifestly the Committee on Administration was running the organization. This committee consists of the Secretary, five of his staff, appointed and removed on his recommendation, and nine members of the Board of Directors, only three or four of whom usually attended meetings. Consequently the Secretary and his staff and two directors control the Committee and the whole half-million membership of the NAACP.

23-24-9

The result of this close dictatorship was soon apparent in my work. I tried to confine myself to my department of relations of the organization to Africa, colored folk and colonies. But try as I did I could get no action nor directive as to this work. I was appointed by the Board to represent the NAACP at the UNO at San Francisco, but when the Secretary returned from the war front, he became Consultant and I assistant. I, nevertheless, did what I could. I had been at work less than two years when the Secretary accused me ~~before the Board of Directors~~ of appearing brfore a congressional committee without his consent,

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interfering in a court case of the NAACP; and he demanded to open all my mail. I replied that the congressional committee which had invited me, had not mentioned the NAACP and that my first sentence was that I was speaking for myself and no organization; I added that the Secretary had also been invited and had not responded. I showed that I had not interfered in the School case but merely answered a query about a passage on segregation in my autobiography published in 1941. I refused to let the Secretary open my mail.

23-24-10

Then came the political campaign. I have never belonged to an active political organization, but I have expressed my views on candidates since the election of 1912. I early donned a Wallace button and let it be known that I was going to support him. A poll in the NAACP office showed that 70 per cent of the staff favored Wallace. I was then warned by the Secretary not to take part in "political activity." I replied that I certainly would be careful

(11)

23-24-11

not to appear to speak for the NAACP nor to take its time for active political work; but I assumed that I had the right to vote and to tell my choice; that this was what the NAACP had stood for, for 30 years. The Secretary merely reiterated that the Board insisted that no salaried employee should take part in politics. When later at a non-political meeting in Philadelphia, I advised the audience to vote for Wallace, I was careful to preface my remarks by saying that I did not officially speak for the NAACP or any ~~official~~ of its officers. I was rebuked by the Secretary for this, while at the same time he was making a nation-wide drive for Truman, by letter, telegram, newspaper articles and public speach.

Further difficulty came in the matter of the NAACP appeal to the UN. When it was ready for the press the Secretary, without consulting me as editor, held it up for weeks because he wanted to add an introduction by himself to which I would not consent. Last year the Secretary wanted to go to Geneva for the Human Rights Commission. I maintained that such a journey would be useless. I again urged on the Board to make a clear statement of policy on Africa and colonies. I received no reply nor do I know whether the Board knew of my request as it went through the Secretary and he transmits what he pleases. I tried to get the State Department to put our petition on the agenda of the Assembly of the UN. They refused through Mrs. Roosevelt and she told me personally that if any other nation brought it up she might resign from the US delegation to the UN. This with the attitude of our delegation toward Ethiopia and Trusteeships convinced me that it would be useless to be represented at Paris.

(12)

23-24-12

When therefore the Secretary informed me that he was going and asked for memoranda, I sent him notes; but I refused to attend a conference on the matter, since the Board of Directors had not acted. When I realized that the Secretary was sailing before the Board could act, I sent a memorandum to each member of the Board protesting against the handling of this case which lay in my department. And protesting also against the political activity of the Secretary and his

(13)

23-24-13

representation of his appointment as consultant as reason for supporting Truman. I pointed out that the Annual Meeting of the NAACP, to which I was not invited, was turned into a Truman rally. I sent copies of this protest to the members of the Board, and the office staff. I did not send any copy to any newspaper nor did I speak to any newspaper reporter.

The Board promptly dismissed me from my position effective December 31. They did not discuss at all the facts, but dismissed me for refusing "to cooperate" with the Secretary and for distributing my memorandum before the meeting of the Board.

I ask your pardon for this tedious detail. And hasten to say that the reason is not personal. My fate or that of any other official of the NAACP is not of great importance, but the manner in which a great, nation-wide organization is being ruled today, is important not only for 15 million Negroes but for all men who believe in democratic control of public activities.

(14)

23-24-14

The NAACP has a noble record of which all Negroes and all Americans should be proud. All the more reason that its future path be guided by wisdom and by use of that vast reservoir of human knowledge and experience which we call democracy. It is difficult to guide a mass of people. Continually we are tempted to use our own limited knowledge and experience to push through decisions and and compell action, instead of trusting the slower, muddled, and hesitating development of mass action. Yet without this mass action we land in tyranny and fatal mistake. The hundred thousands of members of the NAACP are not people of the highest education or widest expereince, but that is no excuse for turning their most effective organ of protest and progress into a fascist dictatorship virtually under to control of one man. No one person is great enough in character, ability ~~and~~ or knowledge, to be able unaided and unassisted un-advised and to decide for 500,000 Negroes and speak and act for them. The attempt to do this is fantastic. Moreover if a tenth of this nation can thus be put into the pocket of one person, this will

(15)

23-24-15

be excuse and forecaste of further failure of democratic methods in this land. // We see too much of this attitude already current in the broad areas of business and industry; in the organized church; in social reform and uplift of every sort; // in politics and government; it is the growing custom to narrow control, concentrate power, disregard and disfranchise the public; and assume that certain persons by divine right or by sheer assumption, have the power to do as they think best without consulting the wisdom of mankind. // When disaster follows, as follow it must, it is no excuse that the dictator was busy, sincere and charming; he none the less has committed a crime whether the guilt be his or that of the Board of Directors or the general public.

It is the tragedy of the day that the democracy of which we prate so glibly is being murdered in the house of its friends, and in everyday life far more than in broad governmental decisions. The nation which cannot conduct its philanthropy in a democratic manner will not in the end convince the world that it knows more of good government abroad than it does at home.

Translated into French and sent to France for broadcasting.

October 15, 1948

BROADCAST

By

W. E. B. Du Bois

The United States of America has long boasted that it is a free country; that here men were free to think what they would, say what they thought and act as they pleased so long as their acts did not interfere with the freedom of others.

In accord with this broad belief in freedom, this country has often been a haven of refuge for the persecuted from other lands, for religious non-conformists, like Huguenots and Quakers; for political radicals like Kossuth and Schurz; for Jews and Catholics. We defended the right of our own citizens to complain and accuse and seek redress of grievances. We applauded Patrick Henry when he cried, "Give me Liberty or give me death!" And we honored Washington, Jefferson and Franklin for revolution.

35-2-347

We were not always consistent in our defence of Liberty. We were often to oppress Women and Foreigners and Indians, even when we were proclaiming the equality and freedom of all men, we held millions of black men in slavery. When great Americans like Garrison and Douglass attacked slavery, we reviled and mobbed them. It took a costly and bloody civil war to bring us to our senses and make us realize that profit from unpaid Negro labor had blinded us to our fundamental belief in liberty for all.

Today our ideal of freedom is again in danger. We have become the richest and most powerful nation on earth. Our supremacy has gone to our heads. We have delusions of grandeur and some of us plan to rule mankind. But we forget the reasons for our power, of which the greatest is freedom to think and speak and act over a wide, fertile

land. Moreover we also forget how far our resourses and power are today monopolized and concentrated in the hands of a few of our citizens, who regard an attack on their power as an attack on the country itself. This is illustrated by the recent arreat of twelve leaders of the Communist Party on accusation of seeking to overthrow the Government by violence. We have laws against violence. Not a single one of these men are accused of breaking any law; they have commited not breach of the peace; they have denied to no one the freedom of belief, speech and action which they demand for themselves. But they do ask the right to challenge in thought and speech and legal actions, the assumption of many Americans that private capitalism is the best and only way for America, and the sole cause of its wealth and power.

35-2-348

This assumption has long been challenged by the great thinkers and statesmen of the world and of America itself. The United States has curbed and is curbing private capital for the public good. To stop this trend, powerful interests in this land are trying not only to outlaw communism, but freedom of thought, belief and action on the part of anyonw who challenges the ruling class in the United States today. If Communists or other persons in this country, today, break the laws there are police to arrest them and courts to punich them. But we in the United States are asking, not enforcement of the laws which protect freedom, but new law, or new interpretation of old law which will deny freedom of thought and speech by making belief in Communism a crime in itself. If this indictment stands, we are facing a new era of slavery in the United States, before we are wholly rid of Negro slavery.

Broadcast
W2XBD Du Bois for French Radio. Oct. 15, 1948

Les Etats-Unis/ se sont toujours vantés/ d'être un pays libre;/ ils ont dit/ qu'ici les hommes etaient libre/ de penser ce qu'ils voulaient/ de dire ce qu'ils pensaient/ et d'agir selon leur goûts/ aussi longtemps que leurs actions/ n'intervenaient pas/ avec la liberté des autres

BROADCAST

35-2-343

Selon leur pensée de liberté au large/ ce pays a souvent été/ un havre d'abri/ pour les persecutés/ provenant d'autres pays;/ pour des non-conformistes religieux/ comme les Huguenots et les Quakers;/ pour des radicaux politiques/ comme KOSSUTH et Schurz;/ pour les Juifs et les Catholiques. Nous avons défendu/ le droit des nos Citoyens/ de complaindre/ et/ accuser/ et chercher des réparations/ des griefs/ Nous avons applaudi Patrick Henry/ quand il criait/ "Donnez-moi Liberté ou donnez-moi la mort"/ Et nous avons honoré Washington, Jefferson et Franklin/ pour ~~avoir dégagé la Revo avoir~~ participé dans la revolution

Nous etions pas/ toujours en harmonie/ dans notre défense/ de la liberté/. Nous etions tentés souvent/ d'opprimer des femmes/ des étrangers/ et des peaux-rouges/ même lorsque/ nous proclamions l'egalité et la liberté/ pour tous les hommes/ Nous avons tenu des millions d'hommes

~~Même lorsque nous proclamions l'égalité et la liberté pour~~
~~tous les hommes nous avions fait~~ des millions d'hommes
noirs dans l'esclavage. Lorsque de grands Américains comme
Garrison et Douglass attaquaient l'esclavage nous les
avions insultés et maltraités. Ce ne fut qu'une guerre ci-
vile cruelle et sanglante qui nous ramena à nos sens
et fit réaliser que le profit du travail du nègre
nous avait aveuglés au point que nous ne pouvions pas voir la
liberté pour tout le monde.

Aujourd'hui notre idéal de liberté est en danger.
Nous sommes devenus la nation la plus riche et la plus puis-
sante du monde. Notre sens de supériorité est montée dans
nos têtes. Nous avons la folie des grandeurs et quelques
uns de nous autres ont l'intention de dominer le monde.
Mais nous oublions les raisons pour notre pouvoir,
desquelles la plus grande est la liberté de penser et
de parler et d'agir dans un pays vaste et fertile.
En outre nous oublions aussi combien nos ressources
et pouvoir sont monopolisés aujourd'hui et concentrées
dans les mains de certains de nos concitoyens, qui
considèrent une attaque contre leur pouvoir comme
une attaque contre le pays même.

SF-2-344

Cela s'est montré dans l'emprisonnement récent de douze chefs du parti communiste accusés d'avoir cherché à renverser le gouvernement par la violence. Nous avons des lois contre la violence. Pas un seul de ces hommes n'a été accusé de violer une loi; ils n'ont pas violé la paix; ils n'ont pas refusé à personne la liberté de pensée, parole et action qu'ils demandent pour eux-mêmes. Mais ils demandent le droit de contester en pensée et parole et acte légal l'opinion de beaucoup d'Américains que le capitalisme privé est le meilleur et l'unique chemin pour l'Amérique et la seule cause de sa richesse et de son pouvoir. Cette opinion a été contesté pour longtemps par de grands penseurs et hommes d'état du monde et de l'Amérique elle-même. Les Etats-Unis a restreint et est entrain de restreindre le capital privé pour le bien public. En vue d'arrêter ce mouvement des intérêts puissants dans ce pays essayent non seulement d'interdire le communisme mais aussi la liberté de pensée, opinion et action de la part de tout homme qui conteste la classe régnante dans les Etats-Unis aujourd'hui.

Si des communistes ou d'autres personnes dans ce pays violent les lois il y a la police pour les arrêter et des tribunaux pour les punir. Mais nous dans les Etats-Unis ne demandons pas de fortifier les lois qui protègent la liberté mais une nouvelle loi, ou une inter-

MS-2-345

prétation de la vieille loi qui désavouera la libertée de pensée et de parole en faisant de la foi envers le communisme — un crime. Si cette accusation est soutenue, alors nous serons devant une nouvelle époque de l'esclavage dans les Etats-Unis avant de nous ~~en~~ avoir embarassé ~~entièrement~~ de l'esclavage des Nègres,

35-C-346

Les Etats-Unis se sont toujours vantés d'être un pays libre; ils ont dit qu'ici les hommes étaient libre de penser ce qu'ils voulaient, de dire ce qu'ils pensaient et d'agir selon leurs goûts aussi longtemps que leurs actions n'intervenaient pas avec la liberté des autres.

Selon leur pensée de liberté au large, ce pays a souvent été un havre ~~de refuge~~ d'abri pour les persecutés provenant d'autres pays: pour des non-conformistes religieux comme les Huguenots et les Quakers; pour des radicaux politiques comme Kossuth et Schurz; pour les juifs et les catholiques. Nous avons défendu le droit de nos citoyen de complaindre et accuser et chercher des réparations des griefs. Nous avons applaudi Patrick Henry quand il criait: „Donnez-moi Liberté ou donnez-moi la mort!" Et nous avons honorés Washington, Jefferson et Franklin pour avoir dégagé ~~une~~ la révolution.

Nous n'étions pas toujours en harmonie dans notre défense de la liberté. Nous étions tendés souvent d'opprimer des femmes, des étrangers et des ~~indiens~~ peaux-Rouges.

Hotel St. George, Brooklyn, New York
October 22, 1948

DEMOCRACY FOR PROFESSIONAL MEN

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

For those trained IN THE PROFESSIONS, WE THINK OF FREEDOM AS A SINGULARLY APPROPRIATE IDEAL. FOR THE IGNORANT, FREEDOM MAY OFTEN BE IMPOSSIBLE; AND FOR THE HALF-TRAINED, DANGEROUS. BUT FOR MEN WITH THE BROAD BACKGROUND OF COLLEGE TRAINING, TO WHICH HAS BEEN ADDED SPECIAL TRAINING IN THE SCIENCE AND ART OF AN HISTORIC VOCATION,--HERE IF ANYWHERE, SHOULD BE SCOPE FOR THAT UNCOERCED THOUGHT AND ACTION WHICH HAS EVER BEEN THE IDEAL OF FREE SOULS. IF THIS BE TRUE, WHERE FOR THESE FOLK, COMES THE USE OR PRACTICE OF THE DEMOCRATIC METHOD OF CONTROL AND GUIDANCE?

IN A RECENT REVIEW OF THE CAREER OF THE LATE CHARLES BEARD, ONE WRITER HAS SOUGHT TO EXPLAIN SOME OF THAT GREAT HISTORIANS LATER JUDGMENTS BY SHOWING HOW IN HIS LATER YEARS, DEAFNESS AND A SECLUDED LIFE IN THE COUNTRY, HAD DEPRIVED MR. BEARD OF THAT CONTACT AND CONVERSATION WITH HIS FELLOWS? SO NECESSARY FOR BROAD JUDGMENT. HOW TRUE THIS IS, I DO NOT KNOW; BUT CERTAINLY THE WRITER WAS POINTING TO A GREAT TRUTH: NO MATTER WHAT FREEDOM OF SPIRIT, THE TRAINED MIND MAY ACHIEVE: IN TEACHING AND HEALING IN LAW AND RELIGION: IN THE PLANNING OF INDUSTRY, OR THE CREATION OF ART AND LITERATURE:---IN NO FIELD, IS THE DEMOCRATIC METHOD MORE NECESSARY TO SOUND JUDGMENT AND BROAD ACCOMPLISHMENT, THAN IN THESE FIELDS of human effort. FOR DEMOCRACY, IN ITS ESSENCE, IS NOT SO MUCH COMPULSION AND CONTROL, AS ENLIGHTENMENT AND SOURCE OF LEARNING. NO SOUL IS SO GREAT AND IS SELF-SUFFICIENT, AS NOT TO BE ABLE TO LEARN FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF OTHERS; AND DEMOCRACY IS OPENING

3-2-547

TO THE INDIVIDUAL, THE VAST EXPERIENCE OF OTHER LIVES, LIVED IN OTHER SURROUNDINGS AND AMID OTHER VICISSITUDES OF FATE.

TO CUT ONE'S SELF OFF FROM THIS SOURCE OF LEARNING AND INSPIRATION, IS THE BEGINNING OF FOOLISHNESS, AND THE END IS REFUSAL TO FOLLOW ITS CLEAR TEACHING. NO MEDICAL PRACTITIONER CAN NEGLECT THE IMPACT OF HIS PROFESSIONAL ENVIRONMENT: NO LAWYER CAN REMAIN IGNORANT OF CURRENT LEGAL PRACTICE: NO PAINTER NOR WRITER, TEACHER NOR SCIENTIST, CAN FORGET THAT HIS FELLOWS ARE DOING IN HIS FIELD. GRANTING THIS, HOW FAR CAN THE PROFESSIONAL MAN LEARN FROM HIS FELLOWS AND YET REFUSE TO FOLLOW THEIR TEACHING? SO FAR AS HIS ASSERTION OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM, HURTS NONE BUT HIMSELF, HIS FREEDOM IS AND SHOULD BE COMPLETE. BUT IF, AS IS USUALLY THE CASE, COMPLETE INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM MEANS PUBLIC HURT, THEN THE PROFESSIONS FALL UNDER THE SANCTIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS: THE PHYSICIAN YIELDS TO

35-2-548

SOCIAL MEDICINE IN ORDER TO SAVE MORE HUMAN LIVES: THE WRITER SHAPES HIS IDEAL TOWARD HUMAN GOOD: AND NOT SIMPLY TOWARD PERSONAL EXPRESSION AND THE LAWYER PUTS HUMAN WELFARE AHEAD OF LEGAL CASUISTRY.

BUT THERE REMAINS A MAGNIFICENT FRONTIER BETWEEN FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY WHICH IT IS THE HIGH PRIVILEGE OF THE PROFESSIONAL MAN TO AT ONCE DELIMIT AND DEFEND. ON THIS SIDE LIES THE PUBLIC WEAL: FOOD FOR THE HUNGRY: HOMES AND CLOTHES FOR THE NAKED HEALING FOR THE SICK AND EDUCATIONAFOR ALL. OVER THIS REALMREIREIGN THE COMPULSOINS OF NATURAL LAW, THE SURVIVAL OF LIFE AND THE PROGRESS OF CULTURE BUT ON THE OTHER SIDE LIES TOO THAT LIBERTY OF THOUGHT AND SPEECH, THAT UNTRAMMELED CHALLENGE OF FAITH AND THE UNKNOWN; OUT OF WHICH SALVATION FOR MAN MUST COME, IF ANYWHERE , EVER.

IN PLAIN, EVERYDAY PRACTICE, THEREFORE, THE PROFESSIONS MUST BEFORE ALL OTHERS, WELCOME DMOCRACY AS THE GATEWAY TO SUCH FREEFOM AS IS POSSIBLE WITHOUT CULTURAL DEATH. THERE ARE ESSENTIAL FUNDAMENTALS, WHICH TEACHERS MUST TEACH: BUT THEIR OPINIONS ABOUT WHAT SHOULD BE TAUGHT AND HOW MUST HAVE DUE WEIGHT IN THE FINAL DECISION AND NOT BE LEFT SOLELY TO SUPERINTENDENTS AND BOARDS WHO KNOW NEXT TO NOTHING OF THE REAL PROBLEMS OF SHHOOL LIFE. SOCIAL WORKERS MUST NOT BE MADE THE SLAVES OF EXECUTIVE SECRETARIES, WITH THEIR FUNCTIONS REDUCTED TO AND KNOWLEDGE LIMITED TO PUBLICITY AND INCOME. MANAGERS OF INDUSTRY MUST NOT HAVE THEIR ACTIVITY GEARED TO PRIVATE PROFIT AND VOLUME OF PRODUCTION, BUT DEMOCRATICALLY AIMED AT A BROAD AND DECENT LIVVELIHOOD FOR ALL WORKERS, FROM CAPITALIST AND SHAREHOLDERS TO THE WIDOWS AND ORPHANS OF THE INDUSTRIAL DEAD "BY ACCIDENT."

3-2-549

I AM CONVINCED THAT THE THREAT OF FASCISM TODAY IN THIS LAND LIES MORE CLEARLY IN AREAS OF EVERY DAY LIFE THAN IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS. I VISITED A HIGH SCHOOL LAST SPRING WHERE THE WOMAN PRINCIPAL REIGNED OVER HER TEACHERS ALMOST AS ABSOLUTE MONARCH: HER SUBORDINATES ALMOST CRINGED. I KNOW A UNIVERSITY WHERE THE DIVINE RIGHT OF THE PRESIDENT'S RULE TAXES THE FACULTY WITHOUT ANY REAL REPRESENTATION. THERE ARE HOSPITALS WHERE THE WHIM OF THE HEAD SURGEON IS LAW. I HAVE RECENT REASON TO KNOW THAT THERE ARE GREAT AND NECESSARY ORGANIZATIONS FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS WHERE THE KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE OF THE WORKING PERSONEL ARE VOICELESS AND HELPLESS BEFORE THE MONEY POWER OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY. HERE THEN IN AREAS OF OUR DAILY LIFE IS WHERE THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY MUST

BEGIN AND REACH OUT AND UP TO THE NATION.

BECAUSE HENRY WALLACE, BETTER THAN ANY OTHER CANDIDATE FOR PUBLIC OFFICE TODAY, AND MORE CLEARLY THAN MOST CNADIDATES UNDERSTANDS AND ADVOCATES THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY, WE SUPPORT HIM AND WHETHER HE WINS OR NOT: WE KNOW WELL THAT WHAT HE STANDS FOR MUST WIN IN THE END OR WE PERISH.

35-2-550

Mar

Golden Gate Ballroom
October 29, 1948
New York, New York

During my life, I have had the right to vote for president fifteen times. Once I was out of the country. Five times I was disfranchised because I was living in Georgia. Once here in New York an attempt was made to disfranchise me by certain officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People but that did not succeed.

Of the eight presidential votes which I have actually cast, four have been for democratic candidates, three for republican and one for Farmer-Labor Party. In 1911 I was active in the Socialist Party. Since then I have not been an active member of any party, but have expressed my political views by writing and voting.

35-2-434

In this election, my fifteenth opportunity to help choose a Chief Executive of this nation, I am departing from my life-long custon. I am taking part in a political rally and I am appearing as an enrolled, active member of the progressive party, to introduce to this audience their candidate for president.

I am doing this for two reasons; first, because of the crisis which faces the world, this nation and all persons of Negro descent. And, second, because of the character of the candidate before us.

Two paramount issues face civilization today: War, and the just distribution of wealth. In no previous campaign, during my lifetime, have issues of equal importance and urgency faced American voters. In 1896, I voted on the use of Gold and Silver as money. In 1912, I voted against the Solid South. In 1916, I voted against war. Twice after the first World War, I voted for normalcy and oncefor La Follette and the rights of labor. At the onset of the great depression and for twelve years thereafter, I voted for Roosevelt and a New Deal. In most of these elections, before 1932, the issues before the voters were not

clear-cut, and the candidates were uncertain in their stand. With Roosevelt came increasing clarity, until today, for the first time in fifty years the issues stand out with such clearness and defination, that the fool, even though a wayfaring man may read and understand:

Do we want war? Do we want to fight Russia? Do we want the resourses of this rich land and the taxes wrung from our poverty, used for the progress of the human race or squandered by trigger-happy brass-hats and drunken sailors for the murder of the innocent and the rape of the weak, the poor and the black? These are the issues before us today and they are crystal-clear.

35-2-435

In other previous elections, even when issues could be discerned, the baffling question was to find where the candidates stood on these questions. With most of the candidates in this election, there is the same grave and disturbing uncertainty. And in the past the situation was if possible, worse. I voted for Woodrow Wilson in 1912. Hoping but not knowing that he would stand for the decent treatment of Negroes which he had promised. I was wrong. I voted for Harding and Coolidge, hoping against hope, that each would try to be more than the time-serving politicians which they proved to be. My hope was disappointed. I voted for Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal and my vote was justified by a new charter for labor, an attack on enemployment and low wage and the fair empolyment practices order. Deeply disappointed as I was, with you, when a cheap political deal made Harry Truman vice-president instead of the man who could have sa ved the New Deal I found myself faced with a president in a job just too large for his fatally limited capacity. President Truman wandered back and forth, to and fro, until crying Peace he landed the nation on the brink of war, crying labor he put us in the hands of a military clique and at the beck of Wall Street. He promised Zion to the Jews and gave oil to Britain. Magnificently crying

Civil Rights, he became suddenly afflicted with the worst case of Lock-Jaw, known to modern psychology.

I will not vote for Thomas Dewey, because no matter what he glibly says, I have absolutely no faith in him nor his promises. He stands for big business, monopoly and privilege: He is against organized labor, and his followers are among those tonight financing the revolt against Civil Rights in the South.

35-2-436

I am voting then next Tuesday for the progressive party and taking my stand within its ranks as the only party able and willing to carry out the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt and particularly because under the leadership of a man in whose honest and unequivocal character, I have unquestioning confidence. The Progressive Party has declared War against war, that greatest threat and horror of our day; and war against women and children, in its most inexcusable form and ~~xx~~ cruelest deed.

I am voting for the candidate of the Progressive Party, not because of any glibness of phrase or multiplicity of promises but because I know that with straight-forward honesty of purpose, at cost of any sacrifice of popularity or ease, tired and crucified as he is, he will live up to what he says.

I am not deterred from this decision by the fear that after this election I may awake to find that I am not seated on a victorious band-wagon. I have never known a great and worthy cause that has not had to fight and fight again for ultimate victory as the cursade against slavery so nobly shows. No vote is thrown away that is cast for the right. No great cause dies unless it commits suicide.

I hold it truth, with him who sings
To one clear harp, in divers tones
That men may rise on stepping-stones
Of their dead selves, to higher things

Because then I know that when this candidate of the Progressive Party says Civil Rights, he means Civil Rights, I will vote for the man whom I now have the honor to present to this audience; HENRY WALLACE!

Mass

Roanoke, Virginia
Mass Meeting, NAACP Branch
November 17, 1948

THE PROBLEMS OF NEGRO ORGANIZATION

By

W. E. B. Du Bois

From the very first it has been difficult for American Negroes to organize themselves for their own development and to resist aggression. The four great difficulties were of course Ignorance: the fact that for centuries most Negroes could not learn to read and write: Inexperience: that is lack of knowledge of what other people were doing and how they accomplish their work; third Poverty--the low income of slaves and of freedmen, and the consequent lack of funds for general purposes; and finally caste restrictions. The segregation and discrimination which colored people have always met in the United States.

35-2-437

Despite this and because of it, Negroes began even before the 18th century to organize and fight for greater freedom. Perhaps it would be well in this case to omit the slave revolts and organized efforts to run away and to begin with the last years of the 18th century and note that organization and revolt which began with the formation of what was ultimately The African Methodist Church.

You know the incidents that accompanied that organization. Negroes after being received for sometime in the Great St. Georges Methodist Church in Philadelphia were suddenly one Sunday asked to retire to the balcony. Led by Absalom Jones and Richard Allen they formed a sort of mutual aid organization. Eventually however, it divided into two parts; one of which became an independent church, the other an organization in the white Episcopal church. The independent organization as you know perisists to our day and there were other instances like the Zion Church where similar incidents led to Negro organizations. Later in the 19th century Negroes took a very xonsiderable and decisive part in the abolition movement as speakers and agnents and as members of organizations which carried through the underground railroad.

In the decade before the Civil War and extending until the 70's came the new era of conventions. This was significent as an attempt at democratic settelemtn of a difficult problem, the future of blak folk in the United States. When the conventions began, the mass of Negroes were in slavery and toward the 60's it looked as though that status was going to be permanent. The question therefore, was what to do? And in the conventions that met, especially that celebrated convention of 1854 in Rochester, four different ideas came out; those who wanted to xxxxxx stay and fight it out in the United States; those who w nted to migrate to Haiti: those who wanted to migrate to Mexico; and those who wished to go to Africa. Before much could be done to implement these paths, there came the Civil War and Emancipation. It looked for a while as though Negro organizations was going to be able to merge with white organizations in a great fight for democracy. That was frustrated by the disfr nchisement of the Negroes in 1876.

For a time the Negro was non-plussed; he tried xx migration to different parts of the United States; he tried some small organizations, until finally along about 1890 there came the organization of the Equal

Rights Association in Boston. I remember as a student at Harvard, attending some of its meetings in the Charles Street Church. It consisted mostly of arguments and I had the natural impatience of youth as argument without action. About 10 years later, there came the Afro-American council. It was a more pretentious organization. It had centers in various cities but it had no continuing central organization and program. There was a meeting once a year and then everyth ng lapsed and had to be taken from the beginning. Little or nothing happened between meetings. This of course was unsatisfactory.

Meantime there developed distinct differences of opinion among thinking Negroes. Beginning with the celebrated speech of Booker Washington in 1895, and continuing for ten years Negroes we e devided more and more distinctly into those who saw salvation in training for trades, and work; and those who on the other hand, wanted to press demands for political rights and fora well educated le dership.

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I, myself, as a young teacher, at the age of 32, was inclined to emphasize the need of educated leadership, but at the same time to recognize the importance of industrial training. I attended assiduously the conferences at Hampton Institute: I even considered the invitation to go to Tuskegee Institute as teacher and helper to Mr. Washington. But as I studied the situation and continued my efforts to make an over all survey of the Negro problem at Atlanta University, I became more and more convinced that the trade-teaching program alone would not do. I said this frankly at Hampton and finally I published a chapter on Mr. Washington in my SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, which I still think is a very fair and appreciative estimate of his work.

I said in 1903, "The Black Men of America have a duty to perform, a duty stern and delicate, a forward movement to oppose a part of the work of their greatest leader. So far as Mr. Washington preaches thrift, p patience, and industrial training for the masses, we must hold up his hands and strive with him, refjoling in his honors and glorying in the strength of this Joshua called of God and of man to lead the headless host. But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, north or south, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, belittles the emasculating effects of caste distinctions, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brithter minds,--so far as he, the South or the nation, does this,---we must unceasingly and firmly oppose then, By every civilized and pe ceful method we must strive for the rights which the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the fathers would fain forget: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'"

This at itude, written in 1903 turned into stronger feeling and language when Monroe Trotter of Boston, a young colored man, son of a former recorder of deeds, in the district of Columbia, was arrested and charged with disorder for try ng to heckle Mr. Washington in one of his public meetings. Trotter was not only arrested he was put in the Charles street jail and kept there for several days.

I was greatly excited over this and immediately wrote to various friends throughout the country; saying that we ought to get together and make up our minds just wh t attitude to take. The result was a meeting at Niagara Falls in 1905 when we formed the Niagara movement. And that movement made a

straight forward declaration for Negroes to fight for every right to which an American citizen was entitled.

The meeting and movement caused a great deal of agitation. We were called rather hard names by the white press and by most of the Negro press. But nevertheless we went ahead and in 1906 we held at Harper's Ferry, what was in many ways the greatest meeting of American Negroes: Not in size but in intensity of belief and devotion to a great ideal. Present at that meeting was Mary White Ovington, of New York, and in 1908 when a lynching took place at Springfield, Illinois, where Abraham Lincoln lies buried, Miss Ovington, William English Walling, Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of Garrison, and others, came together in New York and said that it was time to finish the emancipation which Abraham Lincoln began; they called a conference for 1909 and I, as head of the Niagara Movement was asked to join and speak. The result of that was in 1910, we organized and incorporated The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was a merger of this white group in New York and of the persons who had been following the Niagara Movement. Thus there began a new organization among American Negroes and their friends for the specific and direct object of freeing Negroes from caste restrictions in the United States.

35-2-439

The path that lay before us was not easy: in the first place, there was the suspicion among Negroes that the whites who were connected with this organization were not to be trusted. For that teason, Mr. Trotter and other promeninent leaders like Ida Wells Barnett would not join the new organization. Then too, on the other side, was fear that this was going to be an orgnization designed for personal attack upon Mr. Washington who was at the time, the most popular Negro in the United States and the most powerful. He was widely known and respected. He not only was the arbitrator when it came to questions of education and distribution of charitable funds, but he also had great political power North and South. If we, as a new organization, had started making him a target of our attack, we would have been severely handicapped from the first; but we were rather careful not to do that. On the other hand, our program was and had to be different from his. It was known that we put different emphasis upon what the Negro needed but we never were successfully charged with personal attack on Mr. Washington.

I was asked to come to the NAACP with the thought that eventually I would be its secretary and executive head. But during my whole career, I have tried to keep from Executive work and to emphasize my research and scientific interpretation as the best contribution which I could make. Consequently, instead of seeking or accepting the position of executive secretary, I became director of publications and research, with the idea of starting a monthly magazine and of continuing the research program which I had begun at Atlanta University.

We had difficulty in finding the proper person as executive secretary. First we had a white woman, May Childs Nermey, who did a good but conventional office job, without any real knowledge of the background of racial strife in the United States. Then after two temporary incumbents, we secured John Shillady. Shillady, a white man, was experienced in the technique of organization. He organized the NAACP in modern form. First, in the matter of salaries, giving good and sufficient pay; and then particularly in the matter of publicity; getting our work known to the press; and to the organization of meetings. But Shillady himself did not

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realize what we were up against in fighting race prejudice in the United States. And when he made a trip to Texas and faced mob violence, he came back and said frankly that he doubted if our program could be put through. Eventually he went to an asylum for the insane. He was succeeded by James Weldon Johnson and then we got nto our stride and began to put the Association into its present form.

In the meantime, my work had developed in the founding of the CRISIS Very few people wanted us to undertake such a magazine. Some of my best friends on the Board advised strongly against it; but I was convinced that unless we had an organ which the mass of the people would read, and which would put our case before them, we could not succeed. There was at the time little dependence to be put upon the Negro weekly press: There were a few good papers, but on the whole they were very poor, with narrow circulation and with scant news coverage.

I began my little magazine with a department called the Horizon, and afterward Along The Color Line, giving a sereies of short statements about what had been happening among colored people and of interest to them throughout the United States and thw rold. It was a very popular department. To this I added strong editorial statements and exposition of the point of view of the NAACP.

THE CRISIS, beginning with no capital and with an edition of one thousand copies in 1910, developed so that in 1920, it had a circulation of over one hundred thousand copies and was extraordinarily successful. For years it was the most prosperous and best known part of the organization and because of that I was allowed unusual freedom of expression and my editorial columns were read widely, not only by those who believed in our program but by those who did not.

However, when the depression came, beginn ng with us before 1929 and continuing with greater intensity up to 1933, it became clear to me that the CRISIS could no longer be self-sup orting. From 1915 to 1928, for a period of more than ten years the CRISIS had cost the NAACP nothing. We had paid the salaries of all of our employees including myself and the expenses of publication and distribution. Beginning however with 1930, the income did not cover the expense and I knew that, quite naturally, if the Association had to help support the magazine, my freedom of expression would be less and less. Therefore, in 1934 I gave up the editorship of the magazine and decided to go with John Hope back to Atlanta University and devote the remaining years of my life to teaching and writing.

Of course, there were difference of ideaology within the NAACP that had arisen by that time. I had my own ideas as to how they should be faced and settled, but I did not think it was my job to carry them out. I was at the time sixty five years of age, I had devoted nearly a quarter of a century to work for the NAACP and it seemed to me that younger men must now take up the necessary re-direction of its policies. Because an organization, if it is going to live and function, must from time to time reconsider its work, and readjust itself to the new development which are continually taking place in the social growth of the world.

In the case of the NAACP there had come several real problems. Basically they were the difficult problems of democracy and democratic contr l. Most people, I think do not clearly understand what is meant by democracy. I always like to tell the story of my youth and what it taught me with regard to the democratic method.

23-2-441

I was born in a little New England town, of some five thousand inhabitants which was governed b the New England method of the Town meeting. This meant that all men 21 years of age or more met annually in the spring and discussed the policies of the town; decided about taxes and appropriations and elected the few officials who were to carry on the work.

In this meeting, everyone had a right to speak. Of course not many actually did, because New England people are not very talkative; and yet the right was there and many availed themselves of it. There was one matter however that came very near to me. We had a high school in which I was a pupil it cnsisted of two teachers, a principal and his assistant; and one class room. The high school did not have enough money to carry on its work as it should ; nevertheless the town --while glad to support it was not disposed to appropriate any larger sum. But one incident which recurred every year exasperated me. During the town meeting there used to come down from the hills an incredibly dirty, old and ragged man-- Beartown Beebe. Regularly ~~x~~ Beartown Beebe would get up in town meeting and make a tirade against the high school and ask that its approproation be reduced or cut off entirely.

I was furious because he was allowed to speak in this way, and my favorite school should be attacked by a man of no account and nor real responsibility: But the members of the town meeting used to sit very patiently and hear every thing that Mr. Beebe had to say: and then after he was through they would go to work and vote the same approproation that they had always voted for the high school. They refused to cut off the appropriation as Beebe wanted them to: they refused also to increase it as I and many older people wanted. Now this became to me afterward an examply of what democracy means. It meant that everybody in that town had the right to express himself to twll his experience and opinion, and then having heard all sides, the people of the town decided.

To many other people since that, I have found that there is a temptation not to listen to the side of persons who disagree with them. Now that may mean that you get your way, and that what you want goes through; but it also means that you are depriving yourself of a great deal of information which you ought to have, in order to come to a full and fair conclusion. And that is the meaning of democracy. It is not simply a matter of having your own way. It is a matter of your being able to express your opinion after you have heard the opinion of others; and the opinions of ~~xx~~ others are of advantage and value to you because they are the experience of people working in the same world and under the same circumstances in which you are working.

Now this problem of democracy came before the NAACP. A small group-- perhaps six or eight people from 1910 to 1934--really ran the NAACP and decided its policies. But in addition to that we were beginning to get members throughout the country: so that we had a considerable number of branches and a growing membership. The question now was, what voice that membership should have in the conduct of the organization? And we were not certain at that time: we are not certain today. It still remains a very important problem ~~xxxx~~ before the NAACP, which has not yet been worked out.

In addition to that there were not only these branches of adults, but several times during the history of the NAACP, we have tried to organize the youth: the idea being that young people of high school and

college age; not yet voters, but voters in prospect, ought to be organized so as to understand what the NAACP was and eventually to take over the control of it.

As a matter of fact, we never have been successful in the organization of youth. We would get them together in organizations and the only thing that they were expected to do by the officials in New York was to raise money. Just as soon as they became to express themselves as to policies, and especially if they wanted to take actual part, they were stopped. Several times this has meant the practical disruption of our youth movement. Today we are in the same difficulty.

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There were certain matters of which we were frightened. At first it was the question of our attitude toward Mr. Washington and toward white friends who were cooperating with us and then after that there were several attempts to seize and use the machinery and membership of the NAACP for purely political propaganda.

We had to fight strongly against these dangers and for that reason we began more and more to concentrate the real power of the organization in the New York office. But even there there were difficulties: for instance, take the matter of legal defense: There are two conceptions of that: one is the matter of getting cases which will enalbe us to fix great nationsl policies. In that m tter, we are not thinking so much of the individual involved in the case, but of the possible court decisions.

This is an important work and probably the NAACP HAS done its greatest service to the Negro race and to America in the extraordinary series of court decisions which it has obtained. But this is not the whole of the problem; there is the problem of individual legal def nse, of defending the man who is arbitrarily arrested, who is falsly accused; where the matter is not a question of legal decision and interpretation of law, but of defending the weak and the lowly, under laws which are already clear and simply need honest enforcement.

Now we have done some work of this sort, but it has not been done systematically, and there is no wide program that would call for a great more effort than we are making. It should be impossible in the United States for any Negro to be arrested and not receive the proper kind of careful defense. This would involve large sums of money, and it would involve also decentralized control and supervision. We have not gone into that; we have on the other hand used a few cases for wide publicity and for raising money, while the great mass of unjustly treated Negroes go undefended.

Now beyond that comes the very important question of segregation. It was really there that the beginn ng of wide differences of opinion between myself and other persons conducting the NAACP began to develop in 1934. I believe then, and still believe, that segregation and discriminat on based solely upon race, and color is unwise, unjust and undemocratic: and that it whouls be done away with. In that attitude I have never wavered and see no reason for wavering today.

At the same time, when it comes to efforts to do away with segregation we have got to take more into consideration than we have taken. For instance in the question of the public schools. We have almost a complete system of Negro education in the South and partically in parts of the North. We have teachers, buildings, equipment and students. We have been fighting in the courts to stop the legal basis of this segregation. But we have done t is by trying to compel the whites to

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receive Negro students in their schools, while we have not done anything to compel them to continue employment of Negro teachers, or to compel them to see that the teaching which is done in schools would be the sort of teaching that we want our children to receive.

Or in other words we have not looked upon this problem of segregation in education as a complete whole: we have looked on and pushed only one part of it. And if we should be successful merely in that one part, the result might be disastrous. We must remember that a large number of Negroes receiving higher education in the institutions of the North and even abroad, do so because they are sure of employment in ~~white~~ Negro colleges and schools. That if they had to depend upon possible employment in white colleges, they would remember that the number so employed is very small and their chances of self support very narrow. Consequently, what might happen would be that the number of Negroes in the institutions of higher learning would become less and instead of having a trained group as the intellectual leaders of our race that group would grow progressively smaller and smaller.

What I was advocating in 1934 and have favored since is that our study of this problem should be made broad and complete; taking into account, not simply the segregation of Negro students, but the opportunities of Negro teachers and the content of the teaching: and that involves the employment not simply of lawyers, but of trained students in sociology and psychology and leaders and thinkers of all sorts, brought toegther for consultation for work in common for great and important ends.

I had even gone fu ther, and said that with all legal segregation of races abolished, ~~it~~ as it should be, nevertheless, there was a place and a necessity for voluntary organization of American Negroes on a sultureal basis, to entend and broadentheir culture and to give to the world the gifts whihh the peoples of Africa can give, if they understand and study them and work for their dissemination in the world. That civilization grows by what different cultural groups give to it by working together. THE NAACP has come ~~first~~ definitely to oppose such Negro effort.

Let me remind you of one thing: today is a time in history when there has been and is going on extraordinary development in many areas of science: In history, anthropology and sociology, so that exact methods of study and measurements are making the study of the actions of men scientific and within limits predictable. Psychology has opened up a new field of scientific study of the thoughts and f elings of human beings. Economics has come to be a scientific guide for the organization of human work and planning of industry. Any organizati n today which undertakes to guide social action must rely for advice on trained, expert knowledge in sociology, history, psychology and economics. Without this, the organization is helpless and at sea, and floundering about in outmoded nineteenth century emoti nal philanthropy. The NAACP has, outside my office, not one person in its employ, trained in a single field of these branches of science. Most of its executives have not even a first class college training , much less, the discipline of graduate and professional work. No trained sociologist, no psychologist, historian or economist of eminence has ever been offered a job with the NAACP, or ever will under its present organization. We have no library on these matters.

We who ought to head research on the sociology of the Negro, on the history and development of African peoples; on the psychology of segregation and discrimination: on the economics of Negro empolyment: Have not taken a single setp toward any of these scientific methods of studying the race

problem, but have put all our energies in court cases and alms-giving.

Finally and beyond this in 1934 and later to impress it upon the NAACP, that there was an economic and industrial revolution going on in the world; that theycease to be indifferent to this revolution and stop sitting back and assuming that we have the [illegible] same kind of development in business and industry today as that which characterized the 19th century.

I had in mind the development of socialism in the world: the curb whcih must be put upon we lth and capitalism in this country and [illegible] else where: and the need of voluntary organization like consumers corporation among Negro groups. I emphasized and expounded my ideas by group meetings in my office in New York, and especially by the resolutions adopted by the ammual meetings of the NAACP which I am afraid few people understood in their implications, but if you will read those resolutions as adopted by the NAACP from 1920 to 1932 you will realize whait I was thinking of and emphasizing. But there was no response to this inside the NAACP. There is not connected with the organization today--outisde of my office, a single executive officer that has any real and careful knowledge of the reorganization of industry which is going on today throughout the world; and against this I have protested in the past and have spoken since my return to the organization.

We have, therefore, today in the NAACP a small group, consisting really of three persons, whose will is decisive for the policies and ac on of the organization. We have a membership which amounts today to some 300,000 and has once approached the half mil ion mark but no longer does so. A membership that does not have any real leadership in the broader aspects of the problem. We have a central office, deprived of the information and direction which a democratically controlled organization might bring to bear. In other words, the branches are still so subordinate and so helpless in the gneral organization of the NAACP, which is the only final guide to effective organization.

I have sent to your officials a st tement as to how the NAACP is organized at the present. It has a Board of Directors who are largely ornamental and windown dressing. I mean that dist nguished persons consent to have their name put down on the list on condition that they be not compelled to attend the meetin s or to have any particular duties. The great majority of them have never attended a meeting; a [illegible] small number of usually less than a dozen directors, resident in and near New York, attend the meetings and transact the business. The meetings are routine and on the whole un-interesting: they consist in adopting the report of the committee of administration.

I attended these meetings for a year or more, and I do not think that I ever heard a report of the committee on administration seriously questioned. For the m st part the report goes through without question; sometimes there may be a little debate, but even in that case, the final decison on the matter is referred back to the committee on administration. The committee on administration therefore is the real body which rules the quarter of a million members ip of the NAACP. That committee theorerically consists of the Secretary and his staff and nine members of the Board of Directors. As a matter of fact it consists of the Secfetary, because since he ap oints his staff, they practically never oppose a ything that he sugg st. It therefore consists of the Secretary with six votes.

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These six votes with the votes of two other persons are decisive for the report of the committee. Two other persons who are the key persons are the president of the Association, Mr. Arthur Spingarn, and the chairman of the Board, Dr. Louis T. Wright. These three persons, then, the Secretary, Spingarn and Wright, run the Association. It is throretically possible for enough mambers of the committee on administration to be present to override the secretary with his six votes, but it is impossible even if the whole committee were there to override the secretary and these two officials.

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It is necessary to consider these officials --Arthur Spingarn is a lawyer. His chief interest is law and the administration of estates. He does not pretend to have any broad social background; the tech nical job of winning a court case is his chief interest.

The result is that the legal department is well run. It has its own segregated funds, which are under the control of a legal committee and Mr. Spingarn has chief voice in that committtee. The court cases are won: but the whole social background is absolutely neglected. Louis Wright, on the other hand, is head of a hospital, used to making quick and abrupt decisions and with a certain contempt for the masses. He has not b en well for a long time, he acts on impulse very often, inspite of his basic goodwill.

Here now is a set-up, which gives to one man, the Secretary of the Association, greater power than any one man oughtto try to exercise. Walter White is a tireless and indefatigable worker, but egotistic to an extreme which is almost pathological, and greedy for publicity. He is about the last man that would loan himslef to any kind of democratic organization. The result is that the work of the NAACP is today concentrated on the legal department, and the department of publicity, which shown by the fact that the department has had five different persons within six years to do its work. Publicity is given to the winning of court cases, and to the speeches and accomplishments of Mr. White and to other matters which Negroes might be interested but not to a careful survey of opinion, of the wider aspects of our fight and its implications, and particularly with almost no reference to the international aspects of the color problem. There is no chance for real x dissent to this program. There is no chance for any opinion to be expressed much less publicized, which is not the opinion of the Secretary, Mr. Spingarn and Mr. Wright. It was hes that my real difficulty arose.

First of all, I have been used in the ~~lxxi~~ last fifty years of expressing my views frankly. They were not always right, but they were always sincere and not forced by self interest or the opinion of others. I had no dream of returning to the NAACP in 1934, when I was asked and urged to return to the Association there was no question but what my right of opinion would be the same as it had always been. The matter was not for a moment discussed. I was promised freedom of action and a right to work as I wished. Of course I was xx to work withing the framework of the organization with Mr. White as my superior officer. But it was not understood that I was to furnish Mr. White materials for his speeches, or that I was to say and believe only what Mr. White said and believed.

Therefore, there came the question, as it does everyfour years about the attitude of the NAACP toward the political campaign. It was perfectly right for the NAACP as an organization to say that it dod not take political sides and did not engage in political activity; and that would have best been shown if various persons connected with the NAACP, in their individual capacity, expressed their varouis idea; there areon the board and on the staff, republicans, democrats and progressives. As indifiduals they had a right to express their opinion and to ote their ideas. In no case, not even in the case of the Secretary had they a right to speak officially for the Association; but this was not sufficient for Mr. White or the other persons who stand by him. They wanted to stop me from making known my political choices in any way, and they allowed Mr. White pracitcally to go on the stump.

It was not a question as to whether he was right or not; he had a perfect right to

vote for Mr. Truman. On the other hand, I also should have had the right to speak for Mr. Wallace and to take part in political meetings, so long as I made it perfectly clear that I was speaking as an individual and not representing any organization.

This was the chief matter of difference of opinion, but there followed a more important matter. I have said the NAACP has taken no attitude toward the international aspects of the color question. The people of India have gone all out to defend Negroes in Africa: the peoples of Africa have organized and strug-led in various ways and one of the chief reasons of my returning to the NAACP was to attend and support the Pan-African Congresses which I founded in 1918.

Unnecessary difficulties were put in my way by the administration, but I went to the Pan African Congress of 1945. I returned asking for some funds to support their work. For small contributions in order to issue publications which would increase the knowledge of Africa among American Negroes for some expression on the part of the Association to show their interest in Africa. I was unable to get a single action.. All of my requests went to the Secretary and whether or not they ever reached the Board I do not know. Nevertheless, I kept up my interest in the Pan African Movement and in the international developments of the color line, as a part of my special department of the NAACP. I ~~edited~~ wrote two books and edited our petition to the United Nations, notwithstanding that and as a gesture which seemed to me to be mainly political, Mr. White accepted appointment to the United Nations, which under the cirumstances could not possibly have accomplished anything. Everything that could be done and ought to have been done, could be done right here in the United States by bringing pressure upon the United States to allow our petition to be discussed in the Assembly and by taking a stand on Africa, by the Board.

I protested publicly and vigorously, not because I wanted to go to Paris instead of Mr. White, but because I insisted that there was no need of anyone going at large expense under the circumstances. What I said proved perfectly true. Mr. White returned without being able to anything under the organization of the American delegation to the United ~~States~~ Nations. Nevertheless ~~I was~~ because of the publicity which I gave to my protest I was dismissed from my position in the NAACP.

I am talking to you about these tings for no personal reason. I am not ask ng to be connected with the NAACP in any way whatsoever. What I am asking is that the NAACP be an organization where the opinion and the experience and will of the mass of the membership be consulted before final action is taken.

I know perfectly well that this is a difficult thing to accomplish; but no matter how difficult it is, it is absolutely indispensalbe, if we are going to have an organization which adapts itself to the needs of the time and to the changes of the time. There is no way of accomplishing t is ex ept by the democratic method, by consulta ion and by decision on the part of the mass of members. We are always tempted in our everyday life, in our churches, in our organizations to let a small group or even one man dominate and make all decisions. There is not doubt but what this makes for continuity of policy and celerity of decision; but in the long run it is fatal, unless these decisions at some time and in some way, come in for reiscon and judgment at the ahnds of th mass of people whor are interested.

There then is theproblem for you in the future. My own days of activity are largely past. It is only of passing interest to you what happens to me . It is or primary inter st as to whether you are goi g to have an organization which is an organization of Negroes of the United States, or which is gong to be bompelty c dminated by a small group of men. I do not care how devoted those man may be, or how efficitnt unless their judment and their po icies are reviewed and guided by public opinion they are going o fail in a world ~~x~~ which is changing as rapidly and decisively as this, our world is changing today.

3-2-46

Virginia State College
November 19, 1948

35-2-498

AFRICA TODAY
By
W. E. B. Du Bois

AFRICA IS TODAY ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING PARTS OF THE WORLD: AND THAT, NOT SIMPLY BECAUSE IT WAS THE HOME OF OUR FOREFATHERS, BUT BECAUSE OF ITS PRESENT RELATIONS TO THE REST OF THE WORLD AND TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN CULTURE. // THIS IS NOTHING UNUSUAL. THE ROMANS USED TO SAY: "SEMPER NOVI QUID EX AFRICA." "ALWAYS SOMETHING NEW OUT OF AFRICA" AND THAT HAS BEEN TRUE FOR A LONG SERIES OF YEARS. FROM THE TIME WHEN HUMAN CULTURE CENTERED IN THE NILE VALLEY AND ALL THE WORLD LOOKED TOWARD EGYPT AS THE MOTHER OF CIVILIZATION: // DOWN THROUGH THE DAYS OF THE RELATIONS OF AFRICA WITH GRECIAN CIVILIZATION, THEN THE CONNECTION OF AFRICA THROUGH CARTHAGE TO ROME, THE DEVELOPMENT

OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES DOWN TO THE CRUSADES, and ARAB explorers FINALLY ~~CAME AND~~ THE TRADE IN AFRICAN GOODS AND MEN ~~WHICH~~ CAUSED THE DEVELOPMENT OF ~~THE~~ MODERN CAPITALISM IN EUROPE AND THE TRANSPLANTATION OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES TO VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD.

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IN SPEAKING OF AFRICA HOWEVER WE MUST FIRST OF ALL GET SOME OVER-ALL IDEA OF THE VAST CONTINENT, OF ITS SIZE IN RELATION TO THE UNITED STATES AND NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE.

WE MUST REMEMBER THAT THE WORD "AFRICA" CARRIES A UNITY WHICH IS UNREAL IN FACT. THERE ARE FOR PRACTICAL PURPOSES TODAY SIX DIFFERENT AFRICAS. // LET US TAKE EACH ONE OF THESE IN SUCCESSION AND SPEAK OF THEIR CHARACTERISTICS AND MEANING. FIRST THERE IS WEST AFRICA, WHICH IS PERHAPS GENERALLY THE BEST KNOWN. IT IS THE GATEWAY TO THE CONTINENT FROM THE ATLANTIC. ITS TROPICAL CLIMATE, HOT SUNSHINE AND LUSH VEGETATION ON THE LOW COASTAL BELT, IS WELL KNOWN AND TO MANY, TYPICAL

35-2-500

OF AFRICA. THIS LOW COAST BELT RISES TO THE GREAT INLAND PLATEAU. TODAY BRITISH WEST AFRICA AND LIBERIA TOGETHER WITH A PART OF FRENCH WEST AFRICA FORMS A UNIFIED CENTER OF DEVELOPMENT. THE LEADERSHIP OF ALL BLACK AFRICA IN MANY RESPECTS CENTERS HERE AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THIS GROUP MAY BE THE FIRST TO LEAD THE WHOLE CONTINENT TO SELF RULE.

IN WEST AFRICA, NIGERIA, THE LARGEST BRITISH COLONY, IS ONE THIRD THE SIZE OF EUROPE AND HAS A POPULATION OF APPROXIMATELY 23,000,000 PEOPLE. IT MAY BE CALLED THE LARGEST BLACK NATION IN THE WORLD AND THE ONE WHICH IS MOST LIKELY TO LEAD THE BLACK PEOPLE. ~~IT IS A POOR COUNTRY WITH A LONG HISTORY~~. THE GOLD COAST FOLLOWS IN IMPORTANCE

A LEADING NIGERIAN WOMAN RECENTLY SAID: "THERE IS CONSTANT DRAIN OF WEALTH FROM NIGERIA INTO THE POCKETS OF BRITISH TRADING HOUSES AND MINING COMPANIES THROUGH THE YEARS, TO SAY NOTHING OF THE INCALCULABLE

35-2-501

CONTRIBUTION TO THE CAUSE OF THE ALLIES IN TWO WORLD WARS, NOT ONLY IN MANPOWER BUT IN GOODS AND SERVICES."

THERE ARE ROADS AND RAILROADS, NEWSPAPERS AND A SYSTEM OF EDUCATION SMALL BUT GROWING. THERE ARE LEADERS TRAINED IN BRITISH AND AMERICAN COLLEGES. THE RESULT IS A STRONG MOVEMENT TOWARD AUTONOMY ~~IN NIGERIA~~, AND A DEMAND FOR HOME RULE BY PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT FOR THE ~~NIGERIANS~~ NEGROES. THERE IS EVEN THREAT OF DIRECT ACTION UNLESS THIS IS HASTENED.

TURNING NOW TO LIBERIA, WE FIND A COUNTRY WHICH WAS SETTLED BY AMERICAN NEGROES EARLY IN THE 19thCENTURY, BUT WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN REALLY INDEPENDENT BECAUSE OF ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE UPON GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, GERMANY AND LATELY ON THE UNITED STATES. LIBERIA AT FIRST HAD TO FIGHT THE NATIVE TRIBES FOR A FOOT-HOLD, BECAUSE THE SETTLERS WERE TO THE AFRICANS, "FOREIGNERS." THEN FOR A HALF-CENTURY SHE HAD TO EXERCISE ALL OF HER SKILL TO ESCAPE THE IMPERIALISM OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND FRANCE AND FINALLY OF GERMANY. TODAY SHE IS IN THE HANDS OF AMERICAN CAPITAL. SHE NEEDS DESPERATELY A TRAINED GROUP OF INTELLIGENT LEADERS, TO SAFE GUARD HER FREEDOM IN THE FACE OF FIRESTONE RUBBER, THE STETTINIUS ASSOCIATES AND THE UNITED STATES NAVY AND AIRFORCE.

35-2-502

NOW LET ME TURN TO SOUTH AFRICA. IT IS SECOND IN IMPORTANCE OF THE SIX AFRICAS. THE PLATEAU RISES FROM THE BOWL OF CENTRAL AFRICA TO THE GREAT BASTIONS OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE WHERE LIES THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA, THE NATIVE PROTECTORATES AND THE MANDATE OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

HERE AFTER A WILD SCRAMBLE OVER THREE CENTURIES, WHICH LOOSED SOME OF THE WORST OF HUMAN PASSIONS, WE HAVE TODAY INLAND FROM THE CAPE PERHAPS THE GREATEST CENTER OF HUMAN RACE HATE IN THE WORLD. ITS MANIFESTATIONS ARE MUCH WORSE THAN THOSE IN THE UNITED STATES. IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA TODAY THERE ARE TWO AND A THIRD MILLION WHITE

PEOPLE WHO HAVE COMPLETE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DOMINATION OVER 7,700,000 BLACKS AND 1,100,000 MULATTOES AND ASIATICS. THIS DOMINION OUT OF ITS TOTAL POPULATION OF ELEVEN MILLION GIVES THE RIGHT TO VOTE TO ONLY ITS TWO AND A THIRD MILLION WHITES.

35-2-503

THE AFRICAN, ALTHOUGH A TAX -PAYER, HAS NO RIGHT OF CITIZENSHIP. HE IS BARRED LARGELY FROM SKILLED INDUSTRY, HIS TRADE UNIONS CANNOT BE RECOGNIZED AND HE IS DENIED THE RIGHT TO STRIKE. HE CANNOT OWN LAND IN CITIES AND ONLY A LIMITED AMOUNT IN ~~LIMITED~~ RESERVED COUNTRY DISTRICTS. HE IS FORCED ALWAYS TO CARRY A NUMBER OF PASSES WHEN TRAVELLING. FOR VIOLATION OF PASS LAWS AND OTHER RESTRICTIONS THERE ARE TEN TIMES AS MANY ARRESTS IN THE UNION AS IN ENGLAND, ALTHOUGH ENGLAND HAS FOUR TIMES THE POPULATION. TAXATION AND ECONOMIC COMPULSION DRIVE THE AFRICAN FROM THE NATIVE RESERVES TO THE MINES, WHERE HE IS HOUSED AND SEGREGATED IN BARRACKS TO DIG GOLD AND DIAMONDS. HIS AVERAGE WAGE

35-2-504

THERE IS ABOUT TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS A YEAR: WHICH INCLUDES SIMPLE BOARD. THE BLACK POPULATION HAS DEMANDED AND STILL DEMANDS RESTORATION OF ITS LAND. IN 1938, EIGHTEEN MILLION NATIVES HAD 12 % OF THE TOTAL LAND AREA, WHILE 2,500,000 WHITES HAD 88% OR 250 MILLION ACRES.

FOR A LONG TIME ~~THE~~ GOLD MINING INDUSTRY HAS BEEN BASED ON CHEAP BLACK IMMIGRANT LABOR AND THIS HAS BEEN LOOKED UPON AS THE BACKBONE OF SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY AND A POWERFUL PART OF THE ECONOMY OF THE WHOLE WORLD. NOW INDUSTRY IS BEGINNING TO COME IN AND OUTSTRIP IN VALUE THE OUTPUT OF THE MINES.

IF THE NATIVE POPULATION SHOULD BECOME ORGANIZED AGAINST THE WHITE POPULATION, THERE WOULD BE FOUR NATIVES TO THREATEN EVERY EUROPEAN. THIS IS THE REASON THAT THE WHITE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA ARE SO DESPERATELY AFRAID OF THE RISE OF THE NATIVES.

35-2-505

THEY LIMIT THEIR SCHOOLING. IN 1941, THERE WERE A MILLION AND A QUARTER AFRICANS OF SCHOOL AGE, AND OF THESE ONLY 350,000 WERE IN SCHOOLS. MOST OF THESE WERE IN PRIMARY GRADES. HOSTILITY HAS GROWN IN SOUTH AFRICA NOT ONLY BETWEEN WHITES AND NEGROES BUT BETWEEN WHITES AND EAST INDIANS. ~~THERE HAS BEEN OPEN VIOLENCE AND WHEN THE AFRICAN MINE WORKERS WENT ON STRIKE IN 1946 THERE WERE ARRESTS AND RIOTING.~~ A NEGRO LEADER SAYS RECENTLY of the A NEW PARTY (UNDER MALAN, WHICH) HAS COME TO POWER, ~~AND~~ THAT HE IS CONVINCED THAT EUROPEANS WILL TRY TO PUT INTO EFFECT AGAINST NON-EUROPEANS ALL THE THINGS THAT THEY HAVE WANTED TO FOR SO LONG. NEVERTHELESS THE AFRICAN PEOPLE REMAIN UNDAUNTED AND RETROGRADE ACTION WILL ONLY SERVE TO MAKE THEM MORE DETERMINED TO ORGANIZE THEMSELVES FOR THE FIGHT WHICH LIES AHEAD.

ADJACENT TO SOUTH AFRICA LIE THE NEGRO PROTECTORATES, BASUTOLAND, BECHUANALAND AND SWAZILAND. THEY ARE ADMINISTERED BY THE BRITISH

COLONIAL OFFICE. ON ACCOUNT OF THE STUBBORN RESISTENCE OF THE NATIVES ESPECIALLY THE BASUTOS, THESE TERRITORIES WERE ~~NOT~~ NEVER CONQUERED, BUT ANNEXED BY TREATY AND GIVEN SOME DEGREE OF AUTONOMY. HOWEVER THEY ARE FENCED IN BY THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE RHODESIAS WITH THE RESULT THAT THEIR WHOLE INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION IS DEPENDENT UPON THE WHITES AND THE WHITES ARE PRACTICALLY TRYING TO STARVE THEM INTO UNION WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

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NYASALAND AND THE RHODESIAS LIE BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND EAST AFRICA. THE WHITES THERE, WITH THEIR AGRICULTURE AND MINING ARE PUSHING FOR SELF RULE WITH THE WHOLE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE WHITES. THIS IS THE SEAT OF THE GREATEST COPPER DEPOSIT IN THE WORLD. THERE ARE VAST ACRES OF RICH LAND FOR FARMING AND UNTOLD MINERAL WEALTH. HERE AND IN SOUTH AFRICA CENTERS THE FIGHT TO BUILD A COLONIAL EMPIRE WITH THE SMALL WHITE POPULATION IN

COMPLETE POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONTROL. SOUTH AFRICA AND THE RHODESIAS HAVE A TEMPERATE CLIMATE WITH SCARCITY OF WATER IN CERTAIN AREAS. AS WE ASCEND THE EAST COAST WE APPROACH AGAIN THE TROPICS.

~~GOING UP THE COAST WE COME NOW TO EAST AFRICA.~~ EAST AFRICA IS

35-2-507

A PHYSICAL SPORT OF NATURE WITH SNOW-CAPPED PEAKS ON THE EQUATOR AND THAT VAST RIFT IN THE EARTH WITH THE DEEPEST LAKES KNOWN, WHICH IS THE ONLY THING MEN SAY THAT WOULD BE VISIBLE FROM THE MOON, IF THERE ARE EYES THERE TO SEE.

EAST AFRICA SLOPES DOWN TO A COAST, WHICH FOR A CENTURIES ~~HAS~~ KNIT AFRICA AND ASIA. HERE TODAY ARE THREE COUNTRIES, TANGANYIKA, UGANDA AND KENYA. TANGANYIKA HAS ONLY FIFTEEN PERSONS TO EACH OF THE 360,000 SQUARE MILES WITH FIVE MILLION NATIVES AND 70,000 WHITES. NOBODY HAS THE RIGHT TO VOTE, BUT THE WHITES OWN THE RESOURCES AND TAKE DIRECTION OF HUMAN LABOR.

DIAMONDS AND OTHER MINERALS ARE BEING EXPLOITED AND HERE HAS BEEN PLACED THE GREAT PEANUT CULTURE SCHEME OF PRESENT BRITAIN. THE LAND IS BEING SLOWLY MONOPOLIZED AND THE NATIVES HAVE ALMOST NO SYSTEM OF EDUCATION AND ARE PRACTICALLY VOICELESS IN THE CONDUCT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

35-2-508

GOING FROM TANGANYIKA TO UGANDA ONE PASSES, AS ELSPETH HUXLEY SAYS: "FROM VASTNESS AND POVERTY TO A COMPACT, CLOSELY ADMINISTERED, RELATIVELY WEALTHY COUNTRY, FAVORED BY NATURE WITH HIGHLAND AND RAINFALL WHICH HAS BROUGHT ABUNDANCE AND COMPARATIVE PROSPERITY TO MOST OF ITS PEOPLE."

UGANDA IS THE STILL UNCONQUERED REMNANT OF A SERIES OF AFRICAN EMPIRES. IT WAS LONG THE VICTIM OF WHITE RELIGIOUS STRIFE BETWEEN PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS, AND MOSLEMS. IT EMERGED AS A BRITISH PROTECTORATE WITH SOME AUTONOMY AND WEALTH BECAUSE OF RETENTION OF OWNERSHIP OF ITS LAND. UGANDA HAS 95,000 SQUARE MILES AND FOUR MILLION PEOPLE.

THE BLACK RULING CLASS CONSISTS OF LAND-HOLDERS AND EMPLOYERS WHO IMPORT LABOR FROM THE BELGIAN CONGO AND THE NILE VALLEY. IT HAS STARTED AN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM, AND HERE IS MAKERERE COLLEGE WHICH MAY YET BECOME THE BLACK UNIVERSITY OF EAST AFRICA. THERE ARE SOMETHING OVER 300,000 CHILDREN IN SCHOOL AND INCREASING PROSPERITY BUT INFORMATION CONCERNING UGANDA IS DIFFICULT TO GET BECAUSE OF THE GENERAL FEAR THAT THE COUNTRY MAY FOLLOW THE MOVEMENT IN WEST AFRICA TOWARD AUTONOMY.

35-2-509

IN KENYA WE GO UP TOWARD THE MOUNTAINS OF THE MOON, WHERE ON 225,000 SQUARE MILES THERE IS A POPULATION OF THREE AND ONE HALF MILLION. TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND OF THESE ARE WHITES WHO HAVE MONOPOLIZED THE MOST FERTILE 80 PER CENT OF THE LAND AND TRIED TO COMPEL THE NEGROES TO WORK FOR THEM. THE BLACKS CROWDED IN THE LOWLAND, DESERT AND SWAMP HAVE MADE A FIERCE STRUGGLE FOR OPPORTUNITY.

LESS THAN ONE FIFTH OF THE SCHOOL POPULATION IS IN MISSION AND GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS AND THE WEALTH ACCRUING TO THE WHITES FROM THE MONOPOLY OF LAND FOR WHICH THEY PAID ALMOST NOTHING AND FROM TRANSPORT AND INVESTMENT HAS GIVEN THE RULING CLIQUE A VAST POWER. // THERE IS HOWEVER A LARGE CONTINGENT OF INDIAN MERCHANTS WHO DISPUTE THE DIVISION OF PROFITS AND LATELY HAVE BEEN JOINING THE NATIVES IN THEIR OPPOSITION TO WHITE CONTROL. // WHITE RULE IN KENYA SURROUNDED AS IT IS BY THE SUDAN, ETHIOPIA AND UGANDA HAS NO EASY PATH TO COMPLETE DOMINATION.

35-2-510

WE NOW COME TO THE NILE VALLEY. AT THE HEAD OF THE VALLEY STANDS ETHIOPIA ON WHAT HAS BEEN CALLED THE CITADEL OF AFRICA BECAUSE OF THE HIGH PEAKS WHICH DOMINATE THIS EASTERN HORN OF THE CONTINENT. FOR 5000 YEARS ETHIOPIA NEVER LOST ITS INDEPENDENCE UNTIL IT FELL UNDER THE DOMINATION OF ITALY // WHEN THE UNITED NATIONS FAILED TO DEFEND ~~HER~~ ETHIOPIA

THE UNITED NATIONS ITSELF FAILED. // BY ITS OWN EFFORTS AND THE COOPERATION OF BRITAIN, THE COUNTRY HAS BEEN RESTORED TO INDEPENDENCE // BUT BRITAIN HAS TRIED TO KEEP A PART OF ITS TERRITORY AND TO RETAIN A CERTAIN DOMINATION. // HOWEVER, THE REAL PROBLEM OF ETHIOPIA IS TO REGAIN ACCESS TO THE SEA WHICH WILL ENABLE IT TO TRADE WITH THE WORLD.

35-2-511

THIS IS THE PROBLEM OF ERITREA, WHICH THE ITALIANS ARE TRYING TO HAVE GIVEN TO THEM AND WHICH THE ETHIOPIANS ARE TRYING TO RETAIN AS ONE OF THE ANCIENT COLONIES OF THE LAND. // MEANTIME ETHIOPIA IS STRIVING TO EDUCATE HER MASSES, IS SENDING SEVERAL HUNDRED STUDENTS ANNUALLY ABROAD FOR HIGHER EDUCATION AND TECHNICAL SKILL AND IS USING EUROPEANS AND AMERICAN NEGROES TO BUILD UP INDUSTRY AND SANITATION.

DOWN THE NILE VALLEY LIES THE SUDAN, THE SOURCE OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION. IT DROVE BRITAIN OUT OF ITS BORDERS IN THE 19TH CENTURY FOR 13 YEARS (UNDER THE BLACK MAHDI) AND CAME NEAR GIVING AFRICA TO ETHIOPIA

35-2-512

AND FRANCE.// KITCHENER AND EGYPT RECAPTURED THE SUDAN/ ~~UNTIL~~ IN OUR DAY/ EGYPT SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FROM THE BRITISH EMPIRE/ FINDS ITSELF/ THREATENED WITH THE LOSS OF THE SUDAN./ THE SUDAN CONTROLS THE NILE/ WHICH IS THE LIFE LINE OF EGYPT/ AND A BROAD PATH TO BRITISH EAST AFRICA.// WHOEVER CONTROLS THE SUDAN WILL,/ WITH AN INDEPENDENT ETHIOPIA/ CONTROL EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA./ CONSEQUENTLY BOTH EGYPT AND ENGLAND/ ARE WOOING THE SEVEN MILLION BLACK PEOPLE/ WHO INHABIT THE MILLIONS ~~ACRES~~ Sq. Mi. OF THE SUDAN.

THE FIFTH PART OF AFRICA/ IS NORTH AFRICA./ THAT IS ALGIERS, TUNIS AND MOROCCO:/ A REGION WHERE AN ARAB WORLD/ WITH A LARGE INFILTRATION OF BLACK BLOOD/ IS BEING DEVELOPED/ THEORETICALLY/ AS A PART OF FRANCE AND FORMERLY/ SO FAR AS TUNIS WAS CONCERNED/ AS A PART OF ITALY./ IN FACT THIS AREA/ IS STILL IN SEMI COLONIAL STATUS/ AND TORN BY DEMANDS FOR LARGER AUTONOMY. THE Real power/ is in the hands of the resident French.

35-2-513

THE SIXTH PART OF AFRICA/ WE MAY CALL LATIN AFRICA./ IT COMPOSES THE VAST AFRICAN EMPIRE OF FRANCE,/ ~~THE GREAT VALLEY OF THE CONGO~~, THE REMAINS OF THE PORTUGUESE AFRICAN EMPIRE/ AND THE SMALL ~~ENCLAVES~~ EN CLAVES OWNED BY SPAIN.

A ~~THEORETICAL PROMISE~~ LEGAL BASIS/ OF JUSTICE AND EQUALITY/ ~~WHICH~~ HUGE AMOUNTS TO THE TRAINING OF A SMALL ELITE,/ ~~BUT~~ WHO BY THAT TRAINING/ SEPARATE THEMSELVES FROM THE MASSES/ AND ~~TURNING THEM INTO~~ become FRENCHMEN AND PORTUGUESE/ WITH FULL CIVIL RIGHTS.// BUT ON THE OTHER HAND/ THEY LEAVE THE MASS OF PEOPLE/ IN THOSE TERRITORIES WITHOUT LEADERSHIP OR GUIDANCE/ AND AT THE MERCY/ OF SOME OF THE WORST KINDS OF COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION. ~~THIS IS TRUE~~ IN ~~FRENCH & PORTUGUESE AFRICA~~

~~WE COME NEXT TO~~ THE BELGIAN CONGO./ WHICH IS THE HEART OF AFRICA./ IS DIFFERENT IT IS THE VAST TROPICAL BOWL/ WHICH LIES BETWEEN WEST AND EAST AFRICA/ AND BORDERS/ ALONG THE SUDAN IN THE NORTH/ AND RHODESIA IN THE SOUTH./ THE CONGO RIVER SYSTEM/ IS THE SECOND GREATEST IN THE WORLD/ ENCIRCLING AN

FRENCH AFRICA has a complete school system but a very small proportion of the school population enrolled

(over)

AREA OF 750 MILES WIDE AND 530 MILES LONG. IN THIS AREA BEFORE THE EUROPEANS CAME GREAT NATIVE STATES FLOURISHED WHICH WERE NOTED FOR THEIR COMPLEX AND INTERESTING CULTURE AND THEIR ART. HERE LAY THE GREAT KINGDOM OF ~~ZIMBABWE~~ MONOMOTAPA, EXTENDING DOWN INTO THE RHODESIAS, AND HERE ARE REMAINS TODAY OF GREAT AND NOTABLE CIVILIZATIONS.

35-2-514

IN 1943 THERE WERE IN THE CONGO TEN AND A HALF MILLION PEOPLE OF WHOM 35,000 WERE WHITE. THE ANNEXATION OF THE CONGO BEGAN WITH STANLEY'S SEARCH FOR LIVINGSTONE AND ENDED AT THE CONFERENCE OF BERLIN IN 1885 WHEN THE KING OF BELGIUM BACKED BY THE UNITED STATES WAS GIVEN THE CONGO, WHICH IS 77 TIMES THE SIZE OF BELGIUM AS HIS PERSONAL ESTATE. THEORETICALLY IT WAS TO BE AN INDEPENDENT STATE WHERE CIVILIZATION WAS TO WORK FOR THE UPLIFT OF THE CONGOLESE. AS A MATTER OF FACT IT BECAME A CENTER OF THE WORST EXPLOITATION OF NATIVES WHICH THE MODERN WORLD HAS KNOWN.

35-2-515

WORLD CRITICISM FINALLY COMPELLED LEOPOLD TO TURN OVER THE CONGO TO THE STATE OF BELGIUM. BELGIUM HAS NEVER PROMISED THE CONGO INDEPENDENCE OR PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT. IT HAS DEVELOPED THE REGION AS A COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE CHIEFLY CONTROLLED BY FOUR GREAT HOLDING COMPANIES? IN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT IS A PARTNER. THE TREATMENT OF THE NATIVES HAS IMPROVED AND THE OUTPUT OF THE COLONY HAS BEEN GREAT. COPPER, ZINC, PALM OIL, MANGANESE, TIN, RUBBER AND DIAMONDS AND ESPECIALLY URANIUM HAVE BEEN EXPORTED IN CONSTANTLY INCREASING QUANTITIES.

MOST OF THE SEMI-SKILLED AND SKILLED WORK IN THE COLONY IS DONE BY NATIVES BUT THE WAGES ARE LOW AND THERE ARE NO TRADE UNIONS. UNREST CROPS OUT NOW AND THEN BUT THE CONTROL IS ALMOST COMPLETE. EDUCATION IS SUPPLIED MAINLY BY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH WITH A FEW PROTESTANT MISSIONS. IT IS LIMITED TO LOW GRADE PRIMARY INSTRUCTION WITH EMPHASIS ON RELIGION HYGIENE AND RESPECT FOR AUTHORITY. THERE ARE ABOUT 800,000 PUPILS IN

THESE GRADES. ONLY ONE PER CENT CONTINUE AFTER THIS LEVEL AND RECEIVE VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR WORK AS ARTISANS OR TRAINING AS CLERKS AND TEACHERS. THERE IS PRACTICALLY NO OPPORTUNITY FOR SECONDARY, HIGHER OR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING IN THE COLONY: AND NO CONGOLESE ARE ALLOWED TO GO TO BELGIUM FOR STUDY:.

35-2-516

HERE IS A PERFECT EXAMPLE OF THE REGIMENTATION OF TEN MILLION BLACK LABORERS FOR THE INDUSTRIAL PROFIT OF A WHITE NATION WITH CARE TO MAKE THE EXPLOITATION A LONG TERM PROJECT AND NOT PLANLESS EXPLOITATION FOR A QUICK AND IMMEDIATE RETURN. NEVERTHELESS THE OBJECT IS NOT AND NEVER WAS THE UPLIFT OF THE CONGO NATIVES OR THE GIVING THEM ENOUGH EDUCATION TO TAKE ANY EFFECTIVE VOICE IN GOVERNMENT OR SELF EXPRESSION. THIS PLAN IS MAKING BELGIUM RICH AND POWERFUL, ALSO IT IS GIVING BLACK CONGO INCREASING KNOWLEDGE OF MODERN TECHNIQUE, AND THE QUESTION IS HOW LONG BOTH THESE SCHEMES CAN GO ON.

35-2-517

THUS ONE OF THE GREAT BY-PRODUCTS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR IS THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF AFRICA. HERE IS THE SECOND GREATEST LAND AREA IN THE WORLD, WITH AT LEAST ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLION PEOPLE AND VAST NATURAL RESOURCES. ENGLAND HAS LOST CONTROL OF INDIA AND BURMA: FRANCE HAS LOST INDO-CHINA, AND HOLLAND IS LOSING INDONESIA. STILL NEARER THE WEST COMES THE THREAT OF THE ARABS AND ISLAM, WITH AN INDEPENDENT EGYPT SYRIA, LEBANON, SAUDI ARABIA, TRANS-JORDAN, IRAQ AND IRAN. WESTERN EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM MUST, TO SURVIVE, CENTER IN AFRICA. AFRICA BECOMES INCREASINGLY THE VISIBLE SOURCE OF FOOD, COAL, DIAMONDS, GOLD, COPPER AND URANIUM FOR EUROPE. FRANCE, WITHOUT FOOD FROM ALGERIA, TUNIS AND MOROCCO, WOULD STARVE, AND SHE IS HOLDING FRANTICALLY TO MADAGASCAR. BELGIUM IS ACCUMULATING WEALTH AND POWER FROM THE CONGO; AND BRITAIN IS AWAKENING TO THE POSSIBILITIES OF AFRICA AS A SOURCE NOT ONLY OF FOOD BUT OF OTHER MATERIALS TO RESTORE AT LEAST IN PART HER POWER.

OUT IF THIS PROPAGANDA THERE HAVE ARISEN ~~TWO~~ 3 BRITISH GREAT DEVELOPMENTS BRITISH MIGRATION TO AFRICA ~~AND~~ THE GIGANTIC SCHEME OF PLANTING PEANUTS IN EAST AFRICA (AND FORTIFICATION). IN JANUARY, 1948, IT WAS SAID THAT NINETY-FIVE THOUSAND BRITISH SUBJECTS WERE REGISTERED FOR PASSAGE TO SOUTH AFRICA.

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THIS MIGRATION WAS STARTED BY THE ATTEMPT OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE RHODESIAS TO INCREASE THEIR WHITE POPULATIONS. SOUTH AFRICA DISCOVERED LAST SPRING THAT HER LESS THAN TWO AND A HALF MILLION WHITES ARE INCREASING AT THE RATE OF SIXTEEN AND ONE HALF PER CENT IN TEN YEARS, WHILE HER BLACK, COLORED AND ASIATIC POPULATIONS ARE INCREASING OVER EIGHTEEN PER CENT AND AMOUNT TO NINE MILLIONS. THE UNION HAS BEEN ENCOURAGING MIGRATION, AND IMMIGRATION CENTERS HAVE BEEN OPENED IN ENGLAND, HOLLAND, AND ROME, WITH A QUOTA OF FIFTEEN HUNDRED A MONTH. SOUTHERN RHODESIA HAS RECEIVED TWENTY THOUSAND WHITE IMMIGRANTS IN THE LAST TWO YEARS, WITH ONE THOUSAND ARRIVING MONTHLY NOW.

THIS PLAN TO RAISE PEANUTS IN EAST AFRICA HAS BEEN CALLED "THE

MOST IMPORTANT ACTION OF GOVERNMENT IN THE HISTORY OF BRITISH TROPICAL AFRICA." THE AREA INVOLVED INCLUDES PARTS OF TANGANYIKA, KENYA AND NORTHERN RHODESIA, AND CALLS FOR CLEARING, PLANTING, AND CULTIVATING BY MECHANIZED METHODS OVER THREE MILLION ACRES OF LAND IN ONE HUNDRED AND SEVEN FARMING UNITS OF THIRTY THOUSAND ACRES EACH.

35-2-519

THE EAST AFRICAN PEANUT PROJECT CARRIES FURTHER AND MAKES IMMEDIATE AND SPECIFIC DEVELOPMENT PLANS FOR THE COLONIES WHICH HAVE BEEN LAID DOWN FOR YEARS. ~~IN 1929~~ 3 m/1937, A TEN YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR THE COLONIES WAS ANNOUNCED WITH A PROSPECTIVE EXPENDITURE OF NEARLY $500,000,000. ONLY A SMALL PART OF THIS--PERHAPS EIGHT MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR DURING THE LAST FEW YEARS--HAS ACTUALLY BEEN APPROPRIATED.

ON THE OTHER HAND, PARTLY PUBLIC AND PARTLY PRIVATE FURTHER PLANS ARE BEING PROPOSED. THE PALM OIL INDUSTRY IN NIGERIA IS TO BE EXPANDED. THE GOVERNMENT HAS PLANS FOR IMPROVING THE COCOA CROP IN

WEST AFRICA AND HAS TAKEN CONTROL OF ITS SALE. // PEANUT CULTURE IS TO BE EXTENDED ON MECHANIZED PLANTATIONS IN WEST AFRICA. // COTTON, RUBBER, AND HARDWOODS ARE ALSO MENTIONED FOR DEVELOPMENT. // MINING AND HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER ARE FORECAST. // THERE IS ONE PLAN IN UGANDA WHICH IS CALLED "BREATHTAKING" AND WHICH INVOLVES THE RAISING OF THE LEVEL OF LAKE VICTORIA A YARD AND THUS EVENTUALLY REVOLUTIONALIZING THE VALLEY OF THE NILE. // THERE IS A SIMILAR PLAN IN NORTHERN RHODESIA DESIGNED TO DEVELOP RICH AND EXTENSIVE DEPOSITS OF IRON ORE; WHILE IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA THERE IS A PLAN FOR A DAM, FOUR TIMES THE SIZE OF BOULDER DAM TO MAKE SOUTHERN RHODESIA ONE OF THE FOUR CHIEF SOURCES OF HIGH GRADE STEEL IN THE WORLD

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MOST OF THESE ARE STILL IN THE PLANNING AND BLUE-PRINT STAGE. // BUT PRIVATE CAPITAL IN AFRICA HAS HAD LONG EXPERIENCE. // IN SOUTH AFRICA IN THE LAST SIXTY (69) YEARS $2,500,000,000 WORTH OF GOLD HAS BEEN PRODUCED OUT OF WHICH NEARLY $500,000,000 WAS PAID IN DIVIDENDS. // DIAMONDS AND OTHER

MINERALS HAVE BROUGHT FURTHER RETURNS.

BUT ESPECIALLY IS AMERICAN CAPITAL INCREASING. OUR STATE DEPARTMENT HAS ANNOUNCED THAT BRITISH COLONIES WILL BE THE PRIMARY SOURCE FROM WHICH THE UNITED STATES CAN MAKE GOOD STOCK PILING FOR RAW MATERIALS AND DEFICIENCIES IN OTHER SOURCES. AMERICAN CAPITAL IN SOUTH AFRICA HAS DOUBLED SINCE 1939. WE ARE TAKING OVER THE BRITISH EMPIRE!

35-2-521

IN KENYA, ORIGINATED THE IDEA OF MAKING AFRICA A CENTER OF DEFENSE OF THE WEST AGAINST THE EAST. IT WAS FIRST BROACHED IN 1923, BY A MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL IN HIS PAMPHLET THE THERMOPYLAE OF AFRICA. HE DEVELOPED THE THEME THAT EUROPE MUST WITHDRAW FROM ASIA AND THAT SHE SHOULD MAKE KENYA COLONY HER CENTER OF DEFENSE AND RULE IN AFRICA. // HE BELIEVED THAT CONFRONTED BY THE FAST APPROACHING CRISIS IN THE RELATIONS OF THE PRIMARY RACES OF MANKIND, THE WHITE RACE HAS NO CHOICE BUT TO ABANDON ITS NINETEENTH CENTURY ATTITUDE OF AGGRESSIVE

EXPANSION AND TO COLLECT AND REORGANIZE ITS DIMINISHED STRENGTH WITHIN DEFENSIBLE LINES THERE TO AWAIT THE SHOCK OF THE ASIATIC ONSLAUGHT.

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// HE WAS OF THE OPINION THAT THE FIRST NECESSITY WILL BE TO DECIDE WHERE TO DRAW DEFENSIVE LINES. THEY, OF COURSE, WILL BE FIRST IN WHITE COUNTRIES AND SECOND ~~IT SHOULD BE REMEMBERED THAT~~ IN AFRICA ~~IS~~ THE MOST IMPORTANT UNIT OF THE GROUP OF TERRITORIES WHICH WHITES DOMINATE OUTSIDE OF ASIA.// AFRICA'S IMMENSE AREA, HER FERTILITY, HER NUMEROUS POPULATION, HER GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION ALL MAY PROVE TO BE THE DECISIVE FACTOR IN THE COMING CONFLICT OF THE PRIMARY RACES.

IT IS A SINGULAR CONFIRMATION OF THIS FORECAST THAT IN JANUARY, 1948 IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT A HUGH MILITARY STORES DEPOT WAS UNDER CONSTRUCTION AT MCKENNON ROAD, KENYA SIXTY FIVE MILES FROM THE COAST.

// TODAY THERE ARE THOUSANDS OF WHITE TROOPS AND ENGINEERS AT THIS BASE: THERE ARE 2,000 ITALIAN ARTISANS FLOWN IN FROM ROME AND THERE ARE

THOUSANDS OF AFRICAN LABORERS.// THIRTY FIVE MILES OF JUNGLE ARE BEING CLEARED: WATER IS BEING PIPED SEVENTY MILES.// HERE IS BEING COLLECTED IN STONE AND IN IRON BUILDINGS, HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF TONS OF WAR MATERIAL FROM NORTH AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

35-2-523 X

WE TURN NOW TO THE REALLY CRUCIAL POINT, WHAT IS AFRICA ITSELF THINKING?// OR PERHAPS, WE SHOULD SAY, DOES AFRICA THINK?// NEGRO AFRICAN OPINION IS CERTAINLY BEGINNING TO MAKE ITSELF HEARD.// IN LONDON THE LEAGUE OF COLORED PEOPLE SAYS IN ITS CHIEF ORGAN: "MERE PROMMISES OF BENEFITS TO COME WILL NOT BE CONVINCING. TOO OFTEN IN THE PAST THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA HAVE BEEN BEGUILED BY FAIR WORDS AND FINE PROMISES.// THESE THEY COMPLAIN, HAVE DONE NOTHING TO INCREASE THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING AND WHEN THE AFRICANS THEMSELVES HAVE ATTEMPTED TO EXPRESS AN OPINION ON HOW IMPROVEMENT IN THEIR SOCIETY MIGHT BE ACHIEVED THEY HAVE BEEN PROSECUTED FOR SEDITION."

THE RESULT SINCE THE WAR HAS BEEN UNREST. // IN SOUTH AFRICA HAVE OCCURRED AT LEAST TWENTY RIOTS AND DISTURBANCES VARYING FROM THE STUDENT STRIKE AT LOVEDALE TO THE BURNING OF THEIR PASSES BY 7000 NATIVES AT CAPETOWN, AND CULMINATING IN THE STRIKE OF 50,000 NEGRO MINERS IN AUGUST 1946, TO OBTAIN A WAGE OF $2.00 A DAY INSTEAD OF THE 45 CENTS THEY ARE RECEIVING. // FIVE STRIKERS WERE KILLED BY THE POLICE, 62 ARRESTED FOR BREACH OF CONTRACT AND CONSPIRACY, 46 OF WHOM WERE HEAVILY FINED OR JAILED. // RAIDS AND ARRESTS CONTINUED FOR A MONTH, INCLUDING ARREST OF SOME LIBERAL WHITES. ~~"COMMUNISM" WAS BLAMED FOR THE OUTBREAK.~~

35-2-524

IN KENYA, IN JANUARY, 1947, 7,000 NATIVES STRUCK, AFFECTING ELEVEN BUSINESS CONCERNS. AFTER FAILURE TO SATISFY THE STRIKERS, THE STRIKE SPREAD TO UGANDA WITH DISTURBANCES AT FOUR CENTERS. IT WAS FINALLY SETTLED BY A RAISE IN WAGES OF MORE THAN TWENTY-FIVE PER CENT.

IN WEST AFRICA, THERE WERE SERIOUS DISTURBANCES IN NIGERIA AND ON THE GOLD COAST. // IN NIGERIA, in 1944, INCREASED GOVERNMENT ALLOWANCES

WERE GRANTED WHITE ~~EMPLOYEES~~ CIVIL SERVANTS BUT POSTPONED FOR NEGROES ~~IN 1944~~. IN 1945, A GENERAL STRIKE OF 150,000 NONCLERICAL WORKERS WAS DECLARED AND EVENTUALLY BROUGHT A FIFTY PER CENT INCREASE IN WAGES. // LATER THERE WERE FURTHER STRIKES OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS, METAL WORKERS, AND EMPLOYEES OF THE UNITED AFRICAN COMPANY. MINERS STRUCK IN THE ASHANTI GOLD MINES AND SECURED INCREASED WAGES.

35-2-525

ON THE GOLD COAST, STRIKES FINALLY ASSUMED THE ASPECT OF CIVIL WAR. IN 1946 A COMMISSION UNDER THE WHITE CHIEF JUSTICE FOUND THAT THE COST OF LIVING HAD GONE UP TWO HUNDRED PER CENT AND RECOMMENDED INCREASED WAGES TO GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES. ANOTHER COMMISSION UNDER AN AFRICAN JUDGE ADVISED A MINIMUM WAGE FOR OTHER EMPLOYEES OF 32 CENTS TO 40 CENTS IN THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS, AND 60 CENTS A DAY IN THE TOWNS. // TEACHERS THEN COMPLAINED, AND A THIRD COMMISSION GAVE THEM INCREASES. RAILWAY WORKERS AND MINERS THAN ASKED FOR RAISES, STRUCK WHEN THEY

WERE REFUSED, AND GAINED THEIR DEMANDS AFTER SEVERAL WEEKS.

THEN CAME A COLONY-WIDE BOYCOTT AGAINST HIGH PRICES CHARGED BY IMPORTING CONCERNS LED BY A PROGRESSIVE CHIEF. A PRICE CONTROL COMMISSION WAS SET UP TO CURB PRICES AND REDUCED THEM BY THIRTY-THREE AND ONE THIRD PER CENT. // THE DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS THEREUPON STARTED A MARCH TO THE GOVERNOR TO PRESENT A PETITION. THERE ENSUED A SKIRMISH WITH THE POLICE, WHICH LED TO RIOTING AND LOOTING. IN THE FIGHTING 26 AFRICANS WERE KILLED AND 277 INJURED INCLUDING 15 WHITES. MANY PROMINENT BLACK MEN WERE ARRESTED. // THE BLACK SOLDIERS OF THE GOLD COAST, SIERRA LEONE AND NIGERIA REFUSED TO BEAR ARMS AGAINST THEIR FELLOW SOLDIERS, AND WHITE UNITS IN GIBRALTAR WERE ALERTED. TWO BATTLESHIPS WERE ORDERED FROM SOUTH AFRICA. // FINALLY THE GOVERNOR APPEALED TO THE CHIEFS AND TO LONDON AND A LONDON COMMISSION OF INQUIRY WAS SENT OUT.

35-2-526

IN 1947, A RAILWAY STRIKE OF 12,000 WORKERS CRIPPLED THE WHOLE TRANSPORT SYSTEM OF FRENCH WEST AFRICA. THE STRIKERS DEMANDED "EQUAL PAY

FOR EQUAL WORK."

NORTHEAST AFRICA HAS HAD STRIKES. IN MARCH, 1947, FIVE HUNDRED DOCK WORKERS STRUCK AT PORT SUDAN, IN THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN; IN JULY, TEN THOUSAND RAILWAY WORKERS AT ATBARA WALKED OFF THE JOB! IN ETHIOPIA FIVE THOUSAND RAILWAY EMPLOYEES REFUSED TO WORK UNTIL THE EMPEROR OBTAINED A TWENTY*FIVE PER CENT INCREASE IN WAGES.

35-2-527

THESE STRIKES AND MANY OTHERS HAVE TAKEN PLACE ALL OVER THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA, AND SHOW THAT THERE IS AN INCREASE IN THE ACTIVITY OF TRADE UNIONS AND UNION ORGANIZATION IN AFRICA.

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT OCCURRENCE IN THE AFRICAN LABOR WORLD WAS THE REPRESENTATIVE CHARACTER OF THE AFRICANS AT THE WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE IN LONDON AND PARIS IN FEBRUARY 1945. COLONIAL DELEGATES CAME FROM NIGERIA, THE GOLD COAST, SIERRE LEONE AND GAMBIA IN WEST AFRICA, BESIDES FROM MANY NEGRO COMMUNITIES IN THE AMERICAS

35-2-528

TURNING NOW FROM THE MASS OF AFRICAN WORKERS, MAY WE NOT ASK, IS THERE A MASS INTELLIGENTSIA IN AFRICA? IF SO, WHAT DOES IT WANT? THE EFFORT OF PEOPLE TO RAISE THEMSELVES FROM ONE SOCIAL POSITION TO A HIGHER ONE ALWAYS HAS SOMETHING BIZARRE ABOUT IT, AS WELL AS DEEP TRAGEDY. // WE LAUGH AT THE EFFORT. ENGLAND USED TO LAUGH AT AMERICAN LITERATURE. THE WHITE SOUTH LONG LAUGHED AT THE EFFORTS OF AMERICAN NEGROES TO GET AN EDUCATION.

ONE GETS THE IDEA THAT THE LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA IS POORLY EDUCATED NOT TOO MORAL, AND VERY SELFISH. // ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE HAS BEEN COMING TO THE WORLD, ESPECIALLY SINCE THE FIRST WORLD WAR, A SERIES OF STATEMENTS AND ARGUMENTS FROM THE LEADERS OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE SO SIGNIFICANT THAT A FEW ARE QUOTED HERE: // AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, WHEN A DELEGATION OF WEST AFRICAN LEADERS CAME TO LONDON TO MEET WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION, DR. BANKOLE BRIGHT OF SIERRE LEONE SAID:

35-2-529

"...IT IS BECAUSE WE DO NOT WANT TO ENCOURAGE...UNREST; IT IS BECAUSE WE WANT TO LIVE UNDER A PEACEFUL GOVERNMENT THAT WE WHO REPRESENT THE INTELLIGENTSIA AND THE ~~HETEROGENEOUS~~ MASS OF THE POPULACE, HAVE COME TO THIS COUNTRY WITH THE OBJECT OF EDUCATING PUBLIC OPINION TO OUR CONDITION BY PLACING OUR GRIEVANCES BEFORE YOU AND AT THE SAME TIME SEEKING FOR THE NECESSARY REFORMS. WE ~~ASK YOU~~ AS AN IMPORTANT UNIT OF THIS EMPIRE ASK TO MARCH ALONG... ON THESE PROGRESSIVE LINES: IN DOING SO YOU WILL BE ONLY TAKING THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE RESOLUTION OF ~~A SELECT COMMITTEE OF~~ THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON WEST AFRICA...PASSED ...ON THE 3rd OF MARCH, 1865;

" 'THAT THE OBJECT OF OUR POLICY SHOULD BE TO ENCOURAGE IN THE NATIVES THE EXERCISE OF THOSE QUALITIES WHICH MAY RENDER IT POSSIBLE FOR US MORE AND MORE TO TRANSFER TO THEM THE ADMINISTRATION OF ALL THE GOVERNMENTS WITH A VIEW OF OUR ULTIMATE WITHDRAWAL, ETC.'"

35-2-530

ON JANUARY 6, 1947, IN EAST AFRICA A BLACK MAN, THE HON. E.W. MATHU, AFRICAN REPRESENTATIVE ON THE KENYA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, WHO STUDIED AT OXFORD, TOLD HIS PEOPLE: THAT "THEY COULD NOT AFFORD TO BE SLAVES IN A FREE WORLD: THAT IT WAS THEIR DUTY TO WORK HARD ALL THE YEAR ROUND TO PREPARE A BETTER WORLD FOR OUR CHILDREN. NO PEOPLE IN HISTORY HAS EVER RISEN FROM THE DUST TO THE HEIGHT OF A RESPECTED NATION WITHOUT STRUGGLE. NO PEOPLE HAS EVER ACHIEVED FREEDOM WITHOUT WORKING, FIGHTING OR DYING FOR IT." HE TOLD THEM THEY MUST NOT EXPECT TO BE AN EXCEPTION, BUT TO WORK HARD AND HOLD THEIR OWN WITHOUT SUBMITTING TO INDIGNITIES AND SUBHUMAN TREATMENT.

IN LONDON, IN THE EARLY PART OF 1947 A DELEGATION REPRESENTING THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NIGERIA AND THE CAMEROONS, A FEDERATION OF 183 POLITICAL PARTIES, TRADE UNIONS, PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS, FARMERS AND PEASANTS ORGANIZATIONS, TRIBAL UNIONS, AND YOUTH GROUPS LAID BEFORE

35-2-531

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR COLONIES A PROTEST AGAINST THE CONSTITUTION WHICH HAD BEEN FORCED UPON NIGERIA. THEIR STATEMENT SAID:

"WE ARE UNWILLING TO CONTINUE THE REACTIONARY POLICY OF MAKING OUR LEGISLATIVE CHAMBER A DEBATING SOCIETY FOR THE AMUSEMENT OF BRITISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATORS. WE RESENT THE IDEA OF HAVING YOUR PAID CIVIL SERVANTS RUN OUR COUNTRY AS AN UNTRAMMELLED BUREAUCRY, ENABLEING THEM TO MAKE, INTERPRET, AND ADMINISTER OUR LAWS, WITHOUT OUR KNOWLEDGE AND CONSENT, AND WITHOUT OUR BEING EFFECTIVELY REPRESENTED IN SUCH CHAMBER BY COUNCILLORS OR LEGISLATORS OF OUR OWN CHOICE. WE DEMAND THE RIGHT TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF OUR COUNTRY. WE DEMAND THE RIGHT TO BE FREE AND MAKE MISTAKES AND PROFIT FROM OUR EXPERIENCE."

THE OVERALL FACTS ARE THAT EVEN IN THE MOST ADVANCED PARTS OF AFRICA, ONLY ONE AFRICAN IN TWENTY IS ABLE TO READ AND WRITE: MOST OF

THE SCHOOLING IS PROVIDED BY THE MISSIONARIES, WITH SOME GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE.

MEANTIME A PART OF THE PROBLEM OF NEGRO EDUCATION IS BEING ANSWERED BY THE EXTRAORDINARY INFLUX OF AFRICAN STUDENTS ~~INTO ENGLAND~~ ABROAD. THE WELFARE DEPARTMENT OF THE COLONIAL OFFICE OF ENGLAND REPORTED, IN FEBRUARY, 1948, THAT THERE WERE THIRTY-TWO HUNDRED COLONIALS STUDYING IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE NUMBER WAS INCREASING. IN 1941, THE TOTAL WAS ONLY EIGHTY. OF THE PRESENT THREE THOUSAND, PROBABLY A THIRD ARE FROM AFRICA, AND THREE HUNDRED FROM THE GOLD COAST ALONE.

35-2-532

AN INTER-UNIVERSITY COUNCIL FOR HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE BRITISH COLONIES HAS MADE IT FIRST REPORT AFTER INVESTIGATION AND PLANS UNIVERSITIES IN EAST AND WEST AFRICA, WHEN FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE TO EXTEND PRESENT BEGINNINGS. PRINCIPALS HAVE BEEN APPOINTED FOR MAKERERE IN UGANDA ~~AND~~ IBADAN IN NIGERIA, AND JAMAICA in BWI AND GORDAN COLLEGE IN THE SUDAN WILL

BE STRENGTHENED. A HUNDRED OR MORE AFRICAN STUDENTS ARE NOW IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE ADVANCE OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ~~WHILE GREAT~~, HAS NOT BEEN REVOLUTIONARY: BUT IT HAS BEEN STARTLING AND PROPHETIC. THE CHANGE IN THE WHITE WORLD HAS BEEN THE GREATEST REVOLUTION IN THE HISTORY OF MODERN MAN. TOGETHER THESE TWO SETS OF PHENOMENA MAKE EITHER FOR PEACE OR THE END OF CIVILIZATION IN ITS PRESENT FORM.

35-2-533

THE WHITE WORLD TODAY IS FACING SUICIDE. NOT, TO BE SURE, COMPLETE PHYSICAL ANNIHILATION, BUT A CULTURAL COLLAPSE AND A MORAL BREAKDOWN WHICH MANY CENTURIES WILL BE REQUIRED TO RESTORE, IF RESTORATION WILL EVER BE POSSIBLE. IF STILL THERE CAN BE FOUND ENOUGH MORAL COURAGE TO RESIST A THIRD WORLD WAR, THEN ONE OF THE FIRST RESULTS OF THAT WILL BE THE RECOGNITION OF THE UTTER FUTILITY OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM. WITH USE OF AND COOPERATION WITH THE EMERGING AFRICAN INTELLIGENTSIA, IN AFRICA

ITSELF, AND IN THE NEGROIDS OF ALL AMERICA: WITH THE HELP OF RENASCENT ASIA: AND PARTICULARLY WITH THE DIRECT AID OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR MOVEMENT IN ALL THE WORLD, WE MAY SLOWLY BUT FINALLY ERASE FROM THE MINDS OF MEN AND FROM POLITICAL ACTION, THE ATTEMPT TO BUILD CIVILIZATION ON THE DOMINATION OF A FEW GREAT POWERS OVER THE MASS OF THE WORLD'S WORKERS; AN IDEA STILL WIDELY SPREAD IN ASIA, BUT GRADUALLY BEING CONCENTRATED MORE AND MORE IN AFRICA.

35-2-534

American Jewish Congress
Manhattan Center

November 30, 1948
New York, New York

AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY TO ISRAEL

BY

W. E. B. Du Bois

TO THE AUTHOR OF MORE'S UTOPIA IN THE 16th CENTURY, THE OBVIOUS SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF UNWANTED OR DISSATISFIED GROUPS WAS MIGRATION TO FAR PARTS OF THE WORLD TO BUILD THEIR OWN ECONOMY AND CULTURE. TO THE POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS GROUP OF 100,000 FREE NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1800 IT SEEMED OBVIOUS PHILANTHROPY TO SEND THEM BACK TO AFRICA. BUT ALREADY THE WORLD HAD CHANGED. ISOLATION OF SMALL NATIONS WAS BECOMING INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT. THE GRIP OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM WAS CLOSING ON AFRICA. A SMALL BAND OF LARGELY U LETTERED NEGROES, WITHOUT CAPITAL OR TOOLS, WAS DUMPED ON THE FEVER COAST OF AFRICA WHERE THEY HAD TO FIGHT EVEN FOR LAND TO LIVE ON; AND THEN FOR A CENTURY TO USE ALL THEIR ENERGY TO AVOID ABSORPTION BY

ENGLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY, FINALLY TO FALL IN SHEER EXHAUSTION INTO THE HANDS OF AMERICAN CAPITAL AND ARMED FORCE.

IN SOMETHING THE SAME WAY, WHEN ZION WAS PROPOSED AS A REMEDY FOR POGROMS AND DISCRIMINATION AGAINST JEWS, IT WAS REGARDED BY MANY AS A LOGICAL AND IDEAL SOLUTION. BUT BEFORE IT WAS CARRIED OUT, THE WORLD HAD BEEN WELDED INTO A COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNITY DOMINATED BY THE UNITED STATES AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE. IMMEDIATELY AN INDEPENDENT JEWRY, WITH CAPITAL, SKILLS, AND INTELLIGENCE, BECAME AN OBSTACLE TO THE GROUPS OF IMPERIALISTS WHO PLANNEDTO OWN THE WORLD.

BRITAIN, THE CHAMPION OF A FREE AND INDEPENDENT ZION IN 1917, BECAME THIRTY YEARS LATER BOTH AN OPEN AND SECRET ENEMY OF A PEOPLE AND STATE WHICH THREATENED THE REMAKING OF HER SHATTERED EMPIRE. IF THE UNITED STATES, IN THIS CRISIS OF WORLD CULTURE, HAD REMAINED THE CHAMPION OF LIBERTY AND TOLERANCE WHICH MANKIND HAD A RIGHT TO EXPECT, SHE LONG SINCE WOULD HAVE FIRMLY CHECKMATED THE PLOTS OF BRITAIN, OPENED A VISTA OF REAL PROGRESS TO THE DEGRADED PEOPLES OF THE NEAR EAST, AND MADE

ISRAEL A NATION. BUT THE NEW AND CRAZY DESIRE OF A DOMINANT GROUP OF AMERICANS TO RULE THE WORLD AS HEIR TO BRITISH IMPERIALISM, HAS DECEIVED THIS NATION INTO A DISGRACEFUL BETRAYAL OF A PEOPLE, WHOSE CULTURE HAS SURELY GIVEN AS MUCH TO THE NEW WORLD AS EVER THE ANGLO-SAXON WORLD GAVE.

WHAT PARTICULARLY TOUCHES ME AND INDUCES ME TO MAKE THIS BRIEF STATEMENT TO YOU, IS THE SINGULAR WAY IN WHICH MY OWN PEOPLE OF LATE HAVE UNWITTINGLY BEEN MADE PARTY TO THIS BETRAYAL OF DEMOCRACY. I NEED HARDLY REFER TO THE CURIOUS WAY IN WHICH AFRICAN AND JEWISH HISTORY HAVE BEEN ENTWINED FOR 3,000 YEARS; OR TO THE PECULIAR MINGLING IN AMERICA OF JEWISH AND NEGRO CULTURAL PATTERNS, ESPECIALLY IN RELIGION; OR NEED I RECALL THAT THE PHILANTHROPY OF JEWRY HAS OFTEN HELPED THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN FREEDMEN IN THEIR STILL DESPERATE FIGHT FOR MANHOOD. RATHER, I WISH TO APOLOGIZE IN THE NAME OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO FOR THE APPARENT APOSTACY OF RALPH BUNCHE, ACTING MEDIATOR OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN PALESTINE, TO THE CLEAR IDEALS OF FREEDOM AND FAIR PLAY, WHICH SHOULD HAVE GUIDED THE DESCENDANT OF AN AMERICAN SLAVE. I CAN

EXPLAIN EASILY TO MY MIND, IF NOT TO MY CONSCIENCE, THE ROLE WHICH COUNT BERNADOTTE PLAYED. AS A COMBINATION OF EUROPEAN ARISTOCRACY AND AMERICAN WEALTH, IT COULD NOT PERHAPS HAVE BEEN EXPECTED OF HIM THAT HE WOULD JUDGE ISRAEL JUSTLY AND WITHOUT BIAS. BUT BUNCHE KNOWS WHAT THIS COMBINATION IN THE PAST HAS DONE FOR THE WEAKER PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. HE HAD THE SORT OF OPPORTUNITY WHICH COMES BUT ONCE IN A GENERATION TO A GREAT MAN.

IT IS TRUE THAT HE WAS HANDICAPPED--HOW COMPLETELY WE MAY NEVER KNOW. WE DO KNOW THAT BUNCHE HAS FOR SOME FIVE YEARS BEEN A CAREER OFFICIAL IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT, WHERE THE COLOR-BAR HAS HITHERTO BEEN ALMOST INSURMOUNTABLE. HIS INTELLIGENCE AND KNOWLEDGE HAS BROUGHT HIM UNUSUAL PROMOTION. EVEN WHEN LOANED TO THE SECRETARIAT OF THE UNITED NATIONS, HE HAS CONSISTENTLY FOLLOWED THE DIRECTIVES OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, WHOSE APPOINTEE HE CONTINUES TO BE IN FACT IF NOT IN LAW. HIS CHANCE TO TAKE A JUST STAND AND PLAY A GREAT ROLE FOR FREEDOM MIGHT EASILY HAVE COST HIM HIS CAREER. MOREOVER, IN THIS DAY, HE COULD LOOK ABOUT AND SEE THE YOUTH AND GENIUS

OF THE WORLD SELLING ITSELF EASILY FOR INCOME AND POWER WITH FAR LESS JUSTIFICATION THAN FAUST SOLD HIS SOUL TO THE DEVIL. PERHAPS, THEN, IT WAS A COUNSEL OF PERFECTION TO HAVE HIPED THAT RALPH BUNCHE WOULD HAVE STOOD FAST FOR JUSTICE, FREEDOM, AND THE GOOD FAITH OF HIS NATION AND HIS RACE---PERHAPS: BUT GOD KNOWS I WISH HE HAD. I WISH HE HAD STOOD FIRM AGAINST THE BACILLATION, COMPROMISE, AND BETRAYAL OF OUR DEPARTMENT OF STATE. SINCE HE DID NOT, WHATEVER THE PRESSURE AND MOTIVES WERE, I ASK FORGIVENESS FROM YOU FOR HIM, IN THE NAME OF FIFTEEN MILLION AMERICAN NEGROES.

35-2-38J

45-2-70

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Manhattan Center

November 30, 1948
New York, N. Y.

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AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY TO ISRAEL

W.E.B. DuBois

35-2-268

To the author of More's UTOPIA in the 16th century, the obvious solution of the problem of unwanted or dissatisfied groups was migration to far parts of the world to build their own economy and culture. To the potentially dangerous group of 100,000 Free Negroes in the United States in 1800 it seemed obvious philanthropy to send them back to Africa. But already the world had changed. Isolation of small nations was becoming increasingly difficult. The grip of colonial imperialism was closing on Africa. A small band of largely unlettered Negroes, without capital or tools, was dumped on the fever coast of Africa where they had to fight even for land to live on; and then for a century to use all their energy to avoid absorption by England, France, and Germany, finally to fall in sheer exhaustion into the hands of American capital and armed force.

In something the same way, when Zion was proposed as a ~~solution to~~ remedy for pogroms and discrimination against Jews, it was regarded by many as a logical and ideal solution. But before it was carried out, the world had been welded into a commercial and industrial unity dominated by the United States and the British Empire. Immediately an independent Jewry, with capital, skills, and intelligence, became an obstacle to the groups of imperialists who planned to own the world.

Britain, the champion of a free and independent Zion in 1917, became thirty years later both an open and secret enemy of a people and State which threatened the remaking of her shattered empire. If the United States, in this crisis of world culture, had remained the champion of liberty and tolerance which mankind had a right to expect, she long since would have firmly checkmated the plots of Britain, opened a vista of real progress to the degraded peoples of the Near East, and made Israel a nation. But the new and crazy desire of a dominant group of Americans to rule the world as heir to British imperialism, has deceived this nation into a disgraceful betrayal of a people, whose culture has surely given as much to the New World as ever the Anglo-Saxon world gave.

What particularly touches me and induces me to make this brief statement to you, is the singular way in which my own people, of late, have ~~surprisingly and~~ unwittingly

~~have of late been unwillingly~~ been made party to this betrayal of democracy. I need harly refer to the curious way in which African and Jewish history have been entwined for 3,000 years, or to the peculiar mingling in America of Jewish and Negro cultural patterns, especially in religion; nor need I recall that the philanthropy of Jewry has often helped the sons of the American freedmen in their still desperate fight for manhood. Rather, I wish to apologize in the name of the American Negro for the apparent apostacy of Ralph Bunche, Acting Mediator of the United Nations in Palestine, to the clear ideals of freedom and fair play, which should have guided the descendant of an American slave. I can explain easily to my mind, if not to my conscience, the role which Count Bernadotte played. As a combination of European aristocracy and American wealth, it could not perhaps have been expected of him that he would judge Israel justly and without bias. But Bunche knows what this combination in the past has done for the weaker peoples of the world. He had the sort of opportunity which comes but once in a generation to a great man.

35-2-269

It is true that he was, ~~of course,~~ handicapped -- how completely we may never know. We do know that Bunche has for some five years been a career official in the State Department, where the color-bar has hitherto been almost insurmountable. His intelligence and knowledge has brought him unusual promotion. Even when loaned to the Secretariat of the United Nations, he has consistently followed the directives of the State Department, whose appointee he continues to be in fact if not in law. His chance to take a just stand and play a great role for Freedom might easily have cost him his career. Moreover, in this day, he could look about and see the youth and genius of the world selling itself easily for income and power with far less justification than Faust sold his soul to the Devil. Perhaps, then, it was a counsel of perfection to have hoped that Ralph Bunche would have stood fast for justice, freedom, and the good faith of his nation and his race -- perhaps; but God knows I wish he had. I wish he had stood firm against the vacillation, compromise, and betrayal of our Department of State. Since he did not, whatever the pressure and motives were, I ask forgiveness from you for him, in the name of fifteen million American Negroes.

American Jewish Congress
Manhattan Center

File Copy

November 30, 1948
New York, New York

AMERICA'S RESPONSIBLIITY TO ISRAEL
by

W. E. B. Du Bois

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35-2-84

1940
11.15

Mass

AFRICA TODAY
BY

W. E. B. Du BOIS

35-2-496

SEVERAL TIMES | IN RECENT YEARS | I HAVE SPOKEN TO YOU | AND OTHERS | ON AFRICA. / USUALLY MY OBJECT HAS BEEN | TO CALL YOUR ATTENTION | TO THE PAST HISTORY OF THIS CONTINENT | AS THE HOME OF OUR ANCESTORS | AND TO EMPHASIZE THE EFFECT | OF THIS HISTORY | ON THE PRESENT DAY. // BUT SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR, / THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AFRICA | HAS CHANGED AND INCREASED | AND IS IMPORTANT | NOT ONLY FOR ITS PAST | AND FOR US, | BUT FOR THE WHOLE WORLD. // WHILE THE CENTER | OF THE WORLD'S MAIN CULTURE | REMAINS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA; / AND WHILE THE MAJORITY | OF THE EARTH'S PEOPLE | STILL LIVE IN EUROPE, / ASIA AND | THE AMERICAS / THERE IS TODAY | DEVELOPING IN AFRICA, / CHANGES | WHICH WILL SO PROFOUNDLY AFFECT | THE WHOLE WORLD | AS | TO LARGELY | DETERMINE ITS FUTURE. // IN A SENSE, THE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN CULTURE, / AS WE KNOW IT, / MAY BE WORKED OUT | ON THE

--1-A--

CONTINENT OF AFRICA | IN THE NEXT FIFTY YEARS.

35-2-496

DURING THE 18th AND 19th CENTURIES | THERE TOOK PLACE IN EUROPE | A REVOLUTION | WHICH PLACED THAT SMALL PENNINSULA, | BELONGING GEOGRAPHICALLY TO THE CONTINENT OF ASIA, / AT THE HEAD OF THE WORLD'S CULTURE. // THE REASONS FOR THIS | WERE NOT MORAL EXCELLANCE | NOR GREATER POWER OF INTELLECT. / THEY WERE BASED | ON EXTRAORDINARY TECHNICAL POWER | OVER THE FORCES OF NATURE, / ARISING FROM A NEW SCIENTIFIC METHOD | AND THE DISCOVERY OF ~~ENDLESS RICH LAND IN~~ AMERICA. // AFRICAN SLAVERY IN AMERICA, | THE MANUFACTURE OF CONSUMERS GOODS IN EUROPE, / BY USE OF THE LABOR AND MATERIALS | FROM AFRICA, ASIA, AND AMERICA | AND A WORLD-WIDE EXCHANGE OF GOODS | ENSUED. // THE RISE OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM | AND THE SPREAD | OF WHAT WE KNOW AS COLONIAL IMPERIALISM | WAS THE RESULT. // UNDER COLONIAL IMPERIALISM, / ASIA, AFRICA, SOUTH AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN ~~AREAS~~ / BECAME DEPRESSED AREAS | OF THE WORLD | WHERE LABOR

35-2-47

FURNISHED RAW MATERIALS /TO EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA.// COLONIAL IMPERIALISM/ AND THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM /WHICH BUILT IT,/ WITH COMMERCE AND THE MONEY ECONOMY,/ DEVELOPED THE MODERN CIVILIZED WORLD/ AS WE KNOW IT.// IT CONTAINED HOWEVER,/ THE SEEDS OF ITS OWN DESTRUCTION /WHICH BECAME MANIFEST /IN THE FIRST AND SECOND WORLD WARS./ THE FIRST WORLD WAR /WAS A WAR FOR THE POSSESSION OF COLONIES /AMONG THE LEADING EUROPEAN NATIONS.// THE SECOND WORLD WAR/ WAS THE BEGINNING OF THE COLLAPSE /OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM.// THE RESULT HAS BEEN /THE REVOLT OF ASIA,/ WHICH HOLDS THE MAJORITY /OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD,/ A realignment of the Balkans with Russia BEGINNING OF REVOLT IN SOUTH AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: AND UNREST ~~IN AFRICA~~ /WHICH, HOWEVER/ HAS BEEN COUNTERED /BY AN ATTEMPT TO REBUILD AND CONCENTRATE /A NEW COLONIAL IMPERIALISM /ON THE AFRICAN CONTENENT/ AND WITH THE AFRICAN PEOPLE, under control of Europe + the US

2A --2--

COMPULSION /OF EUROPE AND AMERICA/ and will have major effect on Europe

AFRICA /IS THEREFORE,/ IN A CERTAIN WAY,/ A MANISFESTATION OF EUROPEAN THOUGHT AND ACTION /AND IS THUS GOING TO BE FATAL/ FOR MODERN CULTURE.// IF THEN AFRICA IS NOT WATCHED,/ THE COLLAPSE OF EUROPE /MAY COME ~~UNNOTICED~~ in Africa./ THEREFORE WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN /TO AFRICA /AS IT SEEMS TO ME/ IS THAT WHILE EUROPE IS PROGRESSING /~~TOWARD~~ IN ITS DEVELOPMENT /TOWARD SOCIALISM: /THIS TREND WILL BE COUNTERACTED /IN AFRICA.// SOCIALISTIC PLANNING /IS GOING TO INCREASE /ON A STRONG FOUNDATION /OF PRIVATE CAPITALISM /IN EUROPE + THE UNITED STATES ~~OF AMERICA~~/ WHILE THE CARIBBEAN AND SOUTH AMERICA /ARE GOING TO FOLLOW ~~THE~~ this LEAD ~~OF NORTH AMERICA.~~

EASTERN EUROPE AND ASIA /ARE GOING TO DEVELOP /TOWARD SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM.// BUT AGAINST THIS DEVELOPMENT /IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA,/ THERE IS GOING TO BE /A STRONG COUNTER INFLUENCE /RISING FROM THE FACT /THAT THE LAST STAND /OF EXPLOITING CAPITALISM /IS GOING TO TAKE PLACE IN AFRICA:/ AND IF IT IS SUCCESSFUL,/ AND IN SO FAR AS IT IS SUCCESSFUL,/ IT IS GOING TO

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HINDER AND KEEP BACK THS SOCIALISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF BOTH EUROPE AND AMERICA. THE DEVELOPMENT THEREFORE OF AFRICA CANNOT BE CONSIDERED AS LOCAL OR OUTSIDE THE MAIN DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EUROPEAN CULTURE. IT IS NOT ONLY A PART OF IT BUT IT IS AN EXCEEDINGLY IMPORTANT PART, BECAUSE IF IT BECOMES THE CENTER OF A BELATED CAPITALISTIC EXPLOITATION IT IS GOING TO HINDER THE NATURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

DEFENCELESS

MOREOVER, THERE ARE HISTORICAL REASONS WHY SUCH EXPLOITATION CAN TAKE PLACE IN AFRICA MORE EASILY AND READILY EVEN TODAY THAN ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD. ITS PROGRESS HAS BEEN STOPPED IN ASIA BY INDIA, CHINA AND INDONESIA. IT HAS BEEN HALTED IN SOUTH AMERICA BY THE UNSTEADY BUT GRADUAL RISE OF THE LABORING CLASSES AND THE SAME IS TRUE IN THE CARIBBEAN.

MOREOVER, TOWARD THE PEOPLE OF ASIA DESPITE LONG MISREPRESENTATION AND IGNORANCE, EUROPE AND AMERICA HAVE TODAY COME TO THE PLACE WHERE THEY HAVE

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CONSIDERABLE RESPECT FOR THE ANCIENT CULTURES OF THE LAND, AND PARTICULARLY A FEAR OF THEIR TREMENDOUSLY LARGE POPULATIONS. BUT IN AFRICA THE LONG EXPERIENCE OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND AMERICAN SLAVERY UPON THE MINDS OF MEN HAS BY NO MEANS BEEN ELIMINATED. THAT PART OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE WHO WERE TRANSPORTED TO AMERICA AND HAVE DEVELOPED HERE, HAVE TO BE SURE, GAINED A MODICUM OF RESPECT. NO ONE QUESTIONS TODAY BUT WHAT THE NEGRO ELEMENT IN ALL THE AMERICAS IS GOING TO DEVELOPE along with MODERN CULTURE.

ON THE OTHER HAND, NOT ONLY AMONG WHITE PEOPLE BUT ALSO AMONG THE DESCENDENTS OF NEGROES THEMSELVES IN AMERICA, THE QUESTION OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF AFRICA IS BY NO MEANS CLEAR: AND THIS OF COURSE ARISES HISTORICALLY FROM THE HISTORY OF THE CONNECTION OF EUROPEAN CULTURE WITH AFRICA BETWEEN THE RENAISSANCE 1500 AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION 1750. BEFORE THAT, FROM THE TIME OF THE SPREAD OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE BEGINNING OF THE RENAISSANCE, AFRICA, IN THE WORLD'S OPINION HAD EQUAL RESPECT WITH OTHER PARTS OF THE

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WORLD. THERE WAS NO COLOR LINE, BLACK MEN CAME AND WENT AND PLAYED THEIR PART AND WERE RECOGNIZED ALL OVER THE WORLD: LONG BEFORE IN ANCIENT HISTORY EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION HAD BEEN AFRICAN, AND THE SO-CALLED ARABIAN CULTURE DEVELOPED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY IN AFRICA. LATER THE GREAT CATHOLIC CHURCH WAS DEVELOPED IN North AFRICA.

THE CHANGE THAT CAME AFTER THE RENAISSANCE WAS DUE TO THE USE OF THE LABOR OF AFRICANS IN SOUTHERN EUROPE AND THEN IN AMERICA: FROM THIS LABOR AROSE THE FURNISHING OF MATERIALS LIKE GOLD AND SPICES, AND CROPS LIKE TOBACCO, SUGAR AND COTTON WHICH WHEN COMBINED WITH THE NEW SCIENTIFIC TECHNIQUE OF THE LATER EIGHTEENTH AND EARLIER NINETEENTH CENTURIES TRANSFORMED THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE WORLD.

THE RESULT OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY ON THE EUROPEAN MIND AND CULTURE WAS TO DEGRADE THE POSITION OF LABOR AND THE RESPECT FOR HUMANITY AS SUCH. NOT, GOD KNOWS, THAT THE ANCIENT WORLD HONORED LABOR.

35-2-476

ATTEMPT AT REVOLUTION. THE UNITY OF APPRENTICE AND MASTER, THE CHRISTIAN SYMPATHY BETWEEN RICH AND POOR, THE COMMUNISM OF MEDIEVAL CHARITY, ALL WERE THRUST INTO THE NEW STRAIT JACKET OF THOUGHT: POVERTY WAS THE RESULT OF SLOTH AND CRIME: WEALTH WAS THE REWARD OF VIRTUE AND WORK. THE DEGRADED YELLOW AND BLACK PEOPLE WERE IN THE PLACES WHICH THE WORLD OF NECESITY ASSIGNED TO THE INFERIOR: AND TOWARD THESE LOWER RANKS THE WORKING CLASSES OF ALL COUNTRIES TENDED TO SINK SAVE AS THEY WERE RAISED AND SUPPORTED BY THE RICH, THE INVESTORS, THE CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY.

THE RESULT, IN THE LATTER QUARTER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY WAS THE DEDICATION OF AFRICA AS A FIELD FOR EUROPEAN EXPLOITATION. EGYPT WAS LEFT UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE DESCENDENTS OF ARAB INVADERS WHO BECAME PUPPETS AND AGENTS OF EUROPEAN INVESTORS. ETHIOPIA, MORE OR LESS SECURE UPON HER HIGH CITADEL OF MOUNTAINS WAS ISOLATED AND LEFT FOR FUTURE CONQUESTS.

LIBERIA WAS MARKED FOR SLAUGHTER/ BUT, THE QUESTION OF OWNERSHIP/ HELD UP BECAUSE OF THE PRIOR RIGHTS OF AMERICA/ WHICH WERE NOT ASSERTED UNTIL THE 20th ~~EIGHTEENTH~~ CENTURY. // THE REST OF AFRICA/ WAS DIVIDED ~1874 AMONG THE EUROPEAN NATIONS/ WITH AT FIRST NO QUESTION/ BUT THAT THE LAND WAS TO BE CONFISCATED,/ THE LABOR CONTROLLED,/ THE PEOPLE ~~WERE~~/ TO HAVE NO VOICE IN GOVERNMENT/ AND AS LITTLE EDUCATION/ AS WAS NECESSARY FOR THEM/ TO DO THE WORK/ OF RAISING VALUABLE MATERIALS. // THIS SCHEME WAS PUT INTO FULL EFFECT/ IN SOUTH AFRICA,/ THE RHODESIAS, IN PORTUGUESE AFRICE,/ IN THE BELGIAN CONGO,/ IN FRENCH AFPICA,/ AND IN WHAT WAS GERMAN AFRICA/ AND largely in BRITISH EAST AFRICA. // IN BRITISH WEST AFRICA/ THE SCHEME DID NOT COMPLETELY TRIUMPH./ THE BRITISH ~~WAS~~ WERE UNABLE TO CONQUER, west Africa ~~BUT REMAINED ON THE STRONG POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS OF WEST AFRICA~~ AND THEY THEREFORE, LEFT OF NECESSITY/ TO THE WEST AFRICANS/ THEIR LOCAL RULE/ INCLUDING OWNERSHIP OF THE LAND. // BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY MONOPOLIZED THE MARKETS,/ REGULATED THE PRICES/ AND IN THIS WAY/ INDIRECTLY FIXED WAGES AND COERCED LABOR.

35-2-47A

IN ~~SOME~~ PARTS OF THE CONTINENT/ THE type of EXPLOITATION ~~WAS MODIFIED.~~ varied/ IN SOUTH AFRICA/ ~~THE OVERWHELMING NUMBER OF NATIVES/ INTERFERED SOMEWHAT WITH CONTROL, BUT ON THE OTHER HAND,~~/ THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD AND DIAMONDS/ BROUGHT IN SO MUCH CAPITAL AND POWER/ THAT/ (Land & Labor were completely dominated and PORTUGUESE AFRICA/ AND THE VARIOUS BRITISH PROTECTORATES/ WERE ~~REDUCED AND~~ PRACTICALLY COMPELLED TO FURNISH LABOR. // IN THE BELGIAN CONGO,/ A HIGH SOUNDING PROMISE OF CHIRSTIANIZING/ AND EDUCATING THE NATIVES/ WAS MADE THE LYING EXCUSE/ FOR SEIZING ONE OF THE MOST FERTILE PARTS OF AFRICA/ AND SUBMITTING IT/ TO ONE OF THE WORST INSTANCES/ OF EXPLOITATION/ THAT THE MODERN WORLD HAS KNOWN. // IN FRENCH AFRICA, THE PROCEDURE DIFFERED ONLY/ IN THE FACT/ THAT THE SMALL INTELLIGENTSIA/ AMONG THE NEGROES WAS GIVEN A CHANCE/ TO ASSOCIATE ITSELF/ WITH THE EXPLOITERS/ AND BECOME AN INTEGRAL PART/ OF THE EXPLOITING NATION. // THE EXPLOITATION/ OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE/ WENT ON IN EXACTLY THE SAME MANNER/ AS THOUGH THE EXPLOITERS HAD BEEN ENTIRELY WHITE. /// THEN CAME TWO WORLD WARS,/ WHICH CHANGED THE FACE OF

35-2-47B

35-2-474

COLONIAL IMPERIALISM AND NARROWED THE FIELD OF EXPLOITATION. HOW VALUABLE AFRICA IS FOR EXPLOITATION, LET US PAUSE A MOMENT AND CONSIDER.

THROUGH THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, AMERICA ON THE STRENGTH OF ITS BLACK LABOR AS WELL AS WHITE, GREW IN WEALTH AND IMPORTANCE. IT BECAME THE GREATEST EXPERIMENT IN MODERN DEMOCRACY, SEEKING TO EMBRACE EVENTUALLY NOT SIMPLY THE WHITE BUT THE BLACK WORKER. TODAY NOT ONLY IS THE NEGRO AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE WORLD OF LABOR AND ART IN ALL THE AMERICAS, BUT BEYOND THIS THE TRADE OF AMERICA IS BUILT IN LARGE DEGREE UPON THE PRODUCTS RAISED BY AFRICANS AND THEIR CHILDREN THE WORLD OVER.

BUT BEYOND AMERICA AND IN THE MAIN STATES OF THE MODERN WORLD THE COLD ECONOMIC FACT IS THAT AFRICA, ITS LABOR AND PRODUCTS, ARE OF PRIME IMPORTANCE. OF THE TYPICAL PRODUCTS OF AFRICA, COTTON, ONE OF THE OLDEST THERE, IS STILL VALUABLE, AND COTTON CLOTH WAS EXPORTED FROM AFRICA LONG

35-2-480

BEFORE IT WAS WOVEN IN ENGLAND. SISAL, HEMP, AND OTHER FIBER PLANTS AND FLAX ARE INDIGENOUS TO AFRICA. THE VAST DEMAND FOR VEGETABLE OIL HAS RESULTED IN THE OIL INDUSTRY, ESPECIALLY IN WEST AFRICA. PALM OIL IS USED FOR MARGARINE, SOAP (LUX, RINSO), LUBRICATION, "OLIVE OIL," AND FOR OTHER INDUSTRIAL PURPOSES. THUS THE OIL PALM OF WEST AFRICA IS A VALUABLE PRODUCT AND SUPPLIES PALM KERNELS WHICH ARE EXPORTED FROM THE WHOLE WEST COAST. THE GROUND NUT AND COCOA-NUT ALSO PRODUCE OILS. THE COCONUT PALM IS FOUND ALL OVER THE CONTINENT NORTH OF THE TROPIC OF CAPRICORN AND ALSO SOUTH OF THE DATE-PALM LINE.

THE SHEA-NUT TREE GROWS WHERE THE OIL PALM DOES NOT, AND ITS FAT IS USED FOR FOOD, SOAP-MAKING, AND BUTTER. THE COCOA INDUSTRY OF WEST AFRICA NOW SUPPLIES TWO-THIRDS OF THE COCOA OF THE WORLD. KOLA NUTS ARE ALSO EXPORTED. IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA PRACTICALLY ALL GRAINS CULTIVATED IN EUROPE CAN BE GROWN. COFFEE IS NATIVE TO AFRICA AND IS NAMED

AFTER THE PROVINCE OF KAFFA, ~~ABYSSINIA.~~ Ethiopia/ IT GROWS ALSO IN LIBERIA.// THE GREATER PART OF TROPICAL AFRICA/PRODUCES SOME KIND OF RUBBER.// NEARLY ALL OF THE CLOVES in the World ARE GOTTEN FROM ZANZIBAR AND PEMBA./ FRUITS ARE GROWN AND EXPORTED/ FROM NEARLY EVERY PART OF AFRICA,/ FROM THE BANANAS AND MANGOES IN THE TROPICS/ TO THE WINE GRAPES OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH./ THE DATE PALM FLOURISHED THROUGHOUT NORTH AFRICA.// LARGE AREAS OF THE CONTINENT /ARE SUITABLE FOR CATTLE AND SHEEP RAISING,/ ALTHOUGH FLIES AND DISEASES/ KEEP THEM OUT OF OTHER DISTRICTS.

35-2-491

GOLD IS WIDELY DISTRIBUTED IN AFRICA/AND HAS BEEN WORKED FROM PREHISTORIC AGES/ON THE WEST COAST,/ THE NUBIAN DESERT,/ CENTRAL AND SOUTH AFRICA.// A THIRD OF THE WORLD'S SUPPLY OF GOLD IN THE WORLD TODAY IS MINED ON THE WITWATERSRAND./ DIAMONDS ARE FOUND IN ~~THREE DISTRICTS OF~~ SOUTH & West AFRICA/AND IN THE BELGIAN CONGO./ THEY ARE OF IMMENSE VALUE!// THERE ARE COAL-BEARING AREAS IN SOUTH AFRICA. ~~IRON~~ (The use of IRON began in Africa at it pre-historic times ~~AGE~~,/ HAS BEEN WORKED FROM ~~AN EARLY~~ AND ON THE GOLD COAST, MANGANESE IS BEING DEVELOPED.

THERE ARE FOUR GREAT COPPER PRODUCING AREAS,/PRINCIPALLY IN RHODESIA AND THE BELGIAN CONGO,/ AND ALSO IN THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL.// LEAD, GRAPHITE, AND ZINC/ ARE WIDELY DISTRIBUTED./ PHOSPHATES OCCUR IN THE NORTH./ MINERAL OIL HAS BEEN DISCOVERED IN EGYPT/ NEAR THE RED SEA./ SODA IS LARGELY AN AFRICAN PRODUCT./ ~~MAIZE~~ CORN IS CULTIVATED IN MANY REGIONS,/ TOBACCO IS A CROP OF SOUTH AFRICA./ SUGAR IS GROWN IN EGYPT, MOZAMBIQUE, AND NATAL./ AND THERE IS MUCH VALUABLE TIMBER ALL OVER THE CONTINENT.

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BESIDES SUPPLYING THESE MATERIALS/AFRICA IS ONE OF THE LARGEST RESERVOIRS OF HUMAN LABOR,/NOT ONLY OF COMMON LABOR,/BUT OF SEMI-SKILLED/AND INCREASING NUMBERS OF SKILLED LABORERS.// FOR THE MOST PART/THESE LABORERS ARE UNORGANIZED/AND WITHOUT POLITICAL POWER,/ AND CONSEQUENTLY THEY FORM THE CHEAPEST LABOR AVAILABLE,/ SAVE IN ASIA./

ONE GREAT BY-PRODUCT/OF THE LAST WAR/ IS THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF AFRICA,/THE SECOND GREATEST LAND AREA OF THE EARTH,/ WITH ~~150,000,000~~ (perhaps 200,000,000) PEOPLE/ THEREFORE

AND LIMITLESS NATURAL RESOURCES.// ASIA IS DISAPPEARING AS A COLONIAL AREA:/ BRITAIN HAS LOST INDIA:/ FRANCE CANNOT HOLD INDO-CHINE:/HOLLAND IS LOSING INDONESIA:/ AND CHINA IS BEATING CHIANG KAI-SHEK,/ PUPPET OF THE WEST/ TO HIS KNEES.// IN THE NEAR EAST, ARABS AND ISLAM/SPELL A SHARP CURB TO EUROPEAN OVERLORSHIP. / IF WESTERN IMPERIALISM IS TO SURVIVE/IT MUST CENTER IN AFRICA.

35-2-483

AN ENGLISH DAILY SAID RECENTLY,/ "THERE ARE FEW PEOPLE/WHO REALIZE THE URGENT IMPORTANCE/OF PAN-AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT." / ERNEST BEVIN, REVIEWING FOREIGN AFFAIRS/ BEFORE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS LAST JANUARY,/ COMMENTED, " I BELIEVE NOW THE TIME IS RIPE/FOR A CONSOLIDATION OF WESTERN EUROPE,/ AND THIS CONSOLIDATION MUST BE SUPPORTED. / AND THAT INVOLVES THE CLOSEST COLLABORATION/ BETWEEN THE COMMONWEALTH /AND THE OVERSEAS TERRITORY/OF THE FRENCH, DUTCH, BELGIANS, AND PORTUGUESE. / THEIR RAW MATERIALS, FOOD AND OTHER RESOURCES/ COULD BE OF MUTUAL ADVANTAGE/TO THESE TERRITORIES/AND TO THE WORLD." ANGLO*FRENCH CONSULTATIONS/HAVE BEEN UNDER WAY/ FOR CREATION OF AN ECONOMIC

GROUPING/BY WHICH WESTERN EUROPE/ WOULD BE LINKED/WITH THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

OUT OF THIS AGITATION/HAVE COME THREE SIGNIFICENT DEVELOPMENTS:/ BRITISH MIGRATION TO AFRICA:/ THE NEW FORTIFICATION OF EAST AFRICA:/ AND GIGANTIC SCHEMES OF EXPLOITATION IN AFRICA. // IN JANUARY OF THIS YEAR, 95,000 BRITISH SUBJECTS/ WERE REGISTERED FOR PASSAGE TO AFRICA. / THIS YEAR A HUGE MILITARY STORES DEPOT/HAS BEEN BUILT IN KENYA, EAST AFRICA./ THOUSANDS OF WHITE TROOPS AND THOUSANDS OF BLACK LABORERS/ WORKED ON IT /AND 2,000 ITALIAN ARTISANS WERE IMPORTED by air TO HELP./ HUNDREDS OF TONS OF WAR MATERIAL/WERE TRANSFERRED / FROM NORTH AFRICA /AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

35-2-484

THE PEANUT PLAN,/ PART OF A GENERAL SCHEME TO DEVELOP AFRICA/AS A BRITISH FOOD ESTATE/ CALLS FOR CLEARING, PLANTING, AND CULTIVATING/ BY MECHANIZED METHODS/IN EAST AFRICA/MORE THAN 3,000,000 ACRES OF LAND IN UNITS OF 30,000 ACRES EACH. / IT HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS THE "MOST IMPORTANT ACTION OF GOVERNMENT /IN THE HISTORY OF BRITISH TROPICAL AFRICA."

OTHER PLANS/CALL FOR THE EXPANSION OF THE PALM OIL INDUSTRY/OF NIGERIA, IMPROVEMENT OF THE COCOA CROP IN WEST AFRICA,/ INCREASED PRODUCTION OF COTTON, RUBBER AND HARDWOODS,// INTENSIFICATION OF MINING,/ AND THE CREATION OF HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER.// ONE PROJECT FOR ~~THE~~ UGANDA IS CALLED "BREATHTAKING"/ IT WOULD RAISE THE LEVEL/OF LAKE VICTORIA BY THREE FEET/AND REVOLUTIONIZE THE VALLEY OF THE NILE.// ANOTHER PROJECT FOR SOUTHERN RHODESIA/CALLS FOR A DAM/FOUR TIMES THE SIZE OF BOULDER DAM/TO MAKE THIS REGION/ONE OF THE WORLD'S FOUR CHIEF SOURCES/OF HIGH GRADE STEEL.

WHAT DOES AFRICA SAY TO THIS? /THERE IS NO ONE UNIT/WHICH WE CAN CALL "AFRICA." /WE MAY DISTINGUISH SIX AFRICAS TODAY. /THE WESTERN BULGE OF THE CONTINENT/ABOVE THE GULF OF GUINEA./ THE HOT, LOW COASTAL BELT, LUSH WITH VEGETATION,/ RISES TOWARD THE CENTRAL PLATEAU./ HERE ONCE THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE CENTERED:/ HERE IS LIBERIA,/ THE ATTEMPT OF AMERICAN NEGROES TO FIND FREEDOM THROUGH REPATRIATION. /AND HERE IS BRITISH WEST AFRICA, WHERE

A demand for autonomy has spread from Sierra Leone to the Gold Coast + Nigeria

NEGROES TODAY/ARE IN MOST ACTIVE REVOLT AGAINST COLONIALISM./ A DOZEN PARAMOUNT CHIEFS/AND KINGS OF WEST AFRICAN TRIBES/HAVE JUST BEEN ENTERTAINED IN ENGLAND/AND RECEIVED BY KING GEORGE in person TO ALLAY THIS AGITATION.

NEXT, THERE IS THE INLAND PLATEAU OF CENTRAL AFRICA/WHICH DIPS TO THE CONGO VALLEY/ AND RISES TO THE GREAT BASTION OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE./ HERE, IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA/AND THE RHODESIAS,/ IS THE WORST CENTER OF RACE HATE IN THE WORLD./ HERE THREE AND A THIRD MILLION WHITES HAVE ABSOLUTE POLITICAL/AND ECONOMIC MASTERY/OF 9,000,000 BLACKS, MULATTOES, AND ASIATICS. THEY HAVE SEIZED 88 PER CENT OF THE LAND,/ AND ENFORCED PARALYZING CASTE LEGISLATION./ THEIR TERRITORIES FURNISH THE WORLD/WITH GOLD, DIAMONDS, AND COPPER. Here an Indian-African clash just killed hundreds

UP THE EAST COAST/ PAST THE GREAT RIFT/AND THE MOUNTAIN 5 OF THE MOON,/ THE EFFORT OF SOUTH AFRICA/TO KEEP THE CONTROL OF BLACK LABOR AND LAND/ IN THE HANDS OF A FEW WHITES/ CONTINUES IN NYASSALAND,/ THE RHODESIAS, TANGANYIKA,/ AND IN KENYA.// IN KENYA, 25,000 WHITES/WITH 80 PER CENT OF

35-2-384

THE BEST LAND/ HAVE LONG BEEN TRYING TO ENSLAVE THE LABOR/ OF 3,500,000 NEGROES.// BUT KENYA LIES NEXT/ TO A BLACK AFRICA/ WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN SUBDUED. THERE IS UGANDA, WITH 4,000,000 BLACKS/ WHO STILL RETAIN LOCAL RULE. / AND PARTICULARLY, THERE/ ON THE FROWNING PEAKS/ RISING ON THE HORN OF EAST AFRICA/ PERCHES ETHIOPIA/ WHICH MAINTAINED ITS FREEDOM FROM ALEXANDER THE GREAT/ TO MUSSOLINI,/ AND REGAINED IT AFTER WORLD WAR II.// DOWN THE NILE VALLEY FROM ETHIOPIA/ LIES THE SUDAN,/ CRADLE OF EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION./ IT DROVE OUT ~~BOTH EGYPT AND ENGLAND~~ EUROPE/ IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, for 15 years but ~~AND~~ THEN WAS CONQUERED BY KITCHENER,/ NOW ITS 7,000,000 BLACKS ARE BEING WOOED/ BY BOTH EGYPT AND BRITAIN.

and the newly invented machine gun

IN ARABIAN NORTH AFRICA,/ WITH ITS NEGROID ELEMENTS,/ FRANCE IS TRYING TO INCORPORATE ALGIERS,/ MOROCCO, AND TUNIS INTO METROPOLITAN FRANCE,/ WITH POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL POWER/ CENTERED IN THE HANDS OF RESIDENT FRENCH CITIZENS.// EXTENDING THIS IDEA FURTHER,/ THERE IS WHAT WE MAY CALL LATIN AFRICA./ THE VAST FRENCH AFRICAN EMPIRE FROM THE SAHARA/ TO THE GULF OF GUINEA,/ WITH THE PORTUGUEST POSSESSIONS IN THE SOUTH.// HERE THE/ EFFORT

35-2-384

IS MADE TO EXPLOIT BLACK LAND AND LABOR/ BY TAKING A SMALL BLACK AND MULATTO ELITE/ INTO PARTERSHIP:/ SO THAT A FEW NATIVES BECOME RICH AND EDUCATED/ FRENCHMENT AND PORTUGUESE,/ BUT LEAVE THE MASSES TO ALMOST UNCHECKED ROBBERY AND EXPLOITATION.

WE HAVE LEFT THE "HEART OF AFRICA",/ THE GREAT VALLEY OF THE CONGO, WHICH LEOPOLD OF BELGIUM/ STOLE FROM AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION TO "CHRISTIANIZE" AFRICA,/ TURNED INTO A BROTHEL OF THEFT/ AND FINALLY SURRENDERED TO BELGIUM.// IT IS NOW A CENTER OF THE MOST SCIENTIFIC EXPLOITATION OF HUMAN LABOR IN THE WORLD./ THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS OF THE BLACKS ARE SUBORDINATED TO THE LONG TERM PROFIT/ OF BELGIUM/ WITH A MINIMUM OF EDUCATION/ AND NO PROMISE OF SELF RULE/ OR OF MODERN LIVING STANDARDS./ ALL ~~IS QUIET IN THE CONGO, WHENCE~~ Here THE UNITED STATES GETS COPPER, FOR ELECTRIC EXPANSION,/ AND URANIUM FOR ATOMIC BOMBS.

THIS IS AFRICA TODAY. ~~WHAT IS ITS ANSWER TO THE NEW POST WAR EXPLOITATION?~~

WHAT IS THE REACTION OF BLACK AFRICA TO ALL THIS? ARE THE NATIVES SIMPLY STOLID AND DUMB, SUBMITTING WITHOUT PROTEST OR COMPREHENSION OF THEIR PLIGHT? // THAT IS THE COMPLACENT BELIEF OF MOST OF THE WHITE WORLD, YET THE FACTS BELIE THIS. ONLY THE FACTS EITHER ARE NOT CABLED OR IF WIRED, NOT PRINTED.

35-2-488

THE SITUATION IS CLEAR: // IN SOUTH AND EAST AFRICA, THE LAND HAS BEEN TAKEN FROM THE NATIVES AND WHEN THEY ARE TAXED TO COMPEL THEM TO WORK ON THE PLANTATIONS OR IN THE MINES. // IN WEST AFRICA, THE NATIVE HAS HIS LAND, BUT IS RULED BY A WHITE GOVERNOR. // "INDIRECT RULE" LEAVES LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE HANDS OF THE CHIEFS, BUT THE GOVERNOR CAN REMOVE THESE CHIEFS AND PAYS THEIR SALARIES. THUS HIS COMMISSIONERS RULE THE RULERS. // WHITE SETTLETS ALL OVER AFRICA ARE WORKING FOR WHITE SUPREMACY IN INDUSTRY AND GOVERNMENT: BIG BUSINESS IS STRIVING FOR MONOPOLY OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND CONTROL OF LABOR: ALIEN RACIAL GROUPS ARE DEMANDING THE PRIVILEGES OF WHITES. A

NATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA IS DEMANDING AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS.

35-2-489

WHAT NOW IS THE RANK AND FILE OF THE WORKERS THINKING AND DOING? // IN SOUTH AFRICA HAVE OCCURRED (in the last 3 years) AT LEAST TWENTY RIOTS AND DISTURBANCES VARYING FROM STUDENT STRIKES AT LOVEDALE TO THE BURNING OF THEIR PASSES BY 7000 NATIVES AT CAPETOWN, AND CULMINATING IN THE STRIKE OF 50,000, NEGRO MINERS IN AUGUST, 1946, TO OBTAIN A WAGE OF $2 A DAY, INSTEAD OF THE 45 CENTS THEY ARE RECEIVING. FIVE STRIKERS WERE KILLED BY THE POLICE, 62 ARRESTED FRO BREACH OF CONTRACT AND CONSPIRACY, 46 OF WHOM WERE HEAVILY FINED OR JAILED. RAIDS AND ARRESTS CONTINUED FOR A MONTH, INCLUDING ARRESTS OF SOME LIBERAL WHITES. // "COMMUNISM" WAS BLAMED FOR THE OUTBREAK.

IN KENYA, IN JANUARY 1947, SEVEN THOUSAND NATIVES STRUCK, AFFECTING ELEVEN BUSINESS CONCERNS. // AFTER FAILURE TO SATISFY THE STRIKERS, THE STRIKE SPREAD TO UGANDA WITH DISTURBANCES AT FOUR CENTERS. IT WAS FINALLY SETTLED BY A RAISE IN WAGE OF MORE THAN TWENTY FIVE PER CENT.

35-2-490

IN WEST AFRICA, THERE WERE SERIOUS DISTURBANCES IN NIGERIA AND ON THE GOLD COAST. IN NIGERIA, IN 1944, INCREASED GOVERNMENT ALLOWANCES WERE GRANTED WHITE CIVIL SERVANTS BUT NOT ALLOWED FOR NEGROES. CONSEQUENTIALLY, IN 1945 A GENERAL STRIKE OF 150,000 NON-CLERICAL WORKERS WAS DECLARED AND THIS EVENTUALLY BROUGHT A FIFTY PER CENT INCREASE IN WAGES. LATER THERE WERE FURTHER STRIKES OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS, METAL WORKERS, AND EMPLOYEES OF THE UNITED AFRICA COMPANY. MINERS STRUCK IN THE ASHANTI GOLD MINES AND SECURED INCREASED WAGES.

ON THE GOLD COAST, STRIKES FINALLY ASSUMED THE ASPECT OF CIVIL WAR. IN 1946, A COMMISSION FOUND THAT THE COST OF LIVING HAD GONE UP TWO HUNDRED PER CENT AND RECOMMENDED INCREASED WAGES TO GEOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES. TEACHERS THEN COMPLAINED, AND A THIRD COMMISSION GAVE THEM INCREASES. RAILWAY WORKERS AND MINERS THEN ASKED FOR RAISES, STRUCK WHEN THEY WERE REFUSED, AND GAINED THEIR DEMANDS AFTER SEVERAL WEEKS.

35-2-491

THEN CAME A COLONY-WIDE BOYCOTT AGAINST HIGH PRICES CHARGED BY IMPORTING CONCERNS, LED BY A PROGRESSIVE CHIEF. A PRICE CONTROL COMMISSION WAS SET UP TO CURB PRICES AND ORDERED THEM REDUCED BY THIRTY THREE AND ONE THIRD PER CENT. THE DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS THEREUPON STARTED A MARCH TO THE GOVERNOR TO PRESENT A PETITION. THERE ENSUED A SKIRMISH WITH THE POLICE, RIOTING AND LOOTING IN WHICH 26 AFRICANS WERE KILLED AND 277 WOUNDED INCLUDING 15 WHITES. MANY PROMINENT BLACK LEADERS WERE ARRESTED AND KEPT IN JAIL. THE BLACK SOLDIERS OF THE GOLD COAST, SIERRE LEONE AND NIGERIA REFUSED TO BEAR ARMS AGAINST THEIR FELLOW SOLDIERS AND WHITE UNITS IN GIBRALTAR WERE ALERTED. TWO BATTLESHIPS WERE ORDERED FROM SOUTH AFRICA. FINALLY THE GOVERNOR APPEALED TO THE CHIEFS AND TO LONDON. A LONDON COMMISSION OF INQUIRY WAS SENT OUT AND HAS REPORTED LAYING MUCH BLAME ON THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT. IN 1947, A RAILWAY STRIKE OF 12,000 WORKERS CRIPPLED THE WHOLE TRANSPORT SYSTEM OF FRENCH WEST AFRICA. ~~THE STRIKERS DEMANDED "EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK."~~

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NORTHEAST AFRICA HAS HAD STRIKES. IN MARCH, 1947, FIVE HUNDRED DOCK WORKERS STRUCK AT PORT SUDAN, IN THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN. IN JULY, 19 THOUSAND RAILWAY WORKERS AT ATBARA WALKED OFF THE JOB. IN ETHIOPIA, 5,000 RAILWAY EMPLOYEES REFUSED TO WORK UNTIL THE EMPEROR OBTAINED A TWENTY-FIVE PER CENT INCREASE IN WAGES FOR THEM.

THESE STRIKES AND MANY OTHERS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE ALL OVER THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA SHOW THAT THERE IS AN INCREASE IN THE ACTIVITY OF TRADE UNIONS AND UNION ORGANIZATION IN AFRICA. IN MOST OF THE TERRITORIES THERE IS LEGISLATION TO PERMIT TRADE UNIONS, BUT SOME OF IT IS ANTIQUATED AND IN MANY CASES AS IN EAST AFRICA IT IS ON PAPER RATHER THAN ACTUALLY IN FORCE. NO AFRICAN IN NORTHERN NIGERIA FOR INSTANCE IS A MEMBER OF A TRADE UNION. AND ALTHOUGH IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA THERE ARE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY NATIVE TRADE UNIONS CLAIMING ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY THOUSAND MEMBERS, THESE UNIONS ARE NOT OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED. ~~HOWEVER SOME EFFORT WAS~~ and a strike is a crime

~~BEING MADE TO THAT END BEFORE THE LAST ELECTION.~~

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THE WEST AFRICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, ON THE OTHER HAND IS GROWING IN STATURE AND POWER. IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA THE MOVEMENT ~~HAS~~ HAS TAKEN ON STRENGTH AND FORCE. AND THERE WAS A FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS WHICH MET IN DAKAR, FRENCH WEST AFRICA IN APRIL 1947. EIGHTEEN DELEGATIONS OF NEGRO TRADE UNIONS ATTENDED AND RECOMMENDATIONS WERE MADE TO BE CONSIDERED AT THE WORLD LABOR MEETING AT PRAGUE IN JUNE.

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT OCCURANCE IN THE AFRICAN LABOR WORLD WAS THE REPRESENTATIVE CHARACTER OF THE AFRICANS AT THE WORLD TRADE UNION CONFEDENCE IN FEBRUARY 1945. COLONIAL DELEGATES CAME FROM NIGERIA, THE GOLD COAST, SIERRE LEONE, AND GAMBIA IN WEST AFRICA BESIDES FROM MANY NEGRO COMMUNITIES IN ~~AMERICA~~ Caribbean AMERICA.

WALLACE JOHNSON OF WEST AFRICA, WHO BUT A FEW WEEKS BEFORE HIS ARRIVAL HAD BEEN RELEASED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AFTER FIVE AND A HALF YEARS

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IMPRISONMENT IN EXILE, FOR TRADE UNION ACTIVITY, PRESENTED A "CHARTER OF LABOR" FOR THE COLONIES. DEMANDING: THE ABOLITION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT, abolition of FORCED LABOR AND CHILD LABOR, FLOGGING AND PUNISHMENT FOR BREACH OF LABOR CONTRACT, repeal of AND CASTE LAW LEGISLATION; THE RIGHT OF FREE ASSEMBLY, FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS AND FREE MOVEMENT; AND "EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE, COLOR, CREED OR SEX."

IN A TELEGRAM TO THE BIG THREE CONCERNING THE ATLANTIC CHARTER, COLORED DELEGATES INSISTED THAT IT BE MADE CLEAR THAT THEY SUPPORTED THE DEMAND OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLE FOR THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT UNDER WHICH THEY WOULD LIVE. THEY ASKED THAT SPECIAL NOTE SHOULD BE TAKEN OF CONDITIONS IN COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES SO THAT APPROPRIATE MEASURES TO SECURE FOR THESE PEOPLE OF ASIA AND AFRICA THE ELEMENTARY RIGHTS ~~TO~~ of CIVILIZED DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES.

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THEY PUT INTO THE FINAL RESOLUTIONS A PARAGRAPH ASKING FOR THE END OF COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES, AND THEY TRIED TO GET THE CONFERENCE TO PUT A TIME LIMIT TO THE FREEING OF COLONIES, BUT THIS ATTEMPT FAILED.

THE BLACK AFRICAN WORKER IS RAISING HIS HEAD. HE WILL BEAR WATCHING AND HEEDING. This one reason why English & American Workers have formed to wreck the World Trade Union Federation

IN 1949, THIS IS THE WATCHWORD FOR THINKING PEOPLE OF AMERICA: WATCH AFRICA: TEAR DOWN THE CURTAIN OF SILENCE AND DELIBERATE SUPPRESSION OF FACTS. REMEMBER THAT TODAY THERE ARE SIGNS OF INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY TO MAKE THE COUNTRIES OF AFRICA THE SLUMS OF THE WORLD: TO ENSLAVE THE LABOR OF THEIR PEOPLE, STEAL THEIR LAND AND MATERIALS. ~~A FEW~~ RUTHLESS ~~RULERS ARE~~ capital is STRIVING TO GET THE POWER OF LIFE AND DEATH OVER MILLIONS OF BLACKS. POVERTY AND DISEASE ALREADY PREVAIL AND THERE ARE DELIBERATE PLANS TO KEEP THE AFRICANS IN IGNORANCE. THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT ALL THIS: BUT WE NEED DETAILS AND FACTS TO LET IN THE LIGHT, ~~LET THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE WORLD KNOW THE TRUTH.~~

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IT IS OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE THAT THE COLORED PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES KNOW WHAT IS CURRENTLY DEVELOPING IN AFRICA. THIS IS DIFFICULT, THE NEGRO PRESS HAS NOT YET FULLY AWAKENED TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS NEWS. IN THE WHITE PRESS AND THE WHITE NEWS-GATHERING AGENCIES AFRICAN NEWS IS DELIBERATELY SUPPRESSED OR DISTORTED. YOU HAVE FOR INSTANCE RECEIVED ONLY BRIEF NOTICES OF THE MOST RECENT RIOTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THEIR REAL SIGNIFICANCE. THE DEVELOPMENTS IN WEST AFRICA HAVE BEEN VEILED AND TALKED DOWN AND IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO GET RELIABLE NEWS FROM EAST AFRICA AND THE SUDAN.

WE NEED, IN THE UNITED STATES A DETERMINED AND CAREFULLY FOLLOWED UP EFFORT TO KNOW THE EXACT TRUTH ABOUT AFRICA, AND TO FOLLOW THE EFFORTS OF EUROPE AS THEY CENTER IN A NEW COLONIAL IMPERIALISM. WE NEED COOPERATION WITH THE AFRICAN PEOPLES WHO ARE STRUGGLING FOR FREEDOM, AND PARTICULARLY FOR AN INTELLIGENT UNDERSTANDING OF THE FACT THAT AMERICAN CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN AFRICA TODAY IS GREATER THAN THAT OF ANY OTHER COUNTRY IN THE

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WORLD, INCLUDING GREAT BRITAIN, AND FOR THAT REASON AMERICA IS THE GREATEST LEADER OF COLONIAL IMPERIALISM ON EARTH. OUR POLITICAL POWER MUST BE USED TO COUNTERACT THIS TENDENCY AND TO HELP IN THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE.

RECORDED----JANUARY "27, 1949 --- NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, NEW YORK CITY

35-3-253

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

A GROUP OF PERSONS WHICH, FOR ANY REASON, IS CUT OFF FROM THE MAIN CURRENT OF A NATION'S LIFE, LOSES NOT ONLY ITS OWN FULL COMPREHENSION OF THAT LIFE, BUT, MORE SERIOUSLY, THE NATION ITSELF FAILS TO UNDERSTAND AND INTEGRATE PART OF ITS OWN THOUGHT AND ACTION OF WHICH IT IS NOT FULLY AWARE. IF THE SEGREGATED SECTION IS LARGE, AS IN THE CASE OF THE NEGRO ELEMENT OF OUR NATION WHERE IT IS NEARLY A TENTH: AND IF ITS WORK, AND EMOTION HAS BEEN INFLUENTIAL, THEN THIS LACK OF UNDERSTANDING IS DANGEROUS. IN THE CASE OF AMERICAN NEGROES, THEIR LABOR FOUNDED THE NATION AND WAS PRIME CAUSE OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF THE MODERN WORLD: THEIR SLAVERY, REVOLT, ESCAPE, PROTEST AND EMANCIPATION IS A CENTRAL THREAD OF OUR HISTORY: AND WITHOUT THEIR MUSIC AND LAUGHTER AND ~~THE CHARACTER OF THEIR OUTSTANDING PERSONALITIES~~ AMERICAN ART AND LITERATURE WOULD NEVER HAVE ATTAINED ITS PRESENT STATURE. THIS IS THE REASON WE CELEBRATE NEGRO HISTORY WEEK. IT IS NOT MERELY A MATTER OF ENTERTAINMENT OR INFORMATION: IT IS PART OF OUR NECESSARY SPIRITUAL EQUIPMENT FOR MAKING THIS COUNTRY WORTH LIVING IN.

A group of persons which, for any reason, is cut off from the main current of of a nation's life, loses not only, full comprehension of that life, but, more seriously, the nation itself fails to ~~comprehend~~ understand and integrate a part of its own thought and action. If the segregated section is large, as in the case of the Negro element of our nation where is is nearly a tenth; and if its work, ~~thought~~ and emotion, has been influential, then this lack of understanding is dangerous. In the case of American Negroes, their labor founded the nation and was prime cause of the industrial revolution and the capitalist system of the modern world; their slavery and emancipation is a central thread of our history; and without their sorrow and joy American music, art and literature would never have attained it present stature. This is the reason we celebrate Negro History Week. It is not merely a matter of entertainment or information: it is part of our necessary spitiual equipment for making this a country worth living in.

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Lecture

Mailed Folder & Retyped Chicago Broadcast Jan 30 '49

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NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

By

W. E. B. Du Bois

A GROUP OF PERSONS WHICH, FOR ANY REASON, IS CUT OFF FROM THE MAIN CURRENT OF A NATION'S LIFE, LOSES NOT ONLY ITS OWN FULL COMPREHENSION OF THAT LIFE, BUT, MORE SERIOUSLY, THE NATION ITSELF FAILS TO UNDERSTAND AND INTERGRATE PART OF ITS OWN THOUGHT AND ACTION OF WHICH IT IS NOT FULLY AWARE. IF THE SEGREGATED SECTION IS LARGE, AS IN THE CASE OF THE NEGRO ELEMENT OF OUR ~~NATION~~ COUNTRY WHERE IT IS NEARLY A TENTH: AND IF ~~ITS~~ ITS WORK, AND EMOTION HAS BEEN INFLUENTIAL, THEN THIS LACK OF UNDERSTANDING IS DANGEROUS. IN THE CASE OF AMERICAN NEGROES, THEIR LABOR FOUNDED THE NATION AND WAS PRIME CAUSE OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF THE MODERN WORLD: THEIR SLAVERY, REVOLT, ESCAPE, PROTEST AND EMANCIPATION IS A CENTRAL THREAD OF OUR HISTORY: (and the character of their outstanding personalities) AND WITHOUT THEIR MUSIC AND LAUGHTER AMERICAN ART AND LITERATURE WOULD NEVER HAVE ATTAINED ~~ITS~~ THEIR PRESENT STATURE. THIS IS THE REASON WE CELEBRATE NEGRO HISTORY WEEK. IT IS NOT MERELY A MATTER OF ENTERTAINMENT OR INFORMATION: IT IS PART OF OUR NECESSARY SPIRITUAL EQUIPMENT FOR MAKING THIS A COUNTRY WORTH LIVING IN.

Ethical Culture
Feb. 7, 1949

THERE LIVES IN WASHINGTON TODAY A NEGRO---75 YEARS OF AGE, TRAINED AS A HISTORIAN AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO AND AT HARVARD, FOR 33 YEARS HE HAS PUBLISHED THE QUARTERLY, "THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY." THIS ACCOMPLISHMENT IS ASTOINSHING, BECAUSE HE HAS DONE THIS ALMOST WITHOUT OUTSIDE AID, AND WITH NO ENCOURAGEMENT FROM THE INTELLECTUAL LEADERS OF AMERICA. YET THIS MAN STANDING ALMOST ALONE HAS VIRTUALLY COMPELLED THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR TO RECOGNIZE THE FACT THAT A TENTH OF THEIR POPULATION, BECAUSE OF ITS LONG SEGREGATION FROM THE MAIN MASS OF PEOPLE, HAS DEVELOPED A HISTORY WHICH IS WORTH KNOWING.

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THIS BRINGS US TO THE FACT THAT CONTINUALLY THERE ARE THINGS WHICH HAVE HAPPENED WHICH WE DO NOT WANT TO REMEMBER. ONE OF THE MOST ASTONISHING IS THAT WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE CELEBRATED YEAR 1776, WHEN THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COLONIES WHICH AFTERWARDS BECAME THE UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA SAID TO THE WORLD: "WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS: THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."

AS A STATEMENT OF A BELIEF OR A FACT THIS IS UNTRUE AND THE PEOPLE WHO SAID IT KNEW IT WAS UNTRUE; BECAUSE AT THAT TIME, OF THE LESS THAN FOUR MILLION PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES, 750,000 WERE NOT REGARDED AS EQUAL AND 700,000 WERE NOT ONLY UNEQUAL BUT SLAVES OWNED BY THEIR FELLOW MEN AND BY THE LAW OF THE LAND REGARDED AS PROPERTY OR EVEN REAL ESTATE. EVERYBODY IN THE UNITED STATES THEREFORE THAT READ THIS DECLARATION KNEW THAT IT WAS NOT TRUE, BUT IN PRESENTING THEIR CASE TO THE WORLD THEY DID NOT WANT TO ADMIT THAT THE NATION WAS A NATION OF SLAVE-OWNERS AND THEY

HOPED THAT AT SOMETIME THE GUILT OF SLAVERY WOULD BE REMOVED. HISTORY THUS IS NOT ALWAYS A STATEMENT OF FACT: TOO OFTEN IT IS WHAT WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE BEEN TRUE.

MOST OF US DO NOT REALIZE THIS: WE REGARD HISTORY AS A TRUE EVALUATION OF WHAT HAS OCCURED. WE BELIEVE THAT UPON THESE FACTS OUR FREEDOM MUST BE BASED. I REMEMBER WHEN I WAS A STUDENT IN HIGH SCHOOL AND LEARNING THE LITTLE GREEK WHICH WAS THEN NECESSARY FOR ADMITTANCE TO COLLEGE, THAT ON THE ALTAR OF THE REBUILT CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, I READ MY FIRST PUBLIC GREEK INSCRIPTION, WHICH I HAVE EVER SINCE REMEMBERED. "E ALETHEIA ELEUTHEROS HMAS"------"YOU SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE."

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WITH THIS FIXED IDEA I BEGAN TO STUDY HISTORY, AND WROTE HISTORICAL STUDIES AND BOOKS: BUT IN MY HISTORICAL WORK, I WAS MORE AND MORE ASTONISHED AT THE WAY IN WHICH FACTS WERE OMITTED, DISTORTED OR FORGOTTEN: AND THE

INSISTENCE OF APPARENTLY HONEST MEN ON WRITING HISTORY IN THE WAY WHICH THEY WOULD LIKE TO HAVE HAD IT OCCUR, AND NOT IN THE WAY IN WHICH IT DID OCCUR. OR IN OTHER WORDS THE WIDE CUSTOM OF REMEMBERING OUT OF THE PAST THAT WHICH WE WISH TO REMEMBER AND FORGETTING THE REST.

I HAVE SEEN THIS ILLUSTRATED AND YOU HAVE TOO IN PECULIAR WAYS. I REMEMBER THAT ONE TIME A GROUP OF AMERICANS WERE GOING TO EUROPE ON A CANADIAN BOAT, AND SOMEBODY MENTIONED THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL. THE AMERICANS WERE ASTONISHED TO FIND THAT THE CANADIANS HAD NEVER HEARD OF THIS BATTLE BECAUSE IT WAS NOT MENTIONED IN THE ENGLISH HISTORIES WHICH THEY STUDIED: OR TODAY IT IS PERFECTLY WELL-KNOWN THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF THE BEST COLLEGES OF THE UNITED STATES, PRESIDED OVER BY SOME OF OUR GREATEST SCHOLARS AND ADMINISTRATORS DISCRIMINATE AGAINST NEGROES, JEWS AND OTHERS IN ADMISSION TO THEIR COURSES OF STUDY: AND YET WE HAVE REPEATEDLY SEEN THESE SAME MEN SIT BEFORE INVESTIGATING BODIES AND WITH GRAVE FACE ASSERT THAT THERE WAS

NO RULES OR LAWS REQUIRING SUCH DISCRIMINATION AND THAT THEY PERSONALLY DID NOT KNOW OF ANY DISCRIMINATION OF THE SORT.

THIS IS THE RESULT OF THE LONG TENDENCY IN HISTORICAL WRITING TO DENY UNPALATIBE TRUTH OR THAT WHICH WAS ASSUMED DANGEROUS FOR PEOPLE TO KNOW. FOR THIS REASON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION HAS BEEN ENORMOUSLY DISTORTED AT VARIOUS TIMES AND IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES. THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION HAS BEEN DELIBERATELY MISREPRESENTED, AND THE REVOLTUION NOW GOING ON IN CHINA IS LOOKED UPON BY PEOPLE OF HONESTY AND SCHOLARSHIP IN THE WAY THAT THEY WANT IT TO BE LOOKED UPON AND NOT ACCORDING TO ANY REAL SEARCH FOR FACTS.

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NEGRO HISTORY WEEK INSISTS UPON BRINGING BEFORE THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES A PART OF AMERICAN HISTORY WHICH MOST WHITE PEOPLE WOULD LIKE TO FORGET. THERE ARE REASONS, AND STRONG ONES, WHY MEN SHOULD NOT WISH TO REMEMBER THE HISTORY OF THE NEGRO: BUT THERE ARE EVEN MORE IMPORTANT REASONS WHY THEY MUST NOT FORGET. THE STORY IN SHORT IS THIS: THE

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES EVEN BEFORE THEY BECAME A FREE NATION AND A DEMOCRACY, STOLE MILLIONS OF PERSONS FROM AFRICA AND BROUGHT THEM HERE TO WORK FOR THEM. IT DOES NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE HOW LOW THE SCALE OF HUMAN CULTURE THESE PEOPLE WERE: THE FACT THAT IS PERFECTLY CLEAR, IS THAT THEIR WORK HELPED TO SUPPORT AND TO MAKE WEALTHY AND GIVE OPPORTUNITY FOR CULTURE TO MILLIONS OF WHITE AMERICANS. AND FOR THAT REASON IT WAS CARRIED ON FOR THREE HUNDRED YEARS.

WHILE THIS EVIL, WITH MURDER, RAPE AND SPIRITUAL DEGRADATION WENT ON, WE MADE EXCUSES FOR IT. THIS VERY OFTEN HAPPENS: YOU DO EVIL AND THEN ELABORATELY AND CAREFULLY YOU EXCUSE IT. SO THAT FIRST OF ALL, WE TOLD THE WORLD, THAT THE SLAVERY OF HEATHENS WAS NECESSARY AND GOOD, BECAUSE THEY OUGHT TO BE CONVERTED TO THE TRUE FAITH.

LATER WHEN MANIFESTLY WE WERE ENSLAVING CHRISTIANS JUST AS VIGOROUSLY AS HEATHEN, WE CAME TO A NEW CONCLUSION: THE REASON THAT THESE PEOPLE WERE ENSLAVED, WAS BECAUSE THAT THEY WERE NOT REALLY HUMAN: THEY WERE AN INFERIOR CASTE OF PEOPLE, FOR WHOM SLAVERY WAS THE BEST AND MOST BENEFICIENT SITUATION. WE CLUNG TO THIS TRADITION FROM 1619 TO 1863, WE JAILED, MOBBED AND EVEN KILLED PEOPLE WHO DENIED IT, OR DARED PUBLICLY TO EXPRESS THIS DENIAL. WE ASSERTED THAT THIS WAS A GREAT, FREE COUNTRY WHOSE PROSPERITY DEPENDED UPON NEGRO SLAVERY: AND THAT THE NEGRO WAS HAPPY TO BE A SLAVE.

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WHEN BY A CRUEL, COSTLY AND BLOODY CIVIL WAR, SLAVERY WAS NOMINALLY ABOLISHED, WE TURNED ABOUT AND TOLD THE WORLD THAT THE OBJECT OF THIS WAR, WAS THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, AND THAT WE HAD FREED THE SLAVES BECAUSE SLAVERY WAS WRONG. THAT AGAIN WAS A LIE! WE DID NOT START THE CIVIL WAR TO FREE THE SLAVES: THE VAST MAJORITY OF AMERICANS, INCLUDING CHURCH MEMBERS CATHOLIC AND PROTESTAND AND JEW WERE PERFECTLY WILLING AND EVEN EAGER TO

RETAIN SLAVERY IF THEY COULD KEEP THE UNION INTACT. THEY DID NOT WANT THE NATION DISRUPTED, BECAUSE THE DISRUPTION OF THE NATION WOULD HAVE INTERFERED WITH ITS INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION AND WITH THE INCOME OF A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE. CONSEQUENTLY, THEY FOUGHT AGAINST SECESSION, BUT THAY ALSO EXECRATED AGAINST THOSE PEOPLE WHO ADVOCATED FREEDOM FOR THE SLAVES N AND TRIED TO PROMOTE ABOLITION. THEY PASSED LAWS AGAINST ABOLITIONISTS AND DROVE THEM OUT OF DECENT SOCIETY AND REFUSED THEM THE RIGHT TO SPEAK BY WORD OF MOUTH OR IN NEWSPAPERS, SO FAR AS POSSIBLE.

WHEN NOW, THE CIVIL WAR HAD BEGUN, THERE WAS ONE WAY IN WHICH THE NORTH COULD TRIUMPH, AND ONLY ONE WAY: AND THAT WAS FOR IT TO GET THE COOPERATION AND HELP OF THE WORKING CLASSES WHO WERE SUPPORTING THE SLAVEHOLDERS OF THE SOUTH. THE WORKING CLASSES CONSISTED OF NEARLY FOUR MILLION BLACK SLAVES AND A LARGER NUMBER OF POOR WHITES. WHEN THE BLACK SLAVES

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EVEN PARTIALLY CEASED TO WORK FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE SOUTHERNERS: AND WHEN OVER TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND OF THEM WERE GIVEN ARMS TO FIGHT, THE END OF SECESSION WAS IN SIGHT AND THERE WAS NOTHING TO DO, BUT TO FREE THE SLAVES. AFTER THAT THE NATIONS WAS WILLING TO INTERPRET THE CIVIL WAR IN A NEW WAY: THE WAR THEY SAID WAS FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES, AND SLAVES WERE EMANCIPATED BY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

BUT NOW WE WERE FACE TO FACE WITH A NEW PROBLEM: HERE WERE PEOPLE WHO HAD HELPED US WIN THE WAR, NOT ONLY BY FIGHTING WITH ARMS IN THEIR HANDS, BUT BY DOING THE STEVEDOUS AND SERVANTS WORK AND BY ACTING AS INFORMERS AND SPYS. WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WITH THEM? SOME SAID THEY OUGHT TO BE GIVEN LAND AND EDUCATION: BUT MOST SAID THAT WOULD COST TOO MUCH. SOME WERE WILLING TO LEAVE THEM ALONE, BUT THAT MEANT THAT UNDER ANOTHER NAME THEY WOULD EVENTUALLY BE PUT BACK IN SLAVERY. MOREOVER, IF THE UNION WAS TO BE RE-

STORED, WE WOULD NEED THE BLACK MEN AND THEIR VOTE TO OVERCOME THE VOTE OF THOSE WHITE MEN WHO OPPOSED THE UNION. SO WE GAVE NEGROES THE VOTE AND AFTER NEW LOYAL GOVERNMENTS HAD BEEN ERECTED, WE LEFT THE NEGROES ALONE AT THE MERCY OF THOSE WHO OWNED THE LAND AND THE CAPITAL: AND THAT EXPERIMENT, IF EXPERIMENT IT MAY BE CALLED, WAS NOT SUCCESSFUL. WHO EXPECTED IT WOULD BE?

YET NOW WHEN WE REVIEW THE HISTORY OF SO-CALLED "RECONSTRUCTION," WE SAY THAT THE NEGROES FAILED. AS A MATTER OF FACT, WE KNOW THAT IT WAS AMERICAN DEMOCRACY THAT FAILED AND THAT IF WE HAD FURNISHED LAND AND EDUCATION FOR THE NEGROES, THEY WOULD HAVE BECOME AN INTEGRAL AND VALUABLE PART OF THIS NATION MUCH SO MUCH THAN THEY ARE BECOMING. INSTEAD OF THAT WE ALLOWED THE SOUTH TO BUILD UP A SYSTEM OF COLOR CASTE, A SYSTEM EX QUITE AS BAD AS THAT IN INDIA AT ITS WORST, AND WORST THAN THAT IN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES OR IN ANY OTHER PART OF THE WORLD. WHILE THIS WAS BEING

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BUILT AND WHILE WE WERE LYNCHING NEGROES WITHOUT TRIAL AT THE RATE OF ONE TO THREE HUNDRED A YEAR: WHILE WE WERE DENYING THEM DECENT SCHOOLS AND PROSCRIBING THEM IN SOCIAL LIFE, WE NEVERTHELESS CONTINUED TO PROCLAIM TO THE WORLD, THAT THIS WAS A FREE DEMOCRACY IN WHICH EVERYBODY HAD A VOICE IN THE GOVERNMENT AND WAS JUDGED ACCORDING TO HIS ACCOMPLISHMENT AND ABILITY.

THIS WAS UNTRUE AND WE KNEW IT WAS UNTRUE, NEVERTHELESS WE NOT ONLY INSISTED UPON IT IN THE PAST AND WROTE INTO OUR TEXT BOOKS AND INTO OUR NEWSPAPERS, INTO OUR LITERATURE, BUT EVEN TODAY WE ARE POSING BEFORE THE WORLD STILL AS A DEMOCRACY AND A LAND OF EQUALITY.

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK TRIES TO BRING THESE FACTS TO THE ATTENTION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: TO THE ATTENTION OF NEGROES THEMSELVES TO LET THEM KNOW THAT DESPITE THE SILENCES AND OMISSIONS AND THE DISTORTIONS OF HISTORY, NEGROES IN AMERICA HAVE DONE A REMARKABLE JOB IN THE PERSONALITIES WHICH

THEY HAVE GIVEN TO THE NATION, IN THE CONTRIBUTIONS WHICH THEY HAVE MADE TO THE NATIONS CULTURE, INTO THE EXPRESSION WHICH THEY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO AMERICAN ART. AND WE INSIST ON BRINGING THESE FACTS TO WHITE AMERICANS IN ORDER THAT THEY MAY, IN THE FIRST PLACE, REVISE THEIR FALSE CONCEPTIONS OF HISTORICAL TRUTH AND IN THE SECOND PLACE TRY TO MAKE THIS LAND INDEED THE LAND OF FREEDOM AND OPPORTUNITY WHICH THEY ARE NOW FALSLY PROCLAIMING TO THE WORLD AS ALREADY REALIZED. THE WORLD LEADERSHIP WHICH WE ARE WITH ASTONISHING BRAGGADOCIO PROCLAIMING TO BE OURS BY RIGHT, WILL NEVER BE OURS, SO LONG AS OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE TENTH OF THE NATION CONTINUES TO BE WHAT IT IS TODAY, OR UNTIL WE REVERENCE TRUTH EVEN WHEN IT IS UNPALATABLE.

Social Service Employees Union
February 12, 1949--10:30 A.M.
YMCA

35-3-31

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE

BY

W. E. B. Du Bois

VERY OFTEN/ I RIDE TO AND FROM MY WORK/ ALONG THE LENGTH OF FIFTH AVENUE/ ON THE BUS.// DURING THAT RIDE I AM ALWAYS IMPRESSED/ BY THE DISPLAYS/ IN THE WINDOWS OF GREAT RETAIL STORES.// ONE THING PARTICULARLY INTRIGUES ME---IN THE WINDER/ A LARGE PART OF THE DISPLAYS/ HAVE TO DO WITH THE KIND OF CLOTHES/ WHICH PEOPLE WHO GO TO FLORIDA/ WEAR DURING THE WINTER SEASON./ THEIR LOUNGING AND BATHING SUITS./ THEIR LIGHT SILKS AND SPORT CLOTHES.// AND THEN AGAIN/ IN THE SUMMER/ I SEE EXHIBITED/ THE KIND OF CLOTHING/ WHICH PEOPLE WEAR/ WHO GO TO SUMMER RESORTS--TO THE OCEAN, THE MOUNTAINS, AND THE LAKES.// ALL THESE DISPLAYS ARE BEAUTIFUL,/ BUT I KNOW PERFECTLY WELL/ THAT THE VAST MAJORITY/ OF THE EIGHT MILLION PEOPLE/ WHO LIVE IN AND AROUND NEW YORK,/ DO NOT SPEND THE

WINTER IN FLORIDA--THEY SPEND IT HERE./ AND TOO, THEY DO NOT GO TO THE SEASHORE IN SUMMER--THEY STAY IN NEW YORK,/ WITH PERHAPS A VISIT TO CONEY ISLAND.

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THIS REMINDS ME/ OF ANOTHER THING/ WHICH I KNOW AS A STUDENT OF HISTORY:/ I READ OF WHAT HUMAN BEINGS/ WERE DOING IN THE 13th/ 15th and 17th CENTURIES,/ OF KINGS, NOBLES/ AND KNIGHTS IN ARMOR,/ OF THE PAGEANTRY OF COURTS/ AND GREAT HOMES WITH TROUPS OF SERVANTS.// I KNOW PERFECTLY WELL/ THAT WHAT IS REFERRED TO/ IS NOT THE FACT/ SO FAR AS THE MASS OF PEOPLE/ IS CONCERNED,// BUT REFERS TO A LARGER OR SMALLER/ PPROPORTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION/ WHO ARE REGARDED AS THE NATION./ I REALIZE VIVIDLY/ THAT THE COURT OF LOUIS XIV,/ WITH ITS MAGNIFICENT SILKS AND VELVETS,/ ITS CEREMONIAL AND PAGENTRY/ INVOLVES ONLY A VERY SMALL PROPORTION/ OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE/ AND YET ~~THIS~~ THEIR HISTORY STANDS/ AS FRENCH HISTORY //

WHEN RECENTLY I READ OF A MAN/ LAUDING THE 13th CENTURY/ AND DEPLORING

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THE PASSING OF ITS CULTURE, I KNEW THAT HE DID NOT REFER TO NINE-TENTHS OF THE PEOPLE WHO WERE LIVING IN THE 13th CENTURY, BUT THE ONE TENTH OR ONE ONE HUNDREDTH WHO REPRESENTED THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE IN THAT CENTURY.

BUT WE HAVE GOT IN THE HABIT OF REGARDING AS THE NATION AND OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE ONLY A SMALL PART OF THE NATION. TODAY OF COURSE, WE ARE DOING MUCH BETTER THAN WE USED TO AND A MUCH LARGER PROPORTION OF THE PEOPLE IN A NATION LIKE THE UNITED STATES IS LOOKED UPON AS TYPIFYING THIS COUNTRY. NEVERTHELESS EVEN IN OUR DAY IT IS QUITE NATURAL FOR US TO THINK OF THE HISTORY AND WORK AND WISHES OF RICH WHITE AMERICANS AS BEING TYPICALLY AMERICAN AND OF NOT REGARDING POOR PEOPLE AND CERTAINLY NOT THE TENTH OF THE NATION WHICH IS COLORED AND PREDOMINATELY POOR AS BEING AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE PEOPLE.

ON THE OTHER HAND, OF COURSE, A TRADE UNION LIKE YOURS IS LESS LIABLE TO A MISTAKE OF THIS SORT THAN OTHER PEOPLE. YOU KNOW THAT A NATION WITHOUT

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WORKERS IS NOT A NATION; IT COULD NOT EXIST FOR A MOMENT WITHOUT THEIR HELP AND ACTIVITY OF LABORERS; AND IN ADDITION TO THAT, ANY LARGE PART OF THE WORKING CLASS IS ESSENTIAL TO THE WHOLE [redacted] OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THEREFORE TO THE WHOLE OF THE NATION. IT IS THEREFORE OF THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE THAT AMERICAN NEGROES THEMSELVES AND AMERICAN PEOPLE AS A WHOLE SHOULD REALIZE WHAT 15 MILLION PERSONS OF NEGRO DESCENT MEAN TO THIS COUNTRY: THE IMPORTANCE OF THEIR HARD MANUAL LABOR WHICH FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE NATION HAS BEEN THE BASIS UPON WHICH THE WEALTH AND PROSPERITY OF THIS COUNTRY HAS BEEN BUILT. AND IN ADDITION TO THAT, THESE PEOPLE ARE OF IMPORTANCE BECAUSE OF THE WAYS IN WHICH THEY SPEND THEIR INCOME; THEIR ROLE AS CONSUMERS. IT DOES NOT MAKE A REAL DIFFERENCE IF BECAUSE OF SMALL WAGE AND NARROW CONSUMERS POWER THEY ARE NOT SPENDING MONEY AT THE SAME RATIO PER PERSON AS THE RICH AND POWERFUL, NEVERTHELESS IN THE AGGREGATE, THE

NEGROES/IN THE UNITED STATES/PROBABLY SPEND THREE THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS/ A YEAR/AND THAT IS A CONSIDERABLE PART OF OUR ECONOMY.

BUT OF COURSE/THE IMPORTANCE OF A GROUP OF PEOPLE/TO THE NATION,/ IS NOT SIMPLY ITS WORKING POWER/OR ITS EXPENDITURE OF MONEY.// WHAT IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THAT/IS WHAT WE MAY CALL VAGUELY/THEIR SPIRITUAL SIGNIFICANCE:/ WHAT THEY REMEMBER:/ WHAT THEY ARE THINKING OF:/ WHAT THEY ARE COMPLAINING ABOUT/AND TRYING TO DO;/ WHAT THEIR FEELINGS ARE,/ AND REACTIONS TO THE THINGS THAT ARE HAPPENING ROUND ABOUT.// ALL THIS FILLS UP A WORLD,/ NOT SIMPLY THEIR WORLD,/ BUT IT IS PART/AND AN IMPRESSIVE PART/OF THE WORLD OF OTHER PEOPLE / UPON WHOM/THIS INNER WORLD REACTS.

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THE INFLUENCE/OF AMERICAN NEGRO THOUGHTS AND ACTIONS/UPON THIS COUNTRY/ FOR THREE HUNDRED YEARS/OR MORE/HAS BEEN TREMENDOUS./ IT HAS REINFORCED AND CRITIZED/ALL OF THE THOUGHTS/WHICH WE HAVE HAD/CONCERNING FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY./ IT HAS GUIDED OUR RELIGIOUS THOUGHTS,/ OUR WORSHIP AND IDEALS/AND

PARTICULARLY/IT HAS TAUGHT US SINGING AND DANCING/AS SYMBOLS OF SORROW AND JOY.// ALL OF THIS IS OF ~~TREMENDOUS~~ GREAT INFLUENCE./ IT MUST NOT ONLY BE KNOWN AND STUDIED,/ IT MUST BE GUIDED,/ IT MUST BE RESTRAINED,/ IT MUST BE ENCOURAGED ALONG CERTAIN LINES/AND TOWARDS CERTAIN IDEALS.

35-3-316

TODAY/WE ARE BEGINNING TO REALIZE/THAT LEGISLATION IS NOT SIMPLY/A MATTER OF RESTRAINT.// IN THE 18th CENTURY/WHEN THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WAS PROCLAIMED/AND A NEW NATION ORGANIZED,/ WE WERE UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT THE BEST COUNTRY/WAS THE ONE THAT HAD THE FEWEST LAWS./ YOU WILL STILL FIND PEOPLE WHO ARE THINKING/ALONG THOSE LINES TODAY:/ BUT THEY WERE THINKING OF LAW/IN THE SENSE OF "THOU SHALT NOT!"/ THEY WERE NOT REALIZING THAT LAW AS WE KNOW IT TODAY/IS THE SOCIAL JUDGMENT OF MEN/ BUILT ON,/ OR AT LEAST DESIGNED TO BE BUILT UPON/WHAT THEY HAVE LEARNED/AND WHAT THEY WANT TO HAPPEN:/

AND THAT UNLESS/ YOU HAVE THIS CONSTRUCTIVE LAW/ AND GUIDING LEGISLATION,/ THE NATION/ ESPECIALLY AS ITS PATH/ BECOMES MORE COMPLICATED AND DIFFICULT,/ IS FACED WITH ANARCHY AND FRUSTRATION.

WE WANT TODAY,/ LAWS WHICH WILL GIVE THE MINORITIES OF PEOPLE/ THE SUPPRESSED GROUPS/, A CHANCE TO MAKE THEIR CONTRIUBTION/ TO THE WHOLE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE NATION./ SUCH LAWS ARE DIFFICULT TO CONCEIVE OF,/ MORE DIFFICULT TO ENACT/ AND MOST DIFFICULT TO ENFORCE;/ BUT THAT DOES NOT MEAN/ THAT THEY MUST NOT BE ATTEMPTED./ SO LONG AS YOU HAVE POVERTY,/ PEOPLE RECIVING LESS THAN IS NECESSARY/ FOR A DECENT LIVING;// SO LONG AS YOU HAVE IGNORANCE,/ CHILDREN ALLOWED TO GROW UP/ WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE OF THE WORLD/ IN WHICH THEY ARE TO LIVE AND WORK;// SO LONG AS YOU HAVE PREVENTABLE SICKNESS,// THEN UNLESS A NATION/ MAKES ORGANIZED AND LEGISLATIVE EFFORT/ TO COMBAT THESE DIFFICULTIES,/ THE NATION IS HEADED TOWARD DISASTER.

35-3-317

WE WANT THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES/ IN THIS SESSION/ TO BEGIN A BROAD SOCIAL LEGISLATION./ WE WANT ARBRITRARY DISCRIMINATION IN WORK/ MADE ILLEGAL./ WE WANT TO MAKE THE MINIMUM WAGE/ PAID FOR LABOR/ ENOUGH TO SUPPORT THE WORKER IN DECENCY;/ WE WANT IGNORANCE WIPED OUT/ BY SCHOOLS FREE TO ALL;/ WE WANT LAWLESSNESS PUNISHED/ AND CASTE MADE IMPOSSIBLE.// THESE THINGS ARE DIFFICULT OF ACCOMPLISHMENT;/ FIRST OF ALL/ THEY ARE COSTLY/ BUT THEY INVOLVE NO COST SO GREAT/ THAT WILL NOT REPAY ITSELF EVENTUALLY/ A HUNDRED FOLD.// THE EXPENDITURE CALLED FOR NOW/ WOULD NOT AMOUNT TO ANYTHING/ LIKE THE 20 or 30 BILLIONS OF DOLLARS/ WHICH WE ARE WILLING TO WASTE UPON WAR.// SUCH LEGISLATION/ MADE WITH DIFFICULTY,/ FINANCED AT LARGE COST,/ WILL NATURALLY DEPEND FOR ITS ENFORCEMENT UPON PUBLIC OPINION/---AND THERE/ WE HAVE GOT TO DEPEND, not SIMPLY/ NOT UPON THE CONGRESS/ AND THE PRESIDENT/ BUT UPON OURSELVES;/ UPON OUR OWN FAITH

35-3-318

IN HUMAN BEINGS/OF ALL KINDS AND COLORS./ AND UPON THE CERTAIN KNOWLEDGE / THAT THE LEVEL OF LIFE/ AND INTELLIGENCE/AND HEALTH/ CAN BE SO RAISED /THAT DEMOCRACY WILL BE POSSIBLE.// IF WE HAVE NOT /THIS FAITH/ WHEN NO MATTER /WHAT WE SPEND/AND WHAT LAWS WE MAKE/ THEY WILL NOT REACH THE GOAL.// AND ON THE OTHER HAND/ IF AMONG THE MASS OF PEOPLE/WE HAVE THIS UNWAVERING FAITH/IN HUMAN BEINGS / THERE IS NOTHING/THAT WE CANNOT ACCOMPLISH.// THIS DEPENDS OF COURSE UPON THE SPREAD OF THE TRUTH,/ AND THE GREATEST HINDRANCE/TO THAT TODAY/IS THE EXTRA-ORDINARY CONDITION OF THE PRESS,/ FROM WHICH WE GET/OR ARE PRESUMED TO GET/ OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE WORLD./ THE PRESS IN AMERICA IS NOT FREE,/ IT IS MONOPOLIZED./ IT EXPRESSES THE IDEAS/AND DESIRES OF CERTAIN SELFISH GROUPS/OF PEOPLE.// WE HAVE GOT/ABOVE ALL/ TO REMEMBER THAT A FREE PRESS,/ TO KEEP FREE,/ MUST BE PAID FOR/ BY THE PEOPLE/AND NOT BY THE ADVERTISERS.// IT MUST BE READ/AND NOT MERELY LOOKED AT/ AS A SERIES OF COMIC STRIPS./ THERE MUST BE OPEN/AND CONTINUED EFFORT/ ON THE PART OF ORGANIZATIONS LIKE THIS/TO SUPPORT NEWSPAPERS/ AND

35-3-319

PERIODICALS/WHICH TELL THE TRUTH.// THIS IS THE OUTLOOK AND THE PLAN /WHICH SHOULD BE/ BEFORE AN ORGANIZATION LIKE THIS./ I HOPE YOU WILL FOLLOW IT. / I SHALL BE GLAD TO HELP YOU/ IN ANYWAY THAT I CAN.

35-3-320

JEFFERSON SCHOOL, FEBRUARY 15, 1949

AFRICA AND THE WORLD — New York City

BY

W. E. B. Du Bois

35-3-9

- I WANT TO BRING BEFORE YOU AND DISCUSS TONIGHT A THESIS SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT FROM THAT WHICH MOST PEOPLE WOULD ADMIT: AND THAT IS THAT THE CRITICAL AREA FOR THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD TODAY IS AFRICA: AND NOT EUROPE, ASIA OR THE AMERICAS. THIS IS, I ADMIT, A STRAINING OF LOGIC IN SOME RESPECT. THE MAJORITY OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLES LIVE IN EUROPE, ASIA AND THE AMERICAS. THE CENTER OF MODERN CULTURE IS IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA: AND THEREFORE LOGICALLY, WE WOULD SAY THAT WHAT HAPPENS IN THESE COUNTRIES WOULD DETERMINE THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD. THIS OF COURSE TRUE, BUT IN ADDITION TO THIS WE MUST REMEMBER THAT WHAT IS HAPPENING AND IS GOING TO HAPPEN IN AFRICA IS AT THE INSTIGATION AND THROUGH THE LEADERSHIP AND

COMPULSION OF EUROPE AND AMERICA.

AFRICA IS THEREFORE, IN A CERTAIN WAY, A MANIFESTATION OF THOUGHT AND ACTION AND IS GOING TO BE FATAL FOR MODERN CULTURE. IF THEN AFRICA IS NOT WATCHED, THE COLLAPSE OF EUROPE MAY COME UNNOTICED. THEREFORE WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN TO AFRICA AS IT SEEMS TO ME IS THAT WHILE EUROPE IS PROGRESSING TOWARD ITS DEVELOPMENT TOWARD SOCIALISM: THIS TREND WILL BE COUNTERACTED IN AFRICA. SOCIALISTIC PLANNING IS GOING TO INCREASE ON A STRONG FOUNDATION OF PRIVATE CAPITALISM IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WHILE THE CARIBBEAN AND SOUTH AMERICA ARE GOING TO FOLLOW THE LEAD OF NORTH AMERICA.

EASTERN EUROPE AND ASIA ARE GOING TO DEVELOP TOWARD SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM: BUT AGAINST THIS DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA, THERE IS GOING TO BE A STRONG COUNTER INFLUENCE RISING FROM THE FACT THAT THE LAST STAND OF EXPLOITING CAPITALISM IS GOING TO TAKE PLACE IN AFRICA: AND IF IT IS SUCCESSFUL, AND IN SO FAR AS IT IS SUCCESSFUL, IT IS GOING TO

HINDER AND KEEP BACK THS SOCIALISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF BOTH EUROPE AND AMERICA. THE DEVELOPMENT THEREFORE OF AFRICA CANNOT BE CONSIDERED AS LOCAL OR OUTSIDE THE MAIN DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EUROPEAN CULTURE: IT IS NOT ONLY A PART OF IT BUT IT IS AN EXCEEDINGLY IMPORTANT PART, BECAUSE IF IT BECOMES THE CENTER OF A BELATED CAPITALISTIC EXPLOITATION IT IS GOING TO HINDER THE NATURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

35-3-92

MOREOVER, THERE ARE HISTORICAL REASONS WHY SUCH EXPLOITATION CAN TAKE PLACE IN AFRICA MORE EASILY AND READILY EVEN TODAY THAN ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD. ITS PROGRESS HAS BEEN STOPPED IN ASIA BY INDIA, CHINA AND INDONESIA. IT HAS BEEN HALTED IN SOUTH AMERICA BY THE UNSTEADY BUT GRADUAL RISE OF THE LABORING CLASSES AND THE SAME IS TRUE IN THE CARIBBEAN.

MOREOVER, TOWARD THE PEOPLE OF ASIA DESPITE LONG MISREPRESENTATION AND IGNORANCE, EUROPE AND AMERICA HAVE TODAY COME TO THE PLACE WHERE THEY HAVE

CONSIDERABLE RESPECT FOR THE ANCIENT CULTURES OF THE LAND, AND PARTICULARLY A FEAR OF THEIR TREMENDOUSLY LARGE POPULATION. BUT IN AFRICA THE LONG EXPERIENCE OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND AMERICAN SLAVERY UPON THE MINDS OF MEN HAS BY NO MEANS BEEN ELIMINATED. THAT PART OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE WHO WERE TRANSPORTED TO AMERICA AND HAVE DEVELOPED HERE, HAVE TO BE SURE, GAINED A MODICUM OF RESPECT. NO ONE QUESTIONS TODAY BUT WHAT THE NEGRO ELEMENT IN ALL THE AMERICAS IS GOING TO DEVELOPE TOWARD MODERN CULTURE.

ON THE OTHER HAND, NOT ONLY AMONG WHITE PEOPLE BUT ALSO AMONG THE DESCENDENTS OF NEGROES THEMSELVES IN AMERICA, THE QUESTION OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF AFRICA IS BY NO MEANS CLEAR: AND THIS OF COURSE ARISES HISTORICALLY FROM THE HISTORY OF THE CONNECTION OF EUROPEAN CULTURE WITH AFRICA BETWEEN THE RENAISSANCE AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. BEFORE THAT, FROM THE TIME OF THE SPREAD OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE BEGINNING OF THE RENAISSANCE, AFRICA, IN THE WORLD'S OPINION HAD EQUAL RESPECT WITH OTHER PARTS OF THE

WORLD. THERE WAS NO COLOR LINE, BLACK MEN CAME AND WENT AND PLAYED THEIR PART AND WERE RECOGNIZED ALL OVER THE WORLD: LONG BEFORE EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION HAD BEEN AFRICAN, AND THE SO-CALLED ARABIAN CULTURE DEVELOPED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY IN AFRICA. LATER THE GREAT CATHOLIC CHURCH WAS DEVELOPED IN AFRICA.

35-3-93

THE CHANGE THAT CAME AFTER THE RENAISSANCE WAS DUE TO THE USE OF THE LABOR OF AFRICANS IN SOUTHERN EUROPE AND THEN IN AMERICA: FROM THIS LABOR AROSE THE FURNISHING OF MATERIALS LIKE GOLD ANDSPICES, AND CROPS LIKE TOBACCO, SUGAR AND COTTON WHICH WHEN COMBINED WITH THE NEW SCIENTIFIC TECHNIQUE OF THE LATER EIGHTEENTH AND EARLIER NINETEENTH CENTURIES TRANSFORMED THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE WORLD.

THE RESULT OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY ON THE ~~EUROPEAN~~ MIND AND CULTURE WAS TO DEGRADE THE POSITION OF LABOR AND THE RESPECT FOR HUMANITY AS SUCH. NOT, GOD KNOWS, THAT THE ANCIENT WORLD HONORED LABOR.

WITH EXCEPTIONS HERE AND THERE, IT WAS DESPISED, ENSLAVED, AND CRUCIFIED HUMAN TOIL. BUT THERE WERE COUNTER CURRENTS, AND WITH THE RENAISSANCE IN EUROPE, THAT NEW LIGHT WHICH ASIA AND AFRICA ILLUMINATED THE DARK AGES OF EUROPE, CAME NEW HOPE FOR MANKIND. A NEW RELIGION OF PERSONAL SACRIFICE HAD BEEN BUILDING ON FIVE HUNDRED YEARS OF THE SELF EFFACEMENT OF BUDDHA BEFORE THE BIRTH OF CHRIST, AND THE EQUALITARIANISM OF MOHAMMED WHICH FOLLOWED SIX HUNDRED YEARS AFTER CHRIST'S BIRTH. A NEW WORLD, SEEKING BIRTH IN EUROPE, WAS ALSO BEING DISCOVERED BEYOND THE SUNSET.

WITH THIS NEW WORLD CAME FATALLY THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE AND NEGRO SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS. THERE WERE NEW CRUELTIES, NEW HATREDS OF HUMAN BEINGS, AND NEW DEGRADATIONS OF HUMAN LABOR. THE TEMPTATION TO DEGRADE HUMAN LABOR WAS MADE VASTER AND DEEPER BY THE INCREDIBLE ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH BASED ON SLAVE LABOR, BY THE BOUNDLESS GROWTH OF GREED, AND BY WORLD-WIDE ORGANIZATION FOR NEW AGRICULTURAL CROPS, NEW TECHNIQUES IN

INDUSTRY, AND WORLD WIDE TRADE.

JUST AS EUROPE LURCHED FORWARD TO A NEW REALIZATION OF BEAUTY, A NEW FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND RELIGIOUS BELIEF, A NEW DEMAND BY LABORERS TO CHOOSE THEIR WORK AND ENJOY ITS FRUIT, UNCURBED GREED ROSE TO SEIZE AND MONOPOLIZE THE UNCOUNTED TREASURE OF THE FRUIT OF LABOR. LABOR WAS DEGRADED, HUMANITY WAS DESPISED, THE THEORY OF "RACE" AROSE. THERE CAME A NEW DOCTRINE OF UNIVERSAL LABOR: MANKIND WERE OF TWO SORTS, THE SUPERIOR AND THE INFERIOR: THE INFERIOR TOILED FOR THE SUPERIOR: AND THE SUPERIOR WERE THE REAL MEN, THE INFERIOR HALF MEN OR LESS. AMONG THE WHITE LORDS OF CREATION THERE WERE "LOWER CLASSES" RESEMBLING THE INFERIOR DARKER FOLK. WHERE POSSIBLE THEY WERE TO BE RAISED TO EQUALITY WITH THE MASTER CLASS. BUT NO EQUALITY WAS POSSIBLE OR DESIRABLE FOR "DARKIES." IN LINE WITH THIS CONVICTION, THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT, AT FIRST DAMNED THE HEATHEN BLACKS WITH THE "CURSE OF CANAAN," THEN HELD OUT HOPE OF FREEDOM THROUGH "CONVERSION," AND FINALLY ACQUIESCED IN A PERMANENT STATUS OF HUMAN SLAVERY.

35-3-91

DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE NINETEENTH CENTURY SAW AN UPSURGE IN THE POWER OF LABORING CLASSES AND A FIGHT TOWARD ECONOMIC EQUALITY AND POLITICAL DEMOCRACY, THIS MOVEMENT AND BATTLE WAS MADE FIERCER AND LESS SUCCESSFUL AND LAGGED FAR BEHIND THE ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH, BECAUSE IN POPULAR OPINION LABOR WAS FUNDAMENTALLY DEGRADING AND THE JUST BURDEN OF INFERIOR PEOPLES. LUXURY AND PLENTY FOR THE FEW AND POVERTY FOR THE MANY WAS LOOKED UPON AS INEVITABLE IN THE COURSE OF NATURE. IN ADDITION TO THIS, IT WENT WITHOUT SAYING THAT THE WHITE PEOPLE OF EUROPE HAD A RIGHT TO LIVE UPON THE LABOR AND PROPERTY OF THE COLORED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THIS POINT OF VIEW, SCIENCE AND RELIGION, GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY, WERE WHEELED INTO LINE. THE WORD "NEGRO" WAS USED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY TO TIE COLOR TO RACE AND BLACKNESS TO SLAVERY AND DEGRADATION. THE WHITE RACE WAS PICTURED AS "PURE" AND SUPERIOR: THE BLACK RACE AS DIRTY, STUPID, AND INEVITABLY

INFERIOR: THE YELLOW AS SHARING, IN DECEPTION AND COWARDICE, MUCH OF THIS COLOR INFERIORITY: WHILE MIXTURE OF RACES WAS CONSIDERED THE PRIME CAUSE OF DEGRADATION AND FAILURE IN CIVILIZATION. EVERYTHING GREAT, EVERYTHING FINE, EVERYTHING REALLY SUCCESSFUL IN HUMAN CULTURE WAS WHITE.

35-3-74

IN ORDER TO PROVE THIS, EVEN BLACK PEOPLE IN INDIA AND AFRICA WERE LABELED AS "WHITE" IF THEY SHOWED ANY TRACE OF PROGRESS: AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, ANY PROGRESS BY COLORED PEOPLE WAS ATTRIBUTED TO SOME INTERMIXTURE, ANCIENT OR MODERN, OF WHITE BLOOD OR SOME INFLUENCE OF WHITE CIVILIZATION.

THIS LOGICAL CONTRADICTION INFLUENCED AND MISLED SCIENCE. THE SAME PERSON DECLARED THAT MULATTOES WERE INFERIOR AND WARNED AGAINST MISCEGNATION, AND YET ATTRIBUTED THE PREEMINENCE OF A DUMAS, A FREDERICK DOUGLASS, A BOOKER T. WASHINGTON TO THEIR WHITE BLOOD.

A SYSTEM AT FIRST CONSCIOUS AND THEN UNCONSCIOUS OF LYING ABOUT HISTORY AND DISTORTING IT TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF THE NEGROIDS BECAME SO WIDE-

SPREAD THAT THE HISTORY OF AFRICA CEASED TO BE TAUGHT, THE COLOR OF MEMNON WAS FORGOTTEN, AND EVERY EFFORT WAS MADE IN ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY, AND BIOGRAPHY, IN BIOLOGY, PSYCHOLOGY, AND SOCIOLOGY, TO PROVE THE ALL BUT UNIVERSAL ASSUMPTION THAT THE COLOR LINE HAD A SCIENTIFIC BASIS.

WITHOUT THE WINKING OF AN EYE, PRINTING, GU POWDER, THE SMELTING OF IRON, THE BEGINNINGS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, NOT TO MENTION POLITICAL LIFE AND DEMOCRACY, WERE ATTRIBUTED EXCLUSIVELY TO THE WHITE RACE AND TO NORDIC EUROPE. RELIGION SIGHED WITH RELIEF WHEN IT COULD BASE ITS DENIAL OF THE ETHICS OF CHRIST AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN UPON THE SCIENCE OF DARWIN, GOBINEAU, AND REISNER.

IT WAS BAD ENOUGH IN ALL CONSCIENCE TO HAVE THE CONSEQUENCES OF THIS THOUGHT, THESE SCIENTIFIC CONCLUSIONS AND ETHICAL SANCTION, FALL UPON COLORED PEOPLE THE WORLD OVER: BUT IN THE END IT WAS EVEN WORSE WHEN ONE CONSIDERS WHAT THIS ATTITUDE DID TO THE EUROPEAN WORKER. HIS AIM AND

IDEAL WAS DISTORTED. HE DID NOT WISH TO BECOME EFFICIENT BUT RICH. HE BEGAN TO WANT NOT COMFORT FOR ALL MEN, BUT POWER FOR HIMSELF OVER OTHER MEN. HE DID NOT LOVE HUMANITY AND HE HATED "NIGGERS." WHEN OUR HIGH COMMISSIONER AFTER THE SPANISH WAR APPEALED TO AMERICA ON BEHALF OF "OUR LITTLE BROWN BROTHER," THE WHITE WORKERS REPLIED, "HE MAY BE A BROTHER TO WILLIAM H. TAFT, BUT HE AIN'T NO BROTHER OF MINE."

35-3-93

FOLLOWING THE EARLY CHRISTIAN COMMUNISM AND SENSE OF HUMAN BROTHERHOOD WHICH BEGAN TO GROW IN THE DARK AGES AND TO BLOSSOM IN THE RENAISSANCE THERE CAME TO WHITE WORKERS IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND GERMANY THE IRON LAW OF WAGES, THE POPULATION DOCTRINES OF MALTHUS, AND THE BITTER FIGHT AGAINST THE EARLY TRADE UNIONS. THE FIRST EFFORTS AT EDUCATION, AND PARTICULARLY THE TREND TOWARD POLITICAL DEMOCRACY, AROUSED AN ANTAGONISM OF WHICH THE FRENCH REVOLUTION DID NOT DREAM. IT WAS THIS BITTER FIGHT THAT EXCERBATED THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND RESULTED IN THE FIRST FURIOUS EXPRESSION OF COMMUNISM AND THE

ATTEMPT AT REVOLUTION. THE UNITY OF APPRENTICE AND MASTER, THE CHRISTIAN SYMPATHY BETWEEN RICH AND POOR, THE COMMUNISM OF MEDIEVAL CHARITY, ALL WERE THRUST INTO THE NEW STRAIT JACKET OF THOUGHT: POVERTY WAS THE RESULT OF SLOTH AND CRIME: WEALTH WAS THE REWARD OF VIRTUE AND WORK. THE DEGRADED YELLOW AND BLACK PEOPLE WERE IN THE PLACES WHICH THE WORLD OF NECESITY ASSIGNED TO THE INFERIOR: AND TOWARD THESE LOWER RANKS THE WORKING CLASSES OF ALL COUNTRIES TENDED TO SINK SAVE AS THEY WERE RAISED AND SUPPORTED BY THE RICH, THE INVESTORS, THE CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY.

THE RESULT, IN THE LATTER QUARTER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY WAS THE DEDICATION OF AFRICA AS A FIELD FOR EUROPEAN EXPLOITATION. EGYPT WAS LEFT UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE DESCENDENTS OF ARAB INVADERS WHO BECAME PUPPETS AND AGENTS OF EUROPEAN INVESTORS. ISOLATED IDEAL, BRITISH CONQUEST HER HIGH CITADEL OF MOUNTA

LIBERIA WAS MARKED FOR SLAUGHTER BUT, THE QUESTION OF OWNERSHIP HELD UP BECAUSE OF THE PRIOR RIGHTS OF AMERICA, WHICH WERE NOT ASSERTED UNTIL THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. THE REST OF AFRICA WAS DIVIDED AMONG THE EUROPEAN NATION WITH AT FIRST NO QUESTION BUT THAT THE LAND WAS TO BE CONFISCATED, THE LABOR CONTROLLED, THE PEOPLE WERE TO HAVE NO VOICE IN GOVERNMENT AND AS LITTLE EDUCATION AS WAS NECESSARY FOR THEM TO DO THE WORK OF RAISING VALUABLE MATERIALS. THIS SCHEME WAS PUT INTO FULL EFFECT IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE RHODESIAS, IN PORTUGUESE AFRICE, IN THE BELGIAN CONGO, IN FRENCH AFRICA, AND IN WHAT WAS GERMAN AFRICA AND BRITISH EAST AFRICA. IN BRITISH WEST AFRICA THE SCHEME DID NOT COMPLETELY TRIUMPH. THE BRITISH WAS UNABLE TO CONQUER, BUT REMAINED ON THE STRONG POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS OF WEST AFRICA AND THEY THEREFORE, LEFT OF NECESSITY TO THE WEST AFRICANS THEIR LOCAL RULE INCLUDING OWNERSHIP OF THE LAND. BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY MONOPOLIZED THE MARKETS, REGULATED THE PRICES AND IN THIS WAY INDIRECTLY FIXED WAGES AND COERCED LABOR.

35-3-76

IN SOME PARTS OF THE CONTINENT THE EXPLOITATION WAS MODIFIED. IN SOUTH AFRICA THE OVERWHELMING NUMBER OF NATIVES INTERFERED SOMEWHAT WITH CONTROL, BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD AND DIAMONDS BROUGHT IN SO MUCH CAPITAL AND POWER THAT PORTUGUESE AFRICA AND THE VARIOUS BRITISH PROTECTORATES WERE INDUCED AND PRACTICALLY COMPELLED TO FURNISH LABOR. IN THE BELGIAN CONGO, A HIGH SOUNDING PROMISE OF CHIRSTIANIZING AND EDUCATING THE NATIVES WAS MADE THE LYING EXCUSE FOR SEIZING ONE OF THE MOST FERTILE PARTS OF AFRICA AND SUBMITTING IT TO ONE OF THE WORST INSTANCES OF EXPLOITATION THAT THE MODERN WORLD HAS KNOWN. IN FRENCH AFRICA, THE PROCEDURE DIFFERED ONLY IN THE FACT THAT THE SMALL INTELLIGENTSIA AMONG THE NEGROES WAS GIVEN A CHANCE TO ASSOCIATE ITSELF WITH THE EXPLOITERS AND BECOME AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE EXPLOITING NATION. THE EXPLOITATION OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE WENT ON IN EXACTLY THE SAME MANNER AS THOUGH THE EXPLOITERS HAD BEEN ENTIRELY WHITE. THEN CAME TWO WORLD WARS, WHICH CHANGED THE FACE OF

35-3-12

COLONIAL IMPERIALISM AND NARROWED THE FIELD OF EXPLOITATION. HOW VALUABLE AFRICA IS FOR EXPLOITATION, LET US PAUSE A MOMENT AND CONSIDER.

THROUGH THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, AMERICA ON THE STRENGTH OF ITS BLACK LABOR AS WELL AS WHITE, GREW IN WEALTH AND IMPORTANCE. IT BECAME THE GREATEST EXPERIMENT IN MODERN DEMOCRACY, SEEKING TO EMBRACE EVENTUALLY NOT SIMPLY THE WHITE BUT THE BLACK WORKER. TODAY NOT ONLY IS THE NEGRO AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE WORLD OF LABOR AND ART IN ALL THE AMERICAS, BUT BEYOND THIS THE TRADE OF AMERICA IS BUILT IN LARGE DEGREE UPON THE PRODUCTS RAISED BY AFRICANS AND THEIR CHILDREN THE WORLD OVER.

BUT BEYOND AMERICA AND IN THE MAIN STATES OF THE MODERN WORLD THE COLD ECONOMIC FACT IS THAT AFRICA, ITS LABOR AND PRODUCTS, ARE OF PRIME IMPORTANCE. OF THE TYPICAL PRODUCTS OF AFRICA, COTTON, ONE OF THE OLDEST THERE, IS STILL VALUABLE, AND COTTON CLOTH WAS EXPORTED FROM AFRICA LONG

BEFORE IT WAS WOVEN IN ENGLAND. SISSAL, HEMP, AND OTHER FIBER PLANTS AND FLAX ARE INDIGENOUS TO AFRICA. THE VAST DEMAND FOR VEGETABLE OIL HAS RESULTED IN THE OIL INDUSTRY, ESPECIALLY IN WEST AFRICA. PALM OIL IS USED FOR MARGARINE, SOAP, LUBRICATION, "OLIVE OIL," AND FOR OTHER INDUSTRIAL PURPOSES. THUS THE OIL PALM OF WEST AFRICA IS A VALUABLE PRODUCT AND SUPPLIES PALM KERNELS WHICH ARE EXPORTED FROM THE WHOLE WEST COAST. THE GROUND NUT AND COCOA*NUT ALSO PRODUCE OILS. THE COCONUT PALM IS FOUND ALL OVER THE CONTINENT NORTH OF THE TROPIC OF CAPRICORN AND ALSO SOUTH OF THE DATE-PALM LINE.

THE SHEA-NUT TREE GROWS WHERE THE OIL PALM DOES NOT, AND ITS FAT IS USED FOR FOOD, SOAP-MAKING, AND BUTTER. THE COCOA INDUSTRY OF WEST AFRICA NOW SUPPLIES TWO-THIRDS OF THE COCOA OF THE WORLD. KOLA NUTS ARE ALSO EXPORTED. IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA PRACTICALLY ALL GRAINS CULTIVATED IN EUROPE CAN BE GROWN. COFFEE IS NATIVE TO AFRICA AND IS NAMED

AFTER THE PROVINCE OF KAFFA, ABYSSINIA. IT GROWS ALSO IN LIBERIA. THE GREATER PART OF TROPICAL AFRICA PRODUCES SOME KIND OF RUBBER. NEARLY ALL OF THE CLOVES ARE GOTTEN FROM ZANZIBAR AND PEMBA. FRUITS ARE GROWN AND EXPORTED FROM NEARLY EVERY PART OF AFRICA, FROM THE BANANAS AND MANGOES IN THE TROPICS TO THE WINE GRAPES OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH. THE DATE PALM FLOURISHED THROUGHOUT NORTH AFRICA. LARGE AREAS OF THE CONTINENT ARE SUITABLE FOR CATTLE AND SHEEP RAISING, ALTHOUGH FLIES AND DISEASES KEEP THEM OUT OF OTHER DISTRICTS.

35-3-98

GOLD IS WIDELY DISTRIBUTED IN AFRICA AND HAS BEEN WORKED FROM PREHISTORIC AGES ON THE WEST COAST, THE NUBIAN DESERT, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AFRICA. A THIRD OF THE WORLD'S SUPPLY OF GOLD IN THE WORLD TODAY IS MINED ON THE WITWATERSRAND. DIAMONDS ARE FOUND IN THREE DISTRICTS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND IN THE BELGIAN CONGO. THEY ARE OF IMMENSE VALUE. THERE ARE COAL-BEARING AREAS IN SOUTH AFRICA. IRON HAS BEEN WORKED FROM AN EARLY AGE, AND ON THE GOLD COAST, MANGANESE IS BEING DEVELOPED.

THERE ARE FOUR GREAT COPPER PRODUCING AREAS, PRINCIPALLY IN RHODESIA AND THE BELGIAN CONGO, AND ALSO IN THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL. LEAD, GRAPHITE, AND ZINC ARE WIDELY DISTRIBUTED. PHOSPHATES OCCUR IN THE NORTH. MINERAL OIL HAS BEEN DISCOVERED IN EGYPT NEAR THE RED SEA. SODA IS LARGELY AN AFRICAN PRODUCT. MAIZE IS CULTIVATED IN MANY REGIONS. TOBACCO IS A CROP OF SOUTH AFRICA. SUGAR IS GROWN IN EGYPT, MOZAMBIQUE, AND NATAL. AND THERE IS MUCH VALUABLE TIMBER ALL OVER THE CONTINENT.

BESIDES SUPPLYING THESE MATERIALS AFRICA IS ONE OF THE LARGEST RESERVOIRS OF HUMAN LABOR, NOT ONLY OF COMMON LABOR, BUT OF SEMI-SKILLED AND INCREASING NUMBERS OF SKILLED LABORERS. FOR THE MOST PART THESE LABORERS ARE UNORGANIZED AND WITHOUT POLITICAL POWER, AND CONSEQUENTLY THEY FORM THE CHEAPEST LABOR AVAILABLE, SAVE IN ASIA.

ONE GREAT BY-PRODUCT OF THE LAST WAR IS THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF AFRICA, THE SECOND GREATEST LAND AREA OF THE EARTH, WITH 150,000,000 PEOPLE

AND LIMITLESS NATURAL RESOURCES. ASIA IS DISAPPEARING AS A COLONIAL AREA: BRITAIN HAS LOST INDIA: FRANCE CANNOT HOLD INDO-CHINE: HOLLAND IS LOSING INDONESIA: AND CHINA IS BEATING CHIANG KAI-SHEK, PUPPET OF THE WEST, TO HIS KNEES. IN THE NEAR EAST, ARABS AND ISLAM SPELL A SHARP CURB TO EUROPEAN OVERLACRSHIP. IF WESTERN IMPERIALISM IS TO SURVIVE IT MUST CENTER IN AFRICA.

35-3-99

AN ENGLISH DAILY SAID RECENTLY, "THERE ARE FEW PEOPLE WHO REALIZE THE URGENT IMPORTANCE OF PAN-AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT." ERNEST BEVIN, REVIEWING FOREIGN AFFAIRS BEFORE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS LAST JANUARY, COMMENTED, " I BELIEVE NOW THE TIME IS RIPE FOR A CONSOLIDATION OF WESTERN EUROPE, AND THIS CONSOLIDATION MUST BE SUPPORTED. AND THAT INVOLVES THE CLOSEST COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE OVERSEAS TERRITORY OF THE FRENCH, DUTCH, BELGIANS, AND PORTUGUESE. THEIR RAW MATERIALS, FOOD AND OTHER RESOURCES COULD BE OF MUTUAL ADVANTAGE TO THESE TERRITORIES AND TO THE WORLD." ANGLO*FRENCH CONSULTATIONS HAVE BEEN UNDER WAY FOR CREATION OF AN ECONOMIC

GROUPING BY WHICH WESTERN EUROPE WOULD BE LINKED WITH THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

OUT OF THIS AGITATION HAVE COME THREE SIGNIFICENT DEVELOPMENTS: BRITISH MIGRATION TO AFRICA: THE NEW FORTIFICATION OF EAST AFRICA: AND GIGANTIC SCHEMES OF EXPLOITATION IN AFRICA. IN JANUARY OF THIS YEAR, 95,000 BRITISH SUBJECTS WERE REGISTERED FOR PASSAGE TO AFRICA. THIS YEAR A HUGE MILITARY STORES DEPOT HAS BEEN BUILT IN KENYA, EAST AFRICA. THOUSANDS OF WHITE TROOPS AND THOUSANDS OF BLACK LABORERS WORKED ON IT AND 2,000 ITALIAN ARTISANS WERE IMPORTED TO HELP. HUNDREDS OF TONS OF WAR MATERIAL WERE TRANSFERRED FROM NORTH AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

THE PEANUT PLAN, PART OF A GENERAL SCHEME TO DEVELOP AFRICA AS A BRITISH FOOD ESTATE, CALLS FOR CLEARING, PLANTING, AND CULTIVATING BY MECHANIZED METHODS IN EAST AFRICA MORE THAN # 3,000,000 ACRES OF LAND IN UNITS OF 30,000 ACRES EACH. IT HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS THE "MOST IMPORTANT ACTION OF GOVERNMENT IN THE HISTORY OF BRITISH TROPICAL AFRICA."

OTHER PLANS CALL FOR THE EXPANSION OF THE PALM OIL INDUSTRY OF NIGERIA, IMPROVEMENT OF THE COCOA CROP IN WEST AFRICA, INCREASED PRODUCTION OF COTTON, RUBBER AND HARDWOODS, INTENSIFICATION OF MINING, AND THE CREATION OF HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER. ONE PROJECT FOR THE UGANDA IS CALLED "BREATHTAKING". IT WOULD RAISE THE LEVEL OF LAKE VICTORIA BY THREE FEET AND REVOLUTIONIZE THE VALLEY OF THE NILE. ANOTHER PROJECT FOR SOUTHERN RHODESIA CALLS FOR A DAM FOUR TIMES THE SIZE OF BOULDER DAM TO MAKE THIS REGION ONE OF THE WORLD'S FOUR CHIEF SOURCES OF HIGH GRADE STEEL.

35-3-100

WHAT DOES AFRICA SAY TO THIS? THERE IS NO ONE UNIT WHICH WE CAN CALL "AFRICA." WE MAY DISTINGUISH SIX AFRICAS TODAY. THE WESTERN BULGE OF THE CONTINENT ABOVE THE GULF OF GUINEA. THE HOT, LOW COASTAL BELT, LUSH WITH VEGETATION, RISES TOWARD THE CENTRAL PLATEAU. HERE ONCE THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE CENTERED: HERE IS LIBERIA, THE ATTEMPT OF AMERICAN NEGROES TO FIND FREEDOM THROUGH REPATRIATION. AND HERE IS BRITISH WEST AFRICA, WHERE

NEGROES TODAY ARE IN MOST ACTIVE REVOLT AGAINST COLONIALISM. A DOZEN PARAMOUNT CHIEFS AND KINGS OF WEST AFRICAN TRIBES HAVE JUST BEEN ENTERTAINED IN ENGLAND AND RECEIVED BY KING GEORGE TO ALLAY THIS AGITATION.

NEXT, THERE IS THE INLAND PLATEAU OF CENTRAL AFRICA WHICH DIPS TO THE CONGO VALLEY AND RISES TO THE GREAT BASTION OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. HERE, IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE RHODESIAS, IS THE WORST CENTER OF RACE HATE IN THE WORLD. HERE THREE AND A THIRD MILLION WHITES HAVE ABSOLUTE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MASTERY OF 9,000,000 BLACKS, MULATTOES, AND ASIATICS. THEY HAVE SEIZED 88 PER CENT OF THE LAND, AND ENFORCED PARALYZING CASTE LEGISLATION. THEIR TERRITORIES FURNISH THE WORLD WITH GOLD, DIAMONDS, AND COPPER.

UP THE EAST COAST, PAST THE GREAT RIFT AND THE MOUNTAIN OF THE MOON, THE EFFORT OF SOUTH AFRICA TO KEEP THE CONTROL OF BLACK LABOR AND LAND IN THE HANDS OF A FEW WHITES, CONTINUES IN NYASSALAND, THE RHODESIAS, TANGANYIKA, AND IN KENYA. IN KENYA, 25,000 WHITES WITH 80 PER CENT OF

35-3-101

THE BEST LAND HAVE LONG BEEN TRYING TO ENSLAVE THE LABOR OF 3,500,000 NEGROES. BUT KENYA LIES NEXT TO A BLACK AFRICA WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN SUBDUED. THERE IS UGANDA, WITH 4,000,000 BLACKS, WHO STILL RETAIN LOCAL RULE. AND PARTICULARLY, THERE ON THE PROWINING PEAKS RISING ON THE HORN OF EAST AFRICA, PERCHES ETHIOPIA, WHICH MAINTAINED ITS FREEDOM FROM ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO MUSSOLINI, AND REGAINED IT AFTER WORLD WAR II. DOWN THE NILE VALLEY FROM ETHIOPIA LIES THE SUDAN, CRADLE OF EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION. IT DROVE OUT BOTH EGYPT AND ENGLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, AND THEN WAS CONQUERED BY KITCHENER. NOW ITS 7,000,000 BLACKS ARE BEING WOOED BY BOTH EGYPT AND BRITAIN.

IN ARABIAN NORTH AFRICA, WITH ITS NEGROID ELEMENTS, FRANCE IS TRYING TO INCORPORATE ALGIERS, MOROCCO, AND TU IS INTO METROPOLITAN FRANCE, WITH POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL POWER CENTERED IN THE HANDS OF RESIDENT FRENCH CITIZENS. EXTENDING THIS IDEA FURTHER, THERE IS WHAT WE MAY CALL LATIN AFRICA. THE VAST FRENCH AFRICAN EMPIRE FROM THE SAHARA TO THE GULF OF GUINEA, WITH THE PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS IN THE SOUTH. HERE THEEFFORT

IS MADE TO EXPLOIT BLACK LAND AND LABOR BY TAKING A SMALL BLACK AND MULATTO ELITE INTO PARTNERSHIP: SO THAT A FEW NATIVES BECOME RICH AND EDUCATED FRENCHMENT AND PORTUGUESE, BUT LEAVE THE MASSES TO ALMOST UNCHECKED ROBBERY AND EXPLOITATION.

WE HAVE LEFT THE "HEART OF AFRICA", THE GREAT VALLEY OF THE CONGO, WHICH LEOPOLD OF BELGIUM STOLE FROM AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION TO "CHRISTIANIZE" AFRICA, TURNED INTO A BROTHEL OF THEFT AND FINALLY SURRENDERED TO BELGIUM. IT IS NOW A CENTER OF THE MOST SCIENTIFIC EXPLOITATION OF HUMAN LABOR IN THE WORLD. THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS OF THE BLACKS ARE SUBORDINATED TO THE LONG TERM PROFIT OF BELGIUM WITH A MINIMUM OF EDUCATION AND NO PROMISE OF SELF RULE OR OF MODERN LIVING STANDARDS. ALL IS QUIET IN THE CONGO, WHENCE THE UNITED STATES GETS COPPER, FOR ELECTRIC EXPANSION, AND URANIUM FOR ATOMIC BOMBS.

THIS IS AFRICA TODAY. WHAT IS ITS ANSWER TO THE NEW POST WAR EXPLOITATION?

WHAT IS THE REACTION OF BLACK AFRICA TO ALL THIS? ARE THE NATIVES SIMPLY STOLID AND DUMB, SUBMITTING WITHOUT PROTEST OR COMPREHENSION OF THEIR PLIGHT? THAT IS THE COMPLACENT BELIEF OF MOST OF THE WHITE WORLD. YET THE FACTS BELIE THIS, ONLY THE FACTS EITHER ARE NOT CABLED OR IF WIRED, NOT PRINTED.

35-3-102

THE SITUATION IS CLEAR: IN SOUTH AND EAST AFRICA, THE LAND HAS BEEN TAKEN FROM THE NATIVES AND WHEN THEY ARE TAXED TO COMPEL THEM TO WORK ON THE PLANTATIONS OR IN THE MINES. IN WEST AFRICA, THE NATIVE HAS HIS LAND, BUT IS RULED BY A WHITE GOVERNOR: "INDIRECT RULE" LEAVES LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE HANDS OF THE CHIEFS, BUT THE GOVERNOR CAN REMOVE THESE CHIEFS AND PAYS THEIR SALARIES. THUS HIS COMMISSIONERS RULE THE RULERS. WHITE SETTLERS ALL OVER AFRICA ARE WORKING FOR WHITE SUPREMACY IN INDUSTRY AND GOVERNMENT: BIG BUSINESS IS STRIVING FOR MONOPOLY OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND CONTROL OF LABOR: ALIEN RACIAL GROUPS ARE DEMANDING THE PRIVILEGES OF WHITES: A

NATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA IS DEMANDING AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS.

WHAT NOW IS THE RANK AND FILE OF THE WORKERS THINKING AND DOING? IN SOUTH AFRICA HAVE OCCURRED AT LEAST TWENTY RIOTS AND DISTURBANCES VARYING FROM STUDENT STRIKES AT LOVEDALE TO THE BURNING OF THEIR PASSES BY 7000 NATIVES AT CAPETOWN, AND CULMINATING IN THE STRIKE OF 50,000,000 NEGRO MINERS IN AUGUST, 1946, TO OBTAIN A WAGE OF $2 A DAY, INSTEAD OF THE 45 CENTS THEY ARE RECEIVING. FIVE STRIKERS WERE KILLED BY THE POLICE, 62 ARRESTED FOR BREACH OF CONTRACT AND CONSPIRACY, 46 OF WHOM WERE HEAVILY FINED OR JAILED. RAIDS AND ARRESTS CONTINUED FOR A MONTH, INCLUDING ARRESTS OF SOME LIBERAL WHITES. "COMMUNISM" WAS BLAMED FOR THE OUTBREAK.

IN KENYA, IN JANUARY 1947, SEVEN THOUSAND NATIVES STRUCK, AFFECTING ELEVEN BUSINESS CONCERNS. AFTER FAILURE TO SATISFY THE STRIKERS, THE STRIKE SPREAD TO UGANDA WITH DISTURBANCES AT FOUR CENTERS. IT WAS FINALLY SETTLED BY A RAISE IN WAGES OF MORE THAN TWENTY FIVE PER CENT.

IN WEST AFRICA, THERE WERE SERIOUS DISTURBANCES IN NIGERIA AND ON THE GOLD COAST. IN NIGERIA, IN 1944, INCREASED GOVERNMENT ALLOWANCES WERE GRANTED WHITE CIVIL SERVANTS BUT NOT ALLOWED FOR NEGROES. CONSEQUENTIALLY, IN 1945, A GENERAL STRIKE OF 150,000 NON-CLERICAL WORKERS WAS DECLARED AND THIS EVENTUALLY BROUGHT A FIFTY PER CENT INCREASE IN WAGES. LATER THERE WERE FURTHER STRIKES OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS, METAL WORKERS, AND EMPLOYEES OF THE UNITED AFRICA COMPANY. MINERS STRUCK IN THE ASHANTI GOLD MINES AND SECURED INCREASED WAGES.

35-3-102

ON THE GOLD COAST, STRIKES FINALLY ASSUMED THE ASPECT OF CIVIL WAR. IN 1946, A COMMISSION FOUND THAT THE COST OF LIVING HAD GONE UP TWO HUNDRED PER CENT AND RECOMMENDED INCREASED WAGES TO GEOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES. TEACHERS THEN COMPLAINED, AND A THIRD COMMISSION GAVE THEM INCREASES. RAILWAY WORKERS AND MINERS THEN ASKED FOR RAISES, STRUCK WHEN THEY WERE REFUSED, AND GAINED THEIR DEMANDS AFTER SEVERAL WEEKS.

THEN CAME A COLONY-WIDE BOYCOTT AGAINST HIGH PRICES CHARGED BY IMPORTING CONCERNS, LED BY A PROGRESSIVE CHIEF. A PRICE CONTROL COMMISSION WAS SET UP TO CURB PRICES AND ORDERED THEM REDUCED BY THIRTY THREE AND ONE THIRD PER CENT. THE DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS THEREUPON STARTED A MARCH TO THE GOVERNOR TO PRESENT A PETITION. THERE ENSUED A SKIRMISH WITH THE POLICE, RIOTING AND LOOTING IN WHICH 26 AFRICANS WERE KILLED AND 277 WOUNDED INCLUDING 15 WHITES. MANY PROMINENT BLACK LEADERS WERE ARRESTED AND KEPT IN JAIL. W THE BLACK SOLDIERS OF THE GOLD COAST, SIERRE LEONE AND NIGERIA REFUSED TO BEAR ARMS AGAINST THEIR FELLOW SOLDIERS AND WHITE UNITES IN GIBRALTAR WERE ALERTED. TWO BATTLESHIPS WERE ORDERED FROM SOUTH AFRICA. FINALLY THE GOVERNOR APPEALED TO THE CHIEFS AND TO LONDON. A LONDON COMMISSION OF INQUIRY WAS SENT OUT AND HAS REPORTED LAYING MUCH BLAME ON THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT. IN 1947, A RAILWAY STRIKE OF 12,000 WORKERS CRIPPLED THE WHOLE TRANSPORT SYSTEM OF FRENCH WEST AFRICA. THE STRIKERS DEMANDED "EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK."

NORTHEAST AFRICA HAS HAD STRIKES. IN MARCH, 1947, FIVE HUNDRED DOCK WORKERS STRUCK AT PORT SUDAN, IN THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN: IN JULY, 19 THOUSAND RAILWAY WORKERS AT ATBARA WALKED OFF THE JOB: IN ETHIOPIA, 5,000 RAILWAY EMPLOYEES REFUSED TO WORK UNTIL THE EMPEROR OBTAINED A TWENTY-FIVE PER CENT INCREASE IN WAGES FOR THEM.

35-3-104

THESE STRIKES AND MANY OTHERS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE ALL OVER THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA SHOW THAT THERE IS AN INCREASE IN THE ACTIVITY OF TRADE UNIONS AND UNION ORGANIZATION IN AFRICA. IN MOST OF THE TERRITORIES THERE IS LEGISLATION TO PERMIT TRADE UNIONS, BUT SOME OF IT IS ANTIQUATED AND IN MANY CASES AS IN EAST AFRICA IT IS ON PAPER RATHER THAN ACTUALLY IN FORCE. NO AFRICAN IN NORTHERN NIGERIA, FOR INSTANCE IS A MEMBER OF A TRADE UNION: AND ALTHOUGH IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA THERE ARE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY NATIVE TRADE UNIONS CLAIMING ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY THOUSAND MEMBERS, THESE UNIONS ARE NOT OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED: HOWEVER SOME EFFORT WAS

BEING MADE TO THAT END BEFORE THE LAST ELECTION.

THE WEST AFRICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, ON THE OTHER HAND IS GROWING IN STATURE AND POWER. IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA THE MOVEMENT LASO HAS TAKEN ON STRENGTH AND FORCE: AND THERE WAS A FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS WHICH MET IN DAKAR, FRENCH WEST AFRICA , IN APRIL 1947. EIGHTEEN DELEGATIONS OF NEGRO TRADE UNIONS ATTENDED AND RECOMMENDATIONS WERE MADE TO BE CONSIDERED AT THE WORLD LABOR MEETING AT PRAGUE IN JUNE.

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT OCCURANCE IN THE AFRICAN LABOR WORLD WAS THE REPRESENTATIVE CHARACTER OF THE AFRICANS AT THE WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE IN FEBRUARY 1945. COLONIAL DELEGATES CAME FROM NIGERIA, THE GOLD COAST, SIERRE LEONE AND GAMBIA IN WEST AFRICA BESIDES FROM MANY NEGRO COMMUNITIES IN AMERICA.

WALLACE JOHNSON OF WEST AFRICA, WHO BUT A FEW WEEKS BEFORE HIS ARRIVAL HAD BEEN RELEASED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AFTER FIVE AND A HALF YEARS

35-3-105

IMPRISONMENT IN EXILE, FOR TRADE UNION ACTIVITY, PRESENTED A "CHARACTER OF LABOR" FOR THE COLONIES, DEMANDING: THE ABOLITION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT, FORCED LABOR AND CHILD LABOR, FLOGGING AND PUNISHMENT FOR BREACH OF LABOR CONTRACT, AND CASTE LAW LEGISLATION: THE RIGHT OF FREE ASSEMBLY, FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS AND FREE MOVEMENT: AND "EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE, COLOR , CREED OR SEX."

IN A TELEGRAM TO THE BIG THREE CONCERNING THE ATLANTIC CHARTER, COLORED DELEGATES INSISTED THAT IT BE MADE CLEAR THAT THEY SUPPORTED THE DEMAND OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLE FOR THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT UNDER WHICH THEY WOULD LIVE. THEY ASKED THAT SPECIAL NOTE SHOULD BE TAKEN OF CONDITIONS IN COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES SO THAT APPROPRIATE MEASURES TO SECURE FOR THESE PEOPLE OF ASIA AND AFRICA THE ELEMENTARY RIGHTS TO CIVILIZED DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES.

THEY PUT INTO THE FINAL RESOLUTIONS A PARAGRAPH ASKING FOR THE END OF COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES, AND THEY TRIED TO GET THE CONFERENCE TO PUT A TIME LIMIT TO THE FREEING OF COLONIES, BUT THIS ATTEMPT FAILED.

THE BLACK AFRICAN WORKER IS RAISING HIS HEAD. HE WILL BEAR WATCHING AND HEEDING.

IN 1949, THIS IS THE WATCHWORD FOR THINKING PEOPLE OF AMERICA: WATCH AFRICA: TEAR DOWN THE CURTAIN OF SILENCE AND DELIBERATE SUPPRESSION OF FACTS. REMEMBER THAT TODAY THERE ARE SIGNS OF INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY TO MAKE THE COUNTRIES OF AFRICA THE SLUMS OF THE WORLD: TO ENSLAVE THE LABOR OF THEIR PEOPLE, STEAL THEIR LAND AND MATERIALS. A FEW RUTHLESS RULERS ARE STRIVING TO GET THE POWER OF LIFE AND DEATH OVER MILLIONS OF BLACKS. POVERTY AND DISEASE ALREADY PREVAIL: AND THERE ARE DELIBERATE PLANS TO KEEP THE AFRICANS IN IGNORANCE. THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT ALL THIS: BUT WE NEED DETAILS AND FACTS TO LET IN THE LIGHT, LET THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE WORLD KNOW THE TRUTH.

35-3-106

IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO DO THIS. I HAVE REPEATEDLY APPEALED TO MAGAZINES TO PUBLISH FACTS ABOUT AFRICA. I HAVE ASKED NEWSPAPERS TO CARRY NEWS AND IN NEARLY ALL CASES MY PLEA HAS BEEN TURNED DOWN. NO ONE COUNTRY IS GUILTY IN THIS NEW ATTACK ON AFRICA. WE ARE ALL GUILTY! GREAT BRITAIN IS GOING TO MAKE AFRICA HER SOURCE OF CHEAP FOOD. FRANCE IS GOING TO USE AFRICANS TO FIGHT AGAINST HER OWN WORKERS AND HELP RETAIN HER HOLD ON ASIA. BELGIUM IS RUSHING TO INCREASE THE PROFIT THAT SHE MADE DURING THE WAR. PORTUGAL IS GOING TO CONTINUE TO PLAY STOOGE TO BRITISH CAPITAL. ITALY IS SEEKING TO OVERCOME THE POVERTY OF HERMASSES BY INFLICTING GREATER POVERTY UPON AFRICANS. GERMANY IS GOING TO EVENTUALLY PUSH HER MANUFACTURERS INTO AFRICA IN RETURN FOR MATERIALS.

IN AFRICA ITSELF, THE WORLD IS TRYING TO KEEP ETHIOPIA CHOKED IN HER MOUNTAINS AWAY FROM COMMERCE ON THE HIGH SEAS. EGYPT AND GREAT BRITAIN ARE RIVALS IN TRYING TO CONTROL THE BLACK LABOR OF THE SUDAN. THE UNITED STATES

IS BRIBING LIBERIA AND STRENGTHENING HER GRIP BY ARMY, NAVY AND INVESTMENT. THE AWAKENING PEOPLES OF WEST AFRICA ARE BEING CAJOLED, CALLED "COMMUNISTS" AND GIVEN HALF-LOAVES OF "SELF-RULE." WHITE MINORITIES ARE RULING RUTHLESSLY IN EAST AFRICA, SOUTH AFRICA, RHODESIA AND SOUTHWEST AFRICA.

WE ARE NOT CONTENT WITH THE RAPE OF AFRICA IN THE SLAVE TRADE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, TODAY WE ARE TRYING TO REPEAT IN AFRICA ALL THE WRETCHED MISTAKES IN INDUSTRY, CHEAP LABOR AND THE SALE OF POLITICAL POWER WHICH ONCE PREVAILED IN EUROPE, AND WHICH STILL PREVAILS IN SOUTH AMERICA: AND INSTEAD OF CIVILIZED PEOPLE BEING WILLING TO LET LABOR EXPLOITATION DISAPPEAR FROM THE WORLD THEY ARE WILLING TO CONCENTRATE ON THE DEGRADATION OF BLACK FOLK: FORGETTING WHERE THE SYMPATHIES OF THE MAJORITY OF MANKIND INCLUDING HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF COLORED ASIATICS IS TENDING IN THE COMING STRUGGLE OF WORLD RACES. WHAT WE NEED NOW FOR SALVATION IS LIGHT! MORE LIGHT ON AFRICA!

RALPH BUNCHE

36-3-152

I HAVE KNOWN RALPH BUNCHE/ SINCE HIS GRADUATION FROM COLLEGE/ IN 1927. HE IS 41 YEARS OLD/ MARRIED/ WITH THREE CHILDREN.// WHILE I CANNOT CLAIM INTIMATE PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCESHIP,/ I HAVE FOLLOWED HIS CAREER CAREFULLY/ AND HAVE MET AND CONVERSED WITH HIM/ MANY TIMES.// I DOUBT IF ANY MAN WAS BETTER FITTED/ TO ARBITRATE BETWEEN ARAB AND JEW.// FIRST OF ALL,/ PERSONALLY HE RESEMBLES THE MOST COMELY SEMITIC ~~GENES~~ type — S--DARK, WELL-BUILT, SOFT-VOICED-- A COMPOSITE ~~TYPE~~ personality STEMMING FROM THAT MULATTO MIXTURE/ WHICH HAS ARISEN IN AMERICA/ AND WHICH IS DESTINED TO DO MUCH/ FOR CULTURE IN THIS WORLD.// ADD TO THAT A BROAD EDUCATION:/ BORN IN THE MIDDLE WEST,/ TRAINED IN CALIFORNIA AND AT HARVARD,/ TRAVELLED IN AFRICA AND EUROPE,/ AND LONG A TEACHER OF NEGRO YOUTH/ AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY.// HE IS NOT A READY SPEAKER/ NOR A PRODUCTIVE SCHOLAR,/ BUT HE HAS DEEP KNOWLEDGE OF HUMAN NATURE/ AND ABOVE ALL/ AN ENGAGING PRESENCE./ HE IS UNOBTRUSIVE,/ WITH NO NORDIC ARROGANCE/ NOR AMERICAN "SMARTMESS,"/ AND NO REPELLING SELF-ASSERTION:/ RATHER HE IS GENIAL/ EASILY INSPIRING

36-3-153

CONFIDENCE,/ WITH A READY SMILE,/ AN APPOSITE ANECDOTE/ AND A BIT OF INSIDE GOSSIP.// BUT THIS IS NOT ALL:/ BACK OF THIS/ IS A KEEN AND RESOURCEFUL INTELLECT/ AND REAL KNOWLEDGE/ OF ANY SITUATION WHICH HE FACES.// WHEN HE SITS DOWN WITH A PERSON,/ THAT PERSON FEELS/ NOT ONLY THAT HE HAS A SYMPATHIC LISTENER/ BUT ONE WHO REALLY UNDERSTANDS HIS PROBLEM.

THIS WAS SINGULARLY TRUE IN PALESTINE./ BERNADOTTE CAME TO THE PROBLEM/ WITH NORDIC PREDILECTIONS,/ AMERICAN WEALTH/ AND THE PRESTIGE OF AUTHORITY: BUNCHE CAME ALMOST BY ACCIDENT, (unknown to the world, but) KNOWING AMERICA THOROUGHLY/ AND AT THE SAME TIME/ BY HEREDITY AND EXPERIENCE/ KNOWING WHAT THE WHITE WORLD/ CAN DO TO ASIATICS/ AND COLORED FOLK.// THIS/ BOTH ARAB AND JEW/ REALIZED. / IN A SENSE THEY SEEMED/ TO BE CONFERRING/ WITH ONE OF THEIR OWN:/ THERE WERE MANY MATTERS/ THEY DID NOT HAVE TO EXPLAIN.// BERNADOTTE'S DEATH THEREFORE/ SIMPLIFIED BUNCHE'S TASK:/ HE WAS TO FIND AGREEMENT/ NOT BETWEEN THE WEST AND THE

35-3-154

MIDDLE EAST,/ BUT BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISREAL// HIS WORK WAS LARGELY/A MATTER OF PERSONALITIES,/ OF COMPROMISE,/ OF SUBTLE ADJUSTMENT IN PREJUDICES AND IDEALS--/---A REALM/IN WHICH HE HAD UNIQUE GIFTS.// THERE IS NO DOUBT BUT THAT BOTH PARTIES/TODAY/REGARD BUNCHE AS A PERSONAL FRIEND,/ A THING WHICH WAS NEVER TRUE OF BERNADOTTE.

I REMEMBER ONCE/WALKING ALONG EAST 65th STREET/TRYING TO CONVINCE BUNCHE/THAT HIS FUTURE/LAY WITH THE UNITED NATIONS/RATHER THAN WITH THE STATE DEPARTMENT,/ WHERE HE WAS THEN/A MINOR BUREAU OFFICIAL./ HE WAS INCLINED/TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT/FOR BUNCHE IS BY NATURE A DIPLOMAT/RATHER THAN AN EXECUTIVE.//BUT HE HESITATED/TO CAST HIS LOT/WITH A DEPARTMENT/ WHERE NO AMERICAN OF NEGRO DESCENT/HAD EVER BEEN GIVEN/A REAL CHANCE FOR PROMOTION./ WHILE HE REALIZED/THAT IN THE UNITED NATIONS/HIS COLOR WOULD BE/NO INITIAL HANDICAP.// PERHAPS NOW,/ IN THE SINGULAR TRANSFORMATIONS OF TIME,/THE STATE DEPARTMENT/AS WELL AS THE UNITED NATIONS/WILL RECOGNIZE his value

March 7, 1949
N.B.C.

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45-3-34

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45-3-51

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THE VALUE OF THIS MAN.

35-3-235

45-3-52

He is 41 years old, married with 3 children

I have known of Ralph Bunche since his graduation from college in 1927. While I cannot claim intimate personal acquaintanceship, I have followed his career carefully and have met and conversed with him many times. I doubt if any man was better fitted to arbitrate between Arab and Jew. First of all, personally he resembles the most comely Semitic genus type -- dark, well-built, soft-voiced-- a composite type stemming from that mulatto mixture which has arisen in America and which is destined to do much for culture in this world. Add to that a broad education: born in the Middle West, trained in California and at Harvard, travelled in Africa and Europe; he is not a productive scholar, but has a deep knowledge of human nature and an engaging presence. He is unobtrusive, with no Nordic arrogance nor American "smartness", and no apparent self-assurance; yet he is genial, easily inspiring confidence, with a ready smile, an apposite anecdote and a bit of inside gossip. But this is not all: back of this is a keen and resourceful intellect and real knowledge of the situation at hand. He is no ready speaker or finished writer; but when he sits down with a person, that person feels he has not only a sympathic listener, but one who really understands his problem This was singularly true in Palestine. Bernadotte came to the problem with Nordic predilections, and American wealth and the prestige of authority; Bunhce came almost by accident, knowing America thoroughly and at the same time by heredity knowing what the white world can do to Asiatics, and this both Arab and Jew realized. In a sence they were conferring with one of their own; there were matters they did not have to explain. Bernadotte's death simplified Bunche's task: he was to find agreement not between Europe and the Middle East, but between Egypt and Isreal His work was largely a matter of personalities, of compromise of subtle adjustment of prejudices and ideals -- a realm where he had unique gifts. There is no doubt that both parties regard Bunche as a personal friend, which was never true of Bernadotte. I remember once walking along 65th street trying to convince Bunche that his future lay with the United Nations rather than with the State Department. He inclined to the State Department for Bunche is a diplomat rather than an executive. But he hesitated to cast his lot with a department where no American of Negro descent had ever been given a real chance for promotion. Perhps now in the singular transformations of time, the State Department will recognize what the value of this man is.

Not used [1947?]

I have known Ralph Bunche since he was graduated in 1927 at the University of California , Los, Angeles. He was born in Detroit in 1904 after his graduation he went to Harvard , where he took his Masters and Doctors Degree and studied then at other Universities . He was married in 1930 , and has three children, two girls and a little boy. For a while he was Assistant in Political Science at the University of California and then came to Howard University where he acted as Assistant to the President and then became Assistant Professor eventually of the Department of Political Science . Gradually he began to specialize on Africa and Colonial questions. Served as Fellow of the Social Science of the Research Council and finally was loaned by Howard University to the State Department. Here began his career in the African section , and finally again he was loaned to the United Nations , where he became connected with the Trusteeship Council.

35-1-54

Then he was transferred to the job of assisting the Mediator in the Palestine dispute and on the death of Count Bernadotte, became the acting Mediator. For a time Bunch hesitated as to whether he wanted to continue with his career of teaching or enter the State Department or become permanently connected with the United Nations. For a diplomatic career he had peculiar advantages--he ~~was~~ is a well-built, attractive man with a keen mind but careful address. He immediately became the confident of those with whom he was associated and was cut out to be a Mediator and a successful diplomatic agent. Being ~~a~~ of Negro descent he saw difficulties in the way of his promotion in the State Department and on the other hand he was not sure as to what opening there was going to be in the United Nations. It happened that his lot was cast in the very place whereprobably few men were better trained for successful action. To mediate between enemies, to balance between posing ideas , to be a genial and well met companion , to wide varieties of people ---that was the function for which Ralph Bunche was particularly cast. And it was for that reason that he eventually was successful where men of more years and wider experience failed.

NEGRO RIGHTS IN AMERICA

The Forum
Philadelphia, Pa.
March 13, 1949

~~THE THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS~~

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

35-3-61

THERE WERE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1940, 12, 865, 518 citizens AND RESIDENTS, SOMETHING LESS THAN A TENTH OF THE NATION, WHO FORM LARGELY A SEGREGATED CASTE, WITH RESTRICTED LEGAL RIGHTS, AND MANY ILLEGAL DISABILITIES. THEY ARE DESCENDANTS OF THE AFRICANS BROUGHT TO AMERICA DURING THE SIXTEENTH, SEVENTEENTH, EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES AND REDUCED TO SLAVE LABOR. THIS GROUP HAS NO COMPLETE BIOLOGICAL UNITY, BUT VARIES IN COLOR FROM WHITE TO BLACK, AND COMPRISES A GREAT VARIETY OF PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS, SINCE MANY ARE THE OFFSPRING OF WHITE EUROPEAN-AMERICANS AS WELL AS OF AFRICANS AND AMERICAN INDIANS. THERE ARE A LARGE UNMBER OF WHITE AMERICANS WHO ALSO DESCEND FROM NEGROES BUT WHO ARE NOT COUNTED IN THE COLORED

GROUP NOR SUBJECTED TO CASTE RESTRICTIONS BECAUSE THE PREPONDERANCE OF WHITE BLOOD CONCEALS THEIR DESCENT.

35-3-62

THE SO-CALLED AMERICAN NEGRO GROUP, THEREFORE, WHILE IT IS IN NO SENSE ABSOLUTELY SET OFF PHYSICALLY FROM ITS FELLOW AMERICANS, HAS NEVERTHELESS A STRONG, HEREDITARY CULTURAL UNITY BORN OF SLAVERY, OF COMMON SUFFERING, PROLONGED PROSCRIPTION AND CURTAILMENT OF POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS; AND ESPECIALLY BECAUSE OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DISABILITIES. LARGELY FROM THIS FACT, HAVE ARISEN THEIR CULTURAL GIFTS TO AMERICA--THEIR RHYTHM, MUSIC AND FOLK-SONG; THEIR RELIGIOUS FAITH AND CUSTOMS; THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICAN ART AND LITERATURE; THEIR DEFENSE OF THEIR COUNTRY IN EVERY WAR, ON LAND, SEA AND IN THE AIR; AND ESPECIALLY THE HARD, CONTINUOUS TOIL UPON WHICH THE PROSPERITY AND WEALTH OF THIS CONTINENT HAS LARGELY BEEN BUILT.

I will not attempt tonight to cover the history of American slavery before 1830

35-3-63

SLAVERY IN AMERICA IS A STRANGE AND CONTRADICTORY STORY. IT CANNOT BE REGARDED AS MAINLY EITHER A THEORETICAL PROBLEM OF MORALS OR A SCIENTIFIC PROBLEM OF RACE. FROM EITHER OF THESE POINTS OF VIEW, THE RISE OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA IS SIMPLY INEXPLICABLE. LOOKING AT THE FACTS FRANKLY, SLAVERY EVIDENTLY WAS A MATTER OF ECONOMICS, A QUESTION OF INCOME AND LABOR, RATHER THAN A PROBLEM OF RIGHT AND WRONG, OR OF THE PHYSICAL DIFFERENCES IN MEN. ONCE SLAVERY BEGAN TO BE THE SOURCE OF VAST INCOME FOR MEN AND NATIONS, THERE FOLLOWED FRANTIC SEARCH FOR MORAL AND RACIAL JUSTIFICATIONS. SUCH EXCUSES WERE FOUND AND MEN DID NOT INQUIRE TOO CAREFULLY INTO EITHER THEIR LOGIC OR TRUTH.

THE TWENTY NEGROES BROUGHT TO VIRGINIA IN 1619, WERE NOT THE FIRST WHO HAD LANDED ON THIS CONTINENT. FOR A CENTURY before SMALL NUMBERS OF NEGROES HAD BEEN ARRIVING AS SERVANTS, AS LABORERS, AS FREE ADVENTURERS. THE

35-3-64

SOUTHWESTERN PART OF THE PRESENT UNITED STATES WAS FIRST TRAVERSED BY FOUR EXPLORERS OF WHOM ONE WAS AN AFRICAN NEGRO. NEGROES ACCOMPANIED EARLY ~~EXPLORERS~~ settlers LIKE D'AYLLON AND MENENDEZ IN THE SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES. BUT JUST AS THE EARLIER BLACK VISITORS TO THE WEST INDIES WERE SERVANTS AND ADVENTURERS AND THEN LATER ~~BEGAN TO APPEAR AS~~ began to appear LABORERS ON THE SUGAR PLANTATIONS, SO IN VIRGINIA, THESE IMPORTED BLACK LABORERS IN 1619 AND AFTER, CAME TO BE WANTED FOR THE RAISING OF TOBACCO WHICH WAS THE MONEY CROP.

IN THE MINDS OF THE EARLY PLANTERS, THERE WAS NO DISTINCTION AS TO LABOR WHETHER IT WAS WHITE OR BLACK. IN LAW THERE WAS AT FIRST NO DISCRIMINATION. BUT AS IMPORTED WHITE LABOR BECAME SCARCER AND MORE PROTECTED BY LAW, IT BECAME LESS PROFITABLE THAN NEGRO LABOR WHICH FLOODED THE MARKETS BECAUSE OF EUROPEAN SLAVE TRADERS and INTERNAL STRIFE IN AFRICA:

35-3-65

AND BECAUSE IN AMERICA/ THE NEGROES WERE INCREASINGLY STRIPPED/ OF LEGAL DEFENSE.// FOR THESE REASONS/ AMERICA BECAME A LAND OF BLACK SLAVERY./ AND THERE AROSE/ FIRST, THE FABULOUSLY RICH/ SUGAR EMPIRE:/ THEN THE COTTON KINGDOM,/ AND FINALLY COLONIAL IMPERIALISM.

THERE IS NO MORE INTERESTING EFFORT/ THAN THE ATTEMPT/ IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA/ TO APPLY THE DEMOCRATIC METHOD/ IN A GREAT SOCIAL REFORM/ LIKE THE ABOLITION OF NEGRO SLAVERY.// ON JULY 4, 1776,/ THE FOUNDERS OF THE REPUBLIC/ ANNOUNCED TO THE WORLD:// "WE HOLD THESE THRUTHS TO BE SELF EVIDENT,/ THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL;/ THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR/ WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS;/ THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE,/ LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."// THE MEN WHO MADE THIS DECLARATION/ WERE LOOKING STRAIGHT INTO THE FACES/ OF 700,000 SLAVES,/ FORMING ONE-FIFTH OF THE NATION/ WHICH THEY DECLARED TO BE FREE.

WHAT DID THIS EXTRAORDINARY STATEMENT MEAN?// IT MEANT THAT THE MAJORITY/

35-3-66

OF THE PERSONS/ WHO WERE FOUNDING THE NEW DEMOCRACY/ BELIEVED THAT EVENTUALLY/ NEGRO SLAVERY/ WAS DOOMED TO DISAPPEAR.// THE BASIS OF THAT BELIEF/ WAS THE EMANCIPATION/ OF THE SLAVES/ IN MOST OF THE COLONIES/ SINCE THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.// IN THE COLONIES/ WHICH STILL RETAINED SLAVERY,/ THERE WAS A CONSIDERABLE BODY OF BELIEF/ THAT THE INSTITUTION WAS TEMPORARY/ AND THAT THE CONTINUANCE OF THE SLAVE SYSTEM/ DEPENDED UPON THE SLAVE TRADE:// THAT THEREFORE/ THE REAL PROBLEM/ WAS WHAT WAS TO BE DONE/ WITH THE SLAVE TRADE.// THE LEADERS ~~DECIDED~~ CONCLUDED THEREFORE/ THAT INACTION/ WAS THE WISEST PRESENT COURSE.

THE RESULT WAS/ THAT UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION,/ A PERIOD OF LAISSEZ FAIRE/ FROM 1787 to 1808 ENSUED/ DURING WHICH THE SLAVE TRADE/ COULD NOT BE TOUCHED.// IT WAS ASSUMED/ THAT BEFORE THE END OF THAT PERIOD,/ THE TRADE WOULD BE ABOLISHED,/ ONE FACT/ MODIFIED THIS ASSUMPTION:/ A GOOD MANY SLAVES HAD DISAPPEARED/ DURING THE WAR,/ MAKING A SHORTAGE OF SLAVE LABOR./ BUT

by the Federal government

by the States

35-3-67

ANOTHER FACT SUPPORTED IT, FOR BEFORE THIS PERIOD ENDED IN 1808, THERE HAD OCCURRED THE WORST SLAVE INSURRECTION IN THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAS, UNDER TOUSSAINT IN HAITI, WHICH SPREAD HYSTERIA IN THE SOUTH.

THE RESULT WAS THAT THE UNITED STATES PROHIBITED THE SLAVE TRADE IN 1808 AND THIS, IN THE OPINION OF MOST AMERICANS, SPELLED THE DOOM OF SLAVERY WITHIN A GENERATION. // BUT THE SLAVE TRADE LAW WAS LOOSLY DRAWN AND INDIFFERENTLY ENFORCED, AND REALLY PLACED A PREMIUM UPON SLAVE SMUGGLING BY ALLOWING THE SMUGGLED SLAVES TO BE SOLD. // MOREOVER, IN THE BORDER STATES, THERE DEVELOPED SLAVE-BREEDING and A SLAVE TRADE TO SUPPLY THE COTTON STATES WITH LABOR. // AND ALSO BY AN EXTRAORDINARY SERIES OF INVENTIONS, COTTON BECAME ONE OF THE MOST VALUABLE CROP DEVELOPMENTS OF THE DAY. // SLAVERY, THEREFORE, RATHER THAN BEING ABOLISHED OR REDUCED IN SIGNIFICANCE BY THE LAW OF 1808, BECAME BY 1850 THE CORNOR STONE OF the INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

35-3-68

BETWEEN 1830 and 1860 THERE GREW UP IN AMERICA AN INCREASINGLY BITTER STRUGGLE FOR THE FREE LAND WHICH HAD BEEN LARGELY SUPPLIED AS A RESULT OF THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION. // FREE LABOR AND PERSONS FROM EUROPE, IMMIGRATING AT A RATE WHICH REACHED 100,000 A YEAR BY 1860, DEMANDED FREE SOIL AND HIGH WAGES. // AGITATION FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY ENSUED AND WAS INCREASED AND INSPIRED BY A STREAM OF FUGITIVE SLAVES WHICH THREATENED SLAVE INVESTMENT. CIVIL WAR ~~ENSUED~~ resulted, BUT NOT A WAR FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, BUT FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE UNION. THAT IS FOR PRESERVING THE UNITY AND EFFICIENCY OF THE INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION WHICH FORMED THIS NATION AND WAS AT THE BOTTOM OF ITS PROSPERITY. // HOWEVER, THERE SOON APPEARED THE FATAL DICHOTOMY: THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE AND THEIR ARMIES WERE SUPPORTED BY SLAVE LABOR AND THE NORTHERN ARMIES FOUND THEMSLEVES DEPENDING INCREASINGLY ON BLACK LABORERS, SERVANTS AND SPYS AND FINALLY ON BLACK SOLDIERS, // WITHOUT WHOM, LINCOLN SAID VICTORY WOULD HAVE BEEN IMPOSSIBLE. // IT WAS THIS THAT SPELLED THE

DOOM OF SECCESSION.// WHENEVER LABORERS REFUSE TO WORK FOR THEIR EMPLOYERS, NEITHER A SOCIETY NOR AN ARMY CAN BE MAINTAINED.// THIS BEGAN TO HAPPEN IN THE CIVIL WAR AND THE FEAR OF THIS BROUGHT VICTORY TO THE NORTHERN ARMY.

35-3-69

IN THE MIDST OF THE WAR WHEN IT WAS EVIDENT THAT THE HELP OF THE SLAVES WAS GOING TO BE OF UNQUESTIONABLE ADVANTAGE TO THE NORTH, ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN SEPTEMBER 1862, THREATENED TO FREE THE SLAVES UNLESS THE SOUTH SURRENDERED. IN 1862, LINCOLN SOUGHT IN VAIN COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION IN THE BORDER STATES BUT ACCOMPLISHED THIS ONLY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. THE SOUTH FACED DILEMMA: IF THEY SURRENDERED, ABOLITION BY THE NORTH WAS SURE TO FOLLOW EVENTUALLY;// IF THEY KEPT ON FIGHTING, INCREASING NUMBERS OF THEIR FOUR MILLION SLAVES WOULD JOIN THE ENEMY AND BE FREED.// FOR A TIME THE SOUTH TRIED TO FIGHT ON AND THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION WAS ISSUED JANUARY 1, 1863.// THE SOUTHERNERS TRIED THEMSELVES TO ARM THEIR SLAVES; BUT THIS ENTAILED THAT VERY FREEDOM THEY WERE OPPOSING AND WAS NEVER CARRIED OUT.// THE SOUTH, THEREFORE SURRENDERED IN 1865 IN THE HOPE OF RETAINING

35-3-70

SOME CONTROL OVER THEIR LABOR IN THE RESTORED UNION.

IN 1865 THE CONSTITUTION WAS AMENDED SO AS TO ABOLISH SLAVERY; BUT THE SOUTH COUNTERED BY ESTABLISHING A LEGAL SERFDOM UNDER STATE LAW. THE BLACK CODES ABOLISHED SALE OF LABOR BY INDIVIDUALS, BUT LEGALIZED IT THROUGH THE COURTS, BY CONTROL OF ORPHANS, SALE OF CONVICTS AND CONTROL OF LABOR CONTRACTS.// THE NEGRO FAMILY WAS RECOGNIZED AND PROPERTY-HOLDING, BUT PERSONAL FREEDOM WAS STRICTLY LIMITED.// IN ADDITION TO THIS THE POLITICAL POWER OF THE SOUTH IN CONGRESS WAS INCREASED BY 29 VOTES, ON ACCOUNT OF EMANCIPATION// WHILE BOTH SOUTH AND WEST OPPOSED THE HIGH TARIFF AND WANTED TO REPUDIATE THE WAR DEBT.// INDUSTRY THEREFORE UNITED WITH ABOLITION TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION AGAIN.// AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO PROVIDE FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE FREED MEN AND ~~PROVIDE~~ GIVE THEM LAND BY FEDERAL GRANT.// PRESIDENT JOHNSON VETOED THIS.// A 14th AMENDMENT WAS THEN PROPOSED TO MAKE NEGROES CITIZENS WITH FULL CIVIL RIGHTS AND EITHER WITH THE RIGHT TO VOTE, OR IF THAT WERE DENIED BY

35-3-71

~~THE STATE TO~~ REDUCE wg/ STATE REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS/ACCORDINGLY.// THIS AMENDMENT PASSED/ AFTER MUCH CONTROVERSY/ IN 1868.// IN 1870, A FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT,/ FORBIDDING DISFRANCHISEMENT/FOR RACE AND COLOR/WAS RATIFIED.

THUS DEMOCRACY/ SPEAKING THROUGH ITS ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES,/ MADE THE AMERICAN NEGRO/ A FREE CITIZEN,/WITH FULL CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS.// THEREUPON THE COURTS STATE AND NATIONAL, GUIDED AND COERCED BY BUSINESS, ORGANIZED INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE NORTH AND SOUTH, PROCEEDED DELIBERATELY TO NULLIFY EVERYTHING ESSENTIAL WHICH CONGRESS HAD DONE: THEY DECLARED THAT THE UNITED STATES COULD NOT ENFORCE CIVIL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES: THEY UPHELD DISCRIMINATIONS WHICH DISFRANCHISED NINE TENTHS OF THE BLACK VOTERS: THEY LEGALIZED SEPARATE SCHOOLS, SEPARATE TRAVEL AND SEPARATE PUBLIC SERVICES AND HELPED ESTABLISH IN THE NATION A COLOR CASTE BASED ON RACE. THERE HAS SELDOM OCCURRED IN MODERN HISTORY A MORE DELIBERATE ASSAULT ON HUMAN RIGHTS THAN THE COURTS OF THE UNITED STATES MADE BETWEEN 1865 and 1915.

35-3-72

THERE ENSUED/ THE MOST SUCCESSFUL EFFORT/ TO NULLIFY DEMOCRACY/ ~~WHICH~~ THAT MODERN WORLD/HAS SEEN.// IT WAS LED BY THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY,/ WHICH IS APPOINTIVE/AND NOT ELECTIVE,/ WHOSE APPOINTMENT/IS LARGELY INFLUENCED/BY WEALTH AND ORGANIZED INDUSTRY.// IN ORDER THEREFORE/ TO BRING PEACE AND INDUSTRY/BACK TO THE SOUTH/AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE,// AND IN ORDER/ TO PLACE POLITICAL POWER/IN THE HANDS OF WHITE LANDHOLDERS and lawyers AND BUSINESS MEN/ WHILE DISFRANCHISING THE WORKERS// THE WHOLE POST-WAR LEGISLATION AGAINST SLAVERY/WAS EMASCULATED BY JUDICIAL DECISION.// THE 14th AMENDMENT/WAS INTERPRETED/ SO AS TO PROTECT CORPORATIONS/AND DENY FEDERAL PROTECTION TO NEGRO CITIZENS.// DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN CITIZENS/ WAS UPHELD IN VOTING,/ TRAVEL, EDUCATION AND MARRIAGE,/ AND IN ALL CIVIL RIGHTS.// A COMPLETE LEGAL/ COLOR CASTE SYSTEM/WAS SET UP,/ NOT ONLY IN THE FORMER SLAVE STATES,/ BUT IN ANY OTHER REGION/WHICH WISHED TO ADOPT THE SYSTEM,/ AS WAS THE CASE LARGELY/IN THE FAR WEST/ AND MIDDLE WEST,/ AND SOMETIMES IN THE EAST.

THUS WITH THE NATION SITTING BY,/ EITHER HELPLESS OR INDIFFERENT,/ DEMOCRACY WAS ABOLISHED/ IN THE UNITED ST TES/ AND GOVERNMENT WAS HANDED OVER/TO THE CONTROL

35-3-73

OF BIG BUSINESS/AND THE JUDICIARY/WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE ROTTEN-BOROUGH SYSTEM/ OF THE SOLID SOUTH.// THIS WENT SO FAR THAT WORKERS IN TRADES UNIONS/AND COMMON CITIZENS/IN EVERYDAY LIFE/AS CONSUMERS/BEGAN TO FIGHT THE POWER OF MONOPOLY./ BUT IN THIS FIGHT/THE AVERAGE AMERICAN/TRIED AT FIRST/SYSTEMATICALLY/TO IGNORE THE Negro — FIRST AND MAIN VICTIM/OF THIS ATTACK ON DEMOCRACY,/ LEAVING THE REAL STRUGGLE TO NEGROES THEMSELVES.// AND FROM ~~1905~~ 1900 TO THIS DAY,/ THE SYSTEMATIC ATTACK/ON THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC THROTTLING/OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS/IN THE UNITED STATES/HAS BEEN SPEARHEADED THROUGHOUT/ BY THE AMERICAN NEGRO,/ IN HIS DESPERATE EFFORT TO OVER-THROW CASTE/ IN THIS LEADING DEMOCRACY IN THE WORLD

35-3-74

WHAT SHOULD THE NEGRO DO?/ THERE WAS BUT ONE ANSWER/ FIGHT.// BUT A FIGHT BY POOR PEOPLE/AGAINST ENTRENCHED MONOPOLY/ VAST WEALTH,/ PREJUDICED SCIENCE/AND SUBSERVIENT RELIGION/IS NOT EASY.// IT IS ESPECIALLY HARD/ IF THE VERY PERSONS SUPPRESSED/ARE NOT SURE/THAT THEY OUGHT TO FIGHT/OR IF THERE IS ANY CHANCE TO WIN.

AMERICAN NEGROES/BETWEEN 1895 and 1910/ HAD PROMINENT LEADERS/WHO TOLD THEM/THAT FIGHTING WAS IMPRACTICABLE;/ THAT SUBMISSION WAS WISE;/ THAT THE ONLY POSSIBLE SOLUTION/WAS PHILANTHROPY.// AND NEGROES GOT MUCH ~~EXCELLENT~~ PHILANTHROPY./ THERE IS A LONG RECORD OF EFFORT/ON THE PART OF WHITE AMERICANS/ TO HELP BLACK FOLK.// THE SUCCESSORS OF THE ABOLITIONISTS/WERE THE TEACHERS AND MISSIONARIES/WHO WNET TO THE SOUTH/ AFTER THE CIVIL WAR/AND STARTED THE EDUCATION OF THE FREED MEN.// LARGE NUMBERS OF NORTHERNERS/AND SOME SOUTHERNERS/ SUPPORTED NEGRO SOCIAL UPLIFT/AND EDUCATION FROM 1870 to 1900;. Gradually No SCHOOLS WERE HELPED/OR PROJECTS ENCOURAGED/WHICH WERE NOT APPROVED BY

35-3-75

THE LIBERAL SOUTH. // INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION WAS EMPHASIZED / AND HAMPTON AND TUSKEGEE WERE HELPED. / BUT HIGHER EDUCATION FOR NEGROES / WAS LONG DISCOURAGED. // BY 1919, HOWEVER, / A MORE LIBERAL ELEMENT OF YOUNG SOUTHERNERS / BECAME MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD / AND IT OPENLY BEGAN TO HELP ENDOW NEGRO COLLEGES. / ANDREW CARNEGIE GAVE MANY LIBRARIES / TO NEGRO COLLEGES AND COMMUNITIES.

IN 1919 / MANY EFFORTS AT INTERRACIAL COOPERATION / WHICH FOLLOWED THE ATLANTA RIOT OF 1906 / COALESCED / INTO THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION. / THIS ORGANIZATION / DID OUTSTANDING WORK AGAINST LYNCHING.

THE COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS / OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA / WAS ORGANIZED IN 1921 / AND INSTITUTED "RACE RELATIONS SUNDAY." THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE / ON HUMAN WELFARE / WAS STARTED IN 1939 / AND TOOK A STRONG STAND FOR CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES. // BUT WITH ALL THIS, / IN THE MAIN, / EVEN THE LIBERAL SOUTH, / STOOD FIRM FOR NEGRO DISFRANCHISEMENT / AND COLOR CASTE. / // IT WAS INCREASINGLY CLEAR THAT PHILANTHROPY IN ITSELF WOULD NEVER SOLVE THE NEGRO PROPBLEM

35-3-76

~~PHILANTHROPY OF ITSELF, HOWEVER, CAN NEVER FREE A PEOPLE~~. MONEY AND GOOD-WILL CAN HELP. / THEY CAN AT CRITICAL TIMES / GIVE THE INDISPENSABLE PUSH, / THE ENCOURAGEMENT AND THE CONFIDENCE. // BUT A CAREFUL CONSIDERATION / OF THE FACTS / PROVE THAT THE CHIEF FORCE / BEHIND THE PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO / ~~SINCE 1900~~ ~~1917~~ / CAME FROM THE NEGRO HIMSELF // HIS PURPOSIVE AND ORGANIZED EFFORT / FROM 1900 UNTIL TODAY, / AND PARTICULARLY SINCE 1917, / HAS FORMED THE MAINSPRING OF NEGRO PROGRESS.

FIRST OF ALL, / WE MUST NOTE AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES / CERTAIN PERSISTENT CULTURE PATTERNS: // THE DETERMINATION TO EDUCATE THEIR CHILDREN: / THE PERSISTENT EFFORT / AT ORGANIZATION FOR UPLIFT AND PROGRESS / IN CHURCH AND FRATERNITY; / // THE REFUSAL, / DESPITE OVERWHELMING TEMPTATION, / TO ADOPT ENTIRELY WHITE AMERICAN STANDARDS / AS TO THE GOOD, THE BEAUTIFUL AND THE TRUE.

BUT THIS INDIVIDUAL PUSH UPWARD / HAD TO BE ORGANIZED. / ORGANIZATIONS CAME EARLY IN RELIGION, / FOR SOCIAL PURPOSES, / FOR SPECIFIC OBJECTS: // BUT THE FIRST

35-3-27

CLEAR-CUT DEMAND/FOR FULL CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS/IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY/CAME WITH THE MEETING/OF SEVENTEEN NEGROES IN 1905/TO FORM THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT. THREE YEARS LATER, IN 1909,/ A SMALL COMMITTEE OF WHITE PERSONS/MET IN NEW YORK/BECAUSE OF THE SPRINGFIELD RIOTS// AND IN 1910 THESE TWO MOVEMENTS UNITED / AND FORMED/THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION/FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE.

FOR THIRTY-EIGHT YEARS/THIS ORGANIZATION HAS SPEARHEADED/THE PRESSURE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS/UNTIL IT HAS BECOME A MASS MOVEMENT/ BUILT DEEPLY INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO// SUGGESTED BY WHITE LIBERALS,/GUIDED BY BLACK RADICALS/ OFFICERED INCREASINGLY BY A BLACK STAFF/ AND SUPPORTED BY AN OVERWHELMING MASS OF NEGROES/WITH A FEW WHITES// IT BEGAN AT THE HEIGHT/OF THE BOOKER T. WASHINGTON APPEASEMENT CAMPAIGN/AND DECLARED ITS PURPOSE/TO MAKE AMERICAN NEGROES "PHYSICALLY FREE FROM PEONAGE,/ POLITICALLY FREE FROM DISFRANCHISEMENT/AND SOCIALLY FREE FROM INSULT."// DURING ITS EXISTENCE THIS ORGANIZATION HAS RAISED/AND SPENT OVER $4,000,000/OF WHICH 90 PER CENT CAME from poor Colored workers.

15½

35-3-28

THE METHODS (in this struggle) USED CHANGED FROM THE EMOTIONAL APPEAL/ OF ABOLITION DAYS/TO CAREFUL COLLECTION/OF FACTS/ LECTURES/PAMPHLETS/ BOOKS/STUDIES AND STATISTICS.// THIS WENT ON UNTIL TODAY/THERE IS NOT A LAND (ON EARTH)/NOR A LANGUAGE/THAT DOES NOT (KNOW THAT) DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES/EXCLUDES THE NEGRO/AND DOES NOT PUNISH LYNCHING// BEYOND THIS WE MOVED INTO THE COURTS/AND COMPELLED THEM TO EVADE/ CONTRADICT/OR REVERSE FORMER DECISIONS// WHICH (Began to) THREATEN THE VERY FOUNDATIONS/OF JUSTICE FOR WHITE AMERICANS/AS WELL AS BLACK.

THE CAMPAIGN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS/LED BY AMERICANS (Negroes) IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY/ HAS BEEN THE MOST COMPLETE/AND UNREMITTING OF ANY (such) OTHER EFFORT/IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD/AND HAS SET STANDARDS FOR ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLES

~~FROM POOR COLORED WORKERS, IT HAS TODAY A PAID MEMBERSHIP APPROXIMATING 300,000 MEMBERS.~~ and other organizations

35-3-79

FROM 1915 to 1948 THE NAACP HAS we BROUGHT TWENTY SEVEN CASES INVOLVING THE RIGHTS OF NEGROES BEFORE THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT AND HAS WON TWENTY-FOUR OF THEM.

FOUR CASES ON the WHITE PRIMARY HAD TO BE BROUGHT ~~BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT~~ UNTIL, IN 1944, A CLEAR CUT DECISION AGAINST THIS FORM OF DISFRANCHISEMENT WAS OBTAINED. BETWEEN 1913 and 1948 SIX CASES on ~~LEGALIZING~~ NEGRO GHETTOES, FIRST BY LAW AND THEN BY PRIVATE CONTRACT, WERE FOUGHT IN THE SUPREME COURT. AS LATE AS 1947 TEN SQUARE MILES OF CHICAGO RESIDENTIAL DISTRICTS WERE BY COVENANT RESTRICTED TO WHITE PEOPLE. IN 1948 ~~THE NAACP OBTAINED~~ was obtained A DECISION DENYING THE LEGAL RIGHT TO ENFORCE THESE CONTRACTS

NATURALLY THE WORK OF THE NAACP WAS NOT DONE ALONE. NOT ONLY HAVE WHITE PEOPLE HELPED AS MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION AND AS ADVISERS IN LEGAL CASES, BUT WITHOUT THE HELP OF OTHER NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS THE WORK COULD NOT

HAVE BEEN DONE. THE NEGRO CHURCHES, WITH 35,000 CONGREGATIONS, OWNING $175,000,000 IN REAL ESTATE AND SPENDING $28,000,000 A YEAR, HELPED PUBLICIZE AND SUPPORT THE ASSOCIATION. THE NEGRO PRESS, WITH NEARLY 150 WEEKLY PAPERS, READ BY EVERY LITERATE NEGRO IN THE NATION, HAS ACHIEVED A NEWS COVERAGE WHICH MAKES NEGROES INDEPENDENT OF THE DISTORTIONS AND SUPPRESSIONS OF THE WHITE PRESS AND LETS ~~NEGROES~~ them KNOW THE FACTS AND WHAT IS BEING DONE ABOUT THEM.

35-3-80

OTHER NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS LIKE THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, HAVE SUPPLEMENTED THE WORK OF THE NAACP IN AREAS WHICH IT DID NOT REACH ~~DIRECTLY~~. THE LEAGUE WAS FOUNDED THE SAME YEAR AS THE NAACP, AND THEY EARLY DELIMITED THEIR FIELDS OF OPERATION--THE NAACP TO FIGHT RACE DISCRIMINATION, THE URBAN LEAGUE TO SEEK TO OPEN OPPORTUNITIES FOR seller NEGRO EMPLOYMENT. ITS WORK AMONG EMPLOYERS ON THE ONE HAND, AND AMONG LABOR LEADERS ON THE OTHER, HAS PLACED TENS OF THOUSANDS OF NEGROES IN JOBS WHERE NEGROES HAD NEVER BEEN HIRED

(18)

BEFORE./ PHILLIP RANDOLPH'S "MARCH ON WASHINGTON"/ LED FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT/ TO INITIATE THE FEPC.

35-3-81

BETWEEN 1900 and 1940/ THE NEGRO POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES/ INCREASED FROM 9,000,000/ to 13,000,000.// BUT THE INCREASE IN THE SOUTH/ WAS BUT 25 PER CENT./ WHILE THE NORTH AND WEST IT WAS 200 PER CENT.// SINCE 1940 THIS INCREASE/ NORTH AND WEST/ HAS BEEN FURTHER ACCENTUATED.// THE RURAL NEGRO POPULATION/ HAS REMAINED STATIONARY SINCE 1900/ WHILE THE CITY POPULATION/ HAS INCREASED MORE THAN 350 PER CENT.// A MILLION NEGROES/ HAVE LEFT THE PLANTATIONS OF THE SOUTH,/ WHERE much LABOR/ IS IN VIRTUAL PEONAGE,/ TO ENTER DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE,/ INDUSTRY AND TRANSPORT/ IN CITIES NORTH AND SOUTH.// LARGE NUMBERS IN INDUSTRY/ HAVE RISEN FROM UNSKILLED/ TO SKILLED LABOR.// THIS IS SHOWN/ BY THE INCREASE OF NEGRO MEMBERSHIP/ IN TRADE UNIONS/ FROM ABOUT 30,000 IN 1900/ to 100,000 in 1930,/ AND TO AN ESTIMATED TOTAL OF 1,000,000/ AT THE HEIGHT OF THE last WAR INDUSTRY.

THE NEGRO IS ENTERING BUSINESS,/ FIRST AS COOPERATIVE SELF*SERVICE/ AMONG HIS OWN PEOPLE,/ THEN GRADUALLY INTO GENERAL SMALL BUSINESS/ INSURANCE, REAL

19

35-3-82

ESTATE AND BANKING./ A STEADY INCREASE/ IN WHITE-COLLAR OCCUPATIONS/ AND IN THE ARTS AND PROFESSIONS/ HAS ATTRACTED/ A THIRD OF ALL NEGRO WORKERS.

MEANTIME,/ GENERAL CONDITIONS HAVE IMPROVED.// IN 1900, A NEGRO BOY BABY AT BIRTH/ HAD A LIFE EXPECTATION OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS./ IN 1947, THIS HAD INCREASED TO FIFTY-SEVEN YEARS.// IN 1870, NINE-TENTHS OF THE NEGROES WERE ILLITERATE./ THE CENSUS OF 1940 REPORTED THE ILLITERATES/ AT 10 PER CENT,/ PROBABLY AN ~~INACCURATE~~ exaggerated FIGURE/ DUE TO OUR METHODS OF COLLECTING STATISTICS/ READING AND WRITING./ TODAY CERTAINLY THE NEGRO ILLITERATES ARE ~~BELOW~~ perhaps

20-30 10 PER CENT.// IN 1910 THERE WERE IN SCHOOL 1,644,000/ or 45 PER CENT,/ OF ALL NEGROES 5 to 20 YEARS OF AGE;/ IN 1940, 64 PER CENT/ OF SUCH NEGRO CHILDREN WERE IN SCHOOL,/ OR 4,188,000.// IN 1900, CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER,/ SPEAKING FOR AMERICAN INTELLECTUALS,/ SAID THAT NEGROES COULD NOT ASSIMILATE AND USE/ COLLEGE TRAINING./ IN 1910 NOT MORE THAN 5,000 NEGROES WERE IN COLLEGE.

35-3-83

IN 1948 MORE THAN 88,000 NEGROES WERE ENROLLED IN COLLEGE.

THE YEAR AFTER THE ROSENWALD FUND WENT INTO OPERATION, 324 NEGROES RECEIVED THE BACHELOR'S DEGREE. IN 1948 SOME 5,635 RECEIVED THIS DEGREE. // THERE ARE TODAY MORE THAN 1,500 NEGRO STUDENTS ENROLLED IN NORTHERN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, WHILE FROM THESE INSTITUTIONS 279 HAVE RECEIVED THE DOCTORATE IN PHILOSOPHY. // IN THE FIRST EDITION OF "WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA" THERE WAS NOT SO FAR AS I CAN ASCERTAIN, THE NAME OF A SINGLE AMERICAN OF NEGRO DESCENT. THE FIFTIETH EDITION, IN 1948, CONTAINS THE NAMES OF NINETY-ONE NEGROES, AND IN "AMERICAN MEN OF SCIENCE" SEVENTY-SEVEN NEGROES ARE LISTED. // THERE ARE TODAY ON THE FACULTIES OF THE LEADING UNIVERSITIES OF THE NORTH SEVENTY NEGRO INSTRUCTORS, RANGING FROM A FULL PROFESSOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO TO ASSOCIATE PROFESSORS AND INSTRUCTORS IN OTHER INSTITUTIONS.

ADVANCEMENT HAS BEEN MADE IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY. // FROM 1900 TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR THE MASS OF AMERICAN NEGROES, EXCEPT IN NORTHERN CITIES, HAD

35-3-84

ALMOST STOPPED VOTING. // IN THE SOUTH, WHETHER VOLUNTARILY OR BECAUSE OF LEGAL AND ECONOMIC PRESSURE, MOST NEGROES DID NOT TRY TO VOTE. // TODAY NOT ONLY DO MORE THAN 2,500,000 NEGROES IN THE NORTH AND WEST VOTE, BUT IN 1947 MORE THAN 600,000 NEGROES WERE REGISTERED VOTERS IN TWELVE SOUTHERN STATES. // DESPERATE AND CONTINUED EFFORT IN SOUTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA AND MISSISSIPPI HAS NOT STOPPED THIS GROWTH.

IN 1947 THERE WERE SIX NEGRO MEMBERS OF CITY COUNCILS IN THE COUNTRY, AND THIRTY-THREE MEMBERS OF STATE LEGISLATURES, INCLUDING TWO SENATORS. // MORE THAN A DOZEN NEGRO JUDGES AND MAGISTRATES ARE PRESIDING OVER COURTS, AND THERE ARE TWO NEGRO CONGRESSMEN. // IN 1948, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN UNITED STATES HISTORY, ALL THREE MAJOR PARTIES IN THEIR CONVENTIONS PLEDGED THEMSELVES SPECIFICALLY TO THE UPHOLDING OF THE POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS OF AMERICAN NEGROES.

35-3-85

WHILE THERE IS MUCH/THAT IS POSITIVE/IN THE ABOVE RECORD,/THE CONTINUING STRUGGLE/REQUIRES A FULL COMPREHENSION/OF ALL THE MANY NEGATIVE FACTORS. EVEN AMONG THESE NEGATIONS/ HOWEVER,/ WE CAN ~~FIRST~~ NOTE SOME IMPROVEMENT.// FOR ONE THING/ THERE HAS BEEN AN ABATEMENT IN MOB VIOLENCE./ FOR ANOTHER, THE FALLACY/THAT THE NEGRO IS CONGENITALLY/UNABLE TO ASSIMILATE AMERICAN CULTURE HAS VIRTUALLY BEEN ABANDONED.

THE MOST BARBAROUS/EXPRESSION OF RACE HATE/ LYNCHING,/HAS NOTABLY DECREASED./ IN 1900 AN AVERAGE OF TWO NEGROES EACH WEEK/WERE LYNCHED BY MOBS/ WITHOUT TRIAL. /IN 1947 ONLY ONE LYNCHING WAS REPORTED/FOR THE ENTIRE YEAR.

IN 1900/AND UP TO WORLD WAR I/IT WAS A COMMON ARGUMENT/THAT THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES/WAS INSOLUBLE BECAUSE NEGROES/WERE AN INFERIOR RACE/AND SO FAR BELOW THE CULTURE/ OF THE NATION/ THAT THEY COULD NEVER EXPECT TO LIVE/ IN THIS LAND AS EQUAL CITIZENS.

SINCE 1917/ THIS ATTITUDE HAS CHANGED GRADUALLY./ FIRST, THE DOGMA OF

35-3-86

"RACE" HAS BEEN WIDELY CHALLENGED,/ AND THE EXISTENCE OF "INFERIOR" RACES OF MANKIND DENIED.// MANY OF THE OLD CLICHÉS HAVE FALLEN INTO DISUSE;/ HUMAN NATURE CAN BE CHANGED/AND MOST PREJUDICES ARE NEITHER/INBORN NOR INERADICABLE./ // LAW CAN HELP/AND HASTEN HUMAN CHANGE,/ AND THE INTERMARRIAGE OF PERSONS/OF DIFFERENT RACES/DEPENDS ON THE INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED/AND NOT ON THEIR "RACIAL" CHARACTERISTICS.//IN SCIENCE, HISTORY, LITERATURE AND ART;/ IN ATHLETICS, PHYSIQUE AND COURAGE,/ NEGROES HAVE REPEATEDLY PROVED THEMSELVES/THE EQUAL AND ~~OFTEN~~ *some times* THE SUPERIOR,/ OF AVERAGE AMERICANS.// THERE IS TODAY SCARCELY A SINGLE FIELD/OF AMERICAN CULTURE/IN WHICH SOME NEGRO IS NOT OUTSTANDING.

LET NO ONE ASSUME/FROM THIS RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT/THAT THE AMERICAN NEGRO/HAS SECURED/OR IS ABOUT TO SECURE/HIS FULL RIGHTS/AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.// LEAST OF ALL/ARE NEGROES THEMSELVES/SATISFIED OR OVEROPTIMISTIC./

THE SENATE VOTE YESTERDAY/IS CLEAR WARNING:// CONGRESS STILL PREFERS/TO LET A SMALL MINORITY/ OF REACTIONARIES/BLOCK ALL LEGISLATION/RATHER THAN LET A MAJORITY/STOP LYNCHING, DISFRANCHISEMENT & RACE SEGREGATION

35-3-87

THE RECORD OF PROGRESS/ IS IMPRESSIVE/ NOT SO MUCH BECAUSE OF ABSOLUTE ADVANCE/ AS BY COMPARISON/ WITH THE SEMI-SLAVERY /THAT MARKED THE CONDITION OF NEGROES IN 1900.// IF, INSTEAD OF CONSIDERING/ ABSOLUTE NEGRO PROGRESS/ WE COMPARE/ NEGRO ADVANCEMENT/ WITH THE CONDITION OF THE MASS OF AMERICANS /IN HEALTH, EDUCATION AND POLITICAL POWER,/ IT WILL BE CLEAR/ THAT THE LAG IS OMINOUS.

// TO WHAT FUTURE/ CAN THE NEGRO LOOK FORWARD?/ FIRST OF ALL, HE FACES A CHANGED PUBLIC OPINION./ THE NATION IS NO LONGER PESSIMISTIC/ ON THIS PROBLEM/ // FAR FROM BELIEVING THAT BLACK AND WHITE/ CANNOT LIVE TOEGTHER IN PEACE AND PROGRESS/ IN ONE NATION,/ IT HAS AWAKENED TO THE FACT/ THAT PEOPLES OF ALL COLORS AND RACES/ MUST LIVE TOGETHER/ IN ONE WORLD/ OR PERISH.// THIS GRADUAL REALIZATION / OF A GREAT REVOLUTION /FOLLOWING TWO WORLD WARS/ HAS MADE OUR OWN PORBLEM OF RACES/ A BURNING POLITICAL QUESTION.

WE BEGIN TO SEE /THAT THE NEGRO IS FIGHTING/ A SLOW DETERMINED BATTLE /AND IS NOT GOING TO GIVE UP./ THERE IS NO INDICATION/ THAT HE WILL SINK/ INTO LETHARGIC ACCEPTANCE/ OF PRESENT CONDITIONS /AS INEVITABLE /OR PRESENT PROGRESS

35-3-88

AS SATISFACTORY./ HE PROPOSES TO REACH COMPLETE EQUALITY /AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.// AND BY EQUALITY/ HE MEANS ABOLITION OF SEPARATE SCHOOLS,/ THE DISAPPEARANCE OF "JIM CROW" TRAVEL/ NO SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS:/ THE RIGHT TO VOTE,/ THE RIGHT TO THINK /AND THE RIGHT TO SPEAK,/ THE RIGHT TO WORK / AND TO LIVE IN A DECENT HOME,/ AND THE RIGHT TO MARRY ANY PERSON/ WHO WISHES TO MARRY HIM.// THE NEGRO DOES NOT EXPECT/ TO REACHE THESE GOALS/ IN A MINUTE OR IN TEN YEARS./ HE IS LONG-SUFFERING AND PATIENT./ BUT WHETHER IT TAKES ~~THIRTY~~ TEN YEARS/ OR A THOUSAND/ EQUALITY IS HIS GOAL/ AND HE WILL NEVER STOP /UNTIL HE REACHES IT.

Madison Sq Garden
Sunday March 27, 1949 4 copies

35-3-25

THIS CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE/FOR WORLD PEACE/HAS BEEN A SUCCESS. IN A TIME OF HYSTERIA,/ SUSPICION AND HATE,/ WE HAVE SUCCEEDED/IN BRINGING FACE TO FACE IN FRIENDLY MEETINGS,/ ONE OF THE LARGEST GATHERINGS/OF CREATIVE ARTISTS AND THINKERS THE WORLD HAS SEEN;/AND IT WOULD HAVE BEEN/QUITE THE LARGEST/IF ALL WHO WISHED TO COME WERE HERE.// MEETING TOGETHER/FOR THREE FULL DAYS,/ WE HAVE FOUND/WIDE AGREEMENT AND SYMPATHY;/ WE HAVE ESTABLISHED IDEALS AND FRIENDSHIPS/BELTING THE GLOBE.// WE HAVE NOT BEEN AND ARE NOT NOW/IN COMPLETE AGREEMENT/ON ALL MATTERS;//BUT IN ONE VITAL RESPECT/OUR AGREEMENT IS COMPLETE: NO MORE WAR! // THE HORRIBLE WORLD-OLD HABIT/OF WHOLESALE MURDER/OF THOSE WHO DISAGREE WITH US/IS, WE ARE CONVINCED,/ A RELIC OF BARBARISM,/ BOUND TO DISTROY/OUR BEST CULTURE/UNLESS IT IS ABSOLUTELY/AND DEFINITELY ABOLISHED.

ON THE OTHER HAND/WE ARE NOT CHILDISHLY DECEIVED/AS TO THE ENORMITY OF THE TASK OF ORGANIZING/AND CONDUCTING/A PEACEFUL WORLD.// WE ARE OF MANY MINDS/AND BACKGROUNDS, SEPARATED/NOT ONLY BY SPACE/BUT BY THE TERRIBLE BARRIERS/OF LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL PATTERNS;

2.

WE FACE/DELIBERATE CRIME,/ IGNORANCE/AND MISUNDERSTANDING/** THESE THREE; BUT [redacted] THAT THE GREATEST OF THESE IS MISUNDERSTANDING. // DECENT WAGE,/ HEALTH AND SCHOOLS WILL ONE DAY/REDUCE CRIME AND IGNORANCE/TO MANEAGEABLE PROPORTIONS.// IT IS IN THE VAST REALM/OF MISUNDERSTANDING,/ MISREPRESENTATION AND DOUBT,/ THAT WAR IS BORN/AND FLOURISHES.// PERHAPS UNWITTINGLY,/ THE OPPOSITION/WHICH OUR EFFORT HAS INCURRED/PROVES THIS TRUTH/WITH STARTLING CLARITY.// WE KNOW/AND THE SANER NATION KNOWS/THAT WE ARE NOT TRAITORS/NOR CONSPIRATORS;/ AND FAR FROM PLOTTING FORCE AND VIOLENCE/IT IS PRECISELY/FORCE AND VIOLENCE/ THAT WE BITTERLY OPPOSE.// THIS CONFERENCE/WAS NOT CALLED/TO DEFEND COMMUNISM/NOR SOCIALISM/NOR THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE.// IT WAS CALLED TO PROMOTE PEACE! IT WAS CALLED TO SAY/AND SAY AGAIN/THAT NO MATTER/HOW RIGHT OR WRONG/DIFFERING SYSTEMS OF BELIEF/IN RELIGION,/ INDUSTRY/OR GOVERNMENT MAY BE.// WAR IS NOT THE METHOD/BY WHICH THESE DIFFERENCES/CAN SUCCESSFULLY BE SETTLED/[redacted]// TO THE DEFENCE OF THIS ABSOLUTELY/INDISPUTABLE THESIS/ PROVEN BY OCEANS OF BLOOD/AND WORLDS OF HUMAN SUFFERING/WE HAVE INVITED/THE COOPERATION OF ALL MEN:/AND THAT COOPERATION/TO ABOLISH

WAR/DOES NOT COMPELL/OR EVEN ASK MEN/TO SURRENDER THEIR OPINIONS./ IT SIMPLY INSISTS THAT FORCE/IS NOT REASON/AND BELIEFS/CANNOT BE CHANGED BY SUPPRESSION. ///

BUT THERE IS ONE ASPECT/OF OUR CONFERENCE/WHICH HAS FORCED ITSELF/UPON THE ATTENTION OF US ALL./// THAT IS THE EFFORT/OF THE PRESS/AND CERTAIN LEADERS OF PUBLIC OPINION/TO SPREAD THE IDEA/THAT SOME PERSONS/HERE/ARE BY THEIR BELIEFS/AND ACTIONS/SO BEYOND THE PALE OF HUMANITY/AS TO DESERVE NEITHER SYMPATHY/NOR CONFIDENCE. // PARTICULARLY/HAVE THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION/ BEEN SINGLED OUT/ FOR SOMETHING BORDERING ON INSULT/AND REPEATEDLY ACCUSSED/OF WAR-MONGERING AND AGGRESSION. // I DO NOT PRETEND/TO BE AN EXPERT ON RUSSIA/ BUT SEEING WHAT THE PRESS/CAN DO TO A CONFERENCE LIKE THIS/IN MISINTERPRETATION AND DISTORTION/ I WONDER/IF WHAT IS CALLED AGRESSION/IN THE BALKANS/MAY NOT BE LIBERATION OF LANDLESS SERFS/AND GIVING THEIR IGNORANT MASSES/IN TWENTY-FIVE YEARS/SUCH EDUCATION AS AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVES/HAVE NOT RECEIVED IN SEVENTY-FIVE;//AND OF SENDING THEIR FORMER MASTERS/NOT TO THE LEGISLATURE/BUT SCURRYING OVER THE EARTH/LIKE RATS/DISTRIBUTING LIES.

ALL THIS/I DO NOT KNOW/BUT IT CAN BE TRUE/AND I DO KNOW/THAT IF THE PRESS/HAS LIED ABOUT RUSSIA/AS IT HAS LIED ABOUT AMERICAN NEGROES/FOR THREE HUNDRED YEARS.// I FOR ONE/

25-3-27

WILL CONDEMN/NEITHER RUSSIA NOR COMMUNISM/ON SUCH TESTIMONY./// BUT BEYOND AND ABOVE THIS/ THERE ARISES/BEFORE THIS CONFERENCE/THE PLIGHT AND CAUSE/OF THE VAST MAJORITY OF MANKIND WHO ARE NOT WHITE.// THESE COLORED RACES,/ THE CHINESE,/ JAPANESE,/ INDIANS AND INDONESIANS; THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA,/ MANY OF THOSE OF SOUTH AMERICA/AND MOST OF THOSE OF THE CARREBEAN,/ WITH FIFTEEN MILLION/NEGROES OF THE UNITED STATES // THESE ARE THE VAST MAJORITY OF MANKIND/WHOSE CONDITION AND FUTURE/ARE THE CRUCIAL TEST/OF THE ATTITUDE OF THOSE PEOPLES/WHO TODAY DEMAND/ MASTERY OF THE WORLD.// SECLUDED/FOR THE MOST PART/ IN COLONIES OR DOMINATED AREAS,/ THEY HAVE BEEN INSLAVED AND INSULTED,/ KICKED IN THE TEETH AND USED/FOR THE RAPE AND EXPLOITATION/OF THE BRITISH, FRENCH,/ DUTCH, BELGIAM,/ SPANISH AND ITALIAN EMPIRES.// THIS GREAT AMERICA,/ THIS VAST AND RICH LAND AROUND YOU/IS BUILT ON THE SLAVERY,/ TOIL AND DEGRADATION OF AFRICANS;// HERE/UNTIL WELL INTO THE SECOND HALF/OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY/ THEY WERE SOLD LIKE CATTLE/AND NEW YORK DID NOT STOP TO PICKET ABOLITIONISTS,/ THEY TARRED, FEATHERED AND KILLED THEM.// TODAY/IN THIS LAND/ WE HAVE RISEN FROM THE DEAD/NOT TO FULL MANHOOD/AND CITIZENSHIP/BUT TO THE PLACE/WHERE WE CAN AT LEAST/STAND AND YELL/OUR OWN PROTEST.// WE THANK THE AMERICA/THAT HELPED US /

25-3-28

BUT WE KNOW WELL/THAT UNLESS WE HAD HELPED OURSELVES/WE WOULD STILL/IN NEW YORK CITY/ BE EXACTLY WHERE/OUR BROTHERS ARE/IN MISSISSIPPI/WHERE I RIDE IN JIM-CROW CARS/AND WOULD BE KICKED OUT/OF ANY HOTEL OR PUBLIC LIBRARY.// WHEN SUCH A NATION/ARRAIGNS RUSSIA/ALL THAT I/WITH THE BEST WILL/CAN REMEMBER/IS THAT THE SOVIET UNION/ALONE OF ALL MODERN NATIONS/HAS PROHIBITION OF RACE/AND COLOR DISCRIMINATION/WRITTEN INTO ITS FUNDAMENTAL LAW/AND THAT UNLIKE SIMILAR WORDS/IN OUR CONSTITUTION/THEIR LAW IS ENFORCED.

I SAW THE BIRTH/OF THE LEAGE OF NATIONS/AND I SAT IN SAN FRANCISCO/WHEN THE UNITED NATIONS WAS BORN.// IN BOTH INSTANCES/I WORKED AND PLED/FOR THE DARKER PEOPLES/ PARTICULARLY THOSE/IN IMPERIALIST COLONIES.// WE GOT MANDATES AT GENAVA/WHICH MEANT NOTHING.// WE GOT TRUSTEESHIPS/AT SAN FRANCISCO/AND THERE AGAIN/A DETERMINED BLOCKING OF ALL REAL MEANING/OF COLONIAL FREEDOM/BY THE ~~UNITED~~ EFFORT OF GREAT BRITAIN/AND THE UNITED STATES/AND THE SOLE OPPOSITION OF RUSSIA.// AGAIN IN THE MARSHALL PLAN/THE NATIONS HELPED/ARE THE COLONIAL IMPERIALISTS/AND NO COLORED PEOPLE/UNLESS, LIKE CHIANG KAI SCHEK,/ THEY ARE PUPPETS/OF WORLD EXPLOITING INVESTORS.

I TELL YOU/PEOPLE OF AMERICA,/ THE DARK WORLD IS ON THE MOVE!/ IT WANTS/AND WILL HAVE FREEDOM,/ AUTONOMY AND EQUALITY.// IT WILL NOT BE DIVERTED/IN THESE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS/ BY DIALECTICAL/SPLITTING OF POLITICAL HAIRS.// WE KNOW/WHAT THE ATLANTIC PACT PROPOSES/ FOR THE PROTECTION OF COLONIAL SERFS/OF EUROPEAN IMPERIALISTS.// WE KNOW/WHY ITALY HAS BEEN PROMISED/ETHIOPIA'S TERRITORY/BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.// WE KNOW/WHY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES/GOES FISHING/WHEN THE CHARTER OF NEGRO-AMERICAN RIGHTS/ IS LAUGHED TO DEATH/BY DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS/ and lynching and disfranchisement go merrily on. WE KNOW ALL THIS/AND SO DOES EVERY DARK MAN ON EARTH.// THE WHITE RACE MAY/IF IT WILL/TAX ITSELF INTO POVERTY,/ AND ARM ITSELF FOR SUICIDE,/ BUT THE VAST MAJORITY OF MANKIND/WILL MARCH ON AND OVER THEM/TO FREEDOM AND SELF-RULE!

BUT THIS CATASTROPHE/IS THE LAST/WHICH WE OF THE DARKER WORLD/WISH OR WILL.// WE HAVE NO TIME FOR REVENGE/OR FOR SNEERING AT WHITE MEN'S/TRAGIC MISTAKES.// WHAT WE WANT/IS A DECENT WORLD,/ WHERE A MAN DOES NOT HAVE/TO HAVE A WHITE SKIN/IN ORDER TO BE A MAN. WHERE POVERTY/IS NOT A MEANS TO WEALTH,/ WHERE IGNORANCE IS NOT USED TO PROVE RACE SUPERIORITY,/ WHERE SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE NOT PART OF OUR FACTORY SYSTEM.// AND ALL THIS DEPENDS FIRST ON WORLD PEACE./ PEACE IS NOT AN END. IT IS THE GATEWAY TO

REAL CIVILIZATION. // WITH PEACE ALL THINGS MAY BE ADDED: / WITH WAR, WE DESTROY EVEN THAT/WHICH THE TOIL/AND SACRIFICE OF AGES/HAVE BUILDED.

IT IS TO THE GLORY/OF OUR AMERICA/THAT ONE MAN TODAY/HAS DARED TO LEAD/THIS NEW CRUSADE/FOR WORLD PEACE.// IT WAS NO EASY TASK./ IT WOULD HAVE BEEN EASIER/ MORE PROFITABLE/AND CERTAINLY MORE POPULAR/IF HE HAD KEPT HIS MOUTH SHUT/AND STUCK TO HIS LABORATORY.// WE HARASSED SOCIAL SCIENTISTS/USED TO ENVY/THE PHYSICISTS/WHO WERE NOT COMPELLED/TO MEDDLE WITH HUMAN AFFAIRS,// WHO COULD IGNORE SIN/AND LOOK DOWN ON POLITICS,/ AND IN COZY IVORY TOWERS/~~COULD~~ SIT APART,/WITH THE STARS/FOR A PRIVATE GARDEN.// ONE MAN ~~HARLOW SHAPLEY~~ HAS CHANGED ALL THIS./ NO LONGER CAN MATHEMATICIANS/CONCEAL THEMSELVES/IN OCCULT FORMULAE/OR ECONOMISTS BE IMPARTIAL/OR CHARITY "ORGANIZED";// ALL SCIENTISTS ARE/AND MUST BE MEN/AND LEADERS OF MEN.// ON THEIR SHOULDERS/RESTS THE WORLD// I HAVE THE HONOR/TO PRESENT TO THIS AUDIENCE/THE MAN WHO STARTED THIS CRUSADE/AND ~~WHO~~ WILL GUIDE IT TONIGHT/ - - HARLOW SHAPLEY.

35-3-31

This Cultural and Scientific Conference For World Peace has been a success. In a time of hysteria, suspicion and hate, we have succeeded in bringing face to face in friendly meetings, one of the largest gatherings of creative artists and thinkers the world has seen; and it would have been quite the largest if all who wished to come were here. Meeting together for three full days, we have found wide agreement and sympathy; we have established ideals and friendships belting the globe. We have not been and are not now in complete agreement on all matters; but in one vital respect our agreement is complete: NO MORE WAR! The horrible, world-old habit of wholesale murder of those who disagree with us is, we are convinced, a relic of barbarism, bound to destroy our best culture unless it is absolutely and definitely abolished.

On the other hand, we are not childishly deceived as to the enormity of the task of organizing and conducting a peaceful world. We are of many minds and backgrounds, separated not only by space but by the terrible barriers of language and social patterns; we face deliberate crime, ignorance and misunderstanding - these three. But the greatest of these is misunderstanding. Decent wage, health and schools will one day reduce crime and ignorance to manageable proportions. It is in the vast realm of misunderstanding, misrepresentation and doubt, that war is born and flourishes. Perhaps unwittingly, the opposition

which our effort has incurred proves this truth with startling clarity. We know and the saner nation knows that we are not traitors nor conspirators; and far from plotting force and violence, it is precisely force and violence that we bitterly oppose. This Conference was not called to defend Communism nor Socialism nor the American way of life. It was called to promote peace! It was called to say and say again that no matter how right or wrong differing systems of belief in religion, industry or government may be, war is not the method by which these differences can be successfully settled. To the defence of this absolutely indisputable thesis, proven by oceans of blood and worlds of human suffering, we have invited the cooperation of all men: and that cooperation to abolish war does not compel or even ask men to surrender their opinions. It simply insists that force is not reason and beliefs cannot be changed by suppression.

But there is one aspect of our Conference which has forced itself upon the attention of us all. That is the effort of the press and certain leaders of public opinion to spread the idea that some persons here are by their beliefs and actions so beyond the pale of humanity as to deserve neither sympathy nor confidence. Particularly, have the people of the Soviet Union been singled out for something bordering on insult and repeatedly accused of war-mongering and aggression. I do not pretend to be an expert on Russia but seeing what the press can do to a Conference like this in misinterpretation and distortion, I wonder if

what is called aggression in the Balkans may not be liberation of landless serfs and giving their ignorant masses in twenty-five years such education as American Negro slaves have not received in seventy-five; and of sending their former masters not to the legislature but scurrying over the earth like rats distributing lies.

All this I do not know, but it can be true and I do know that if the press has lied about Russia as it has lied about American Negroes for three hundred years, I for one will condemn neither Russia nor Communism on such testimony. But beyond and above this, there arises before this Conference the plight and cause of the vast majority of mankind who are not white. These colored races, the Chinese, Japanese, Indians and Indonesians; the peoples of Africa, many of those of South America and most of those of the Caribbean, with fifteen million Negroes of the United States - these are the majority of mankind whose condition and future are the crucial test of the attitude of those peoples who today demand mastery over the world. Secluded for the most part in colonies or dominated areas, they have been enslaved and insulted, kicked in the teeth and used for the rape and exploitation of the British, French, Dutch, Belgian, Spanish and Italian empires. This great America, this vast and rich land around you is built on the slavery, toil and degradation of Africans; here until well into the second half of the nineteenth century, they were sold like cattle and New York did not stop to picket abolitionists; they tarred, feathered and killed them. Today in this land, we have risen from the dead

not to full manhood and citizenship but to the place where we can at least stand and yell our own protest. We thank the America that helped us, but we know well that unless we had helped ourselves, we would still in New York City be exactly where our brothers are in Mississippi where I ride in jim-crow cars and would be kicked out of any hotel or public library. When such a nation arraigns Russia, all that I with the best will, can remember is that the Soviet Union alone of all modern nations has prohibition of race and color discrimination written into its fundamental law and that unlike similar words in our Constitution, their law is enforced.

I saw the birth of the League of Nations and I sat in San Francisco when the United Nations was born. In both instances, I worked and pled for the darker peoples, particularly those in imperialist colonies. We got mandates at Geneva which meant nothing; we got trusteeships at San Francisco and there again a determined blocking of all real meaning of colonial freedom by the effort of Great Britain and the United States and the sole opposition of Russia. Again, in the Marshall Plan the nations helped are the colonial imperialists and no colored people unless, like Chiang Kai Shek, they are puppets of world-exploiting investors.

I tell you, people of America, the dark world is on the move! It wants and will have freedom, autonomy and equality. It will not be diverted in these fundamental rights by dialectical splitting of politic-

al hairs. We know that the Atlantic Pact proposes for the protection of colonial serfs of European imperialists. We know why Italy has been promised Ethiopia's territory by the Department of State. We know why the President of the United States goes fishing when the Charter of Negro American Rights is laughed to death by Democrats and Republicans and lynching and disenfranchisement go merrily on. We know all this and so does every dark man on earth. The white race may, if it will, tax itself into poverty, and arm itself for suicide, but the vast majority of mankind will march on and over them to freedom and self-rule!

But this catastrophe is the last which we of the darker world wish or will. We have no time for revenge or for sneering at white men's tragic mistakes. What we want is a decent world, where a man does not have to have a white skin in order to be a man. Where poverty is not a means to wealth, where ignorance is not used to prove race superiority, where sickness and death are not part of our factory system. And all this depends first on world peace. Peace is not an end. It is the gateway to real civilization. With peace, all things may be added! With war, we destroy even that which the toil and sacrifice of ages have builded.

It is to the glory of our America that one man today has dared to lead this new crusade for world peace. It was no easy task. It would have been easier, more profitable and certainly more popular if he had kept his mouth shut and stuck to his labratory. We harassed social

scientists used to envy the physicists who were not compelled to meddle with human affairs, who could ignore sin and look down on politics, and in cosy ivory towers sit apart with the stars for a private garden. One man has changed all this. No longer can mathematicians conceal themselves in occult formulae or economists be impartial or charity "organized"; all scientists are, and must be, men and leaders of men. On their shoulders rests the world. I have the honor to present to this audience the man who started this crusade and will guide it tonight - Harlow Shapley.

Waldorf-Astoria
March 27, 1949
World Peace Conference

THINKING AND WRITING

BY
W. E. B. Du Bois

35-3-244

WRITING AND PUBLISHING----KNOWING, EXPRESSING AND THINKING; DREAMING AND CONTRIVING, THROUGH THE WORLD-OLD WAYS OF POETRY AND STORY, DRAMA AND ESSAY: HISTORY AND THE INTERPRETATION OF HUMAN EMOTION: EXPERIENCE AND ACTION---THESE THINGS OCCUPY THE BROADEST REALM OF FREEDOM WHICH THE MIND CAN GRASP. NO SANE PERSON EVER PICTURED FREEDOM EVERYWHERE AND AT ALL TIMES. PARTS OF HUMAN ACTION ALWAYS HAVE BEEN AND ALWAYS WILL BE, SUBJECT TO INEXORABLE LAW. WE CANNOT ABILISH GRAVITATION BECAUSE WE DO NOT LIKE IT; AND THE LAW OF ATOMIC WEIGHTS WILL EVER DEFY CONGRESS. EVEN WHERE NATURAL LAW AND HUMAN EFFORT UNITE TO WREST LIFE FROM NATURE THE FREEDOM OF HUMAN ACTION MUST YIELD IN GREATER OR LESSER DEGREE NOT SIMPLY TO PROBABILITIES OR TENDENCIES, WHICH REFUSE TO CONFORM ENTIRELY TO DESIRE: BUT TO ENACTED LAW, WHICH INSISTS THAT IF WE WOULD CONQUER IGNORANCE

MEN MUST BE MADE TO LEARN: IF WE WOULD CONQUER POVERTY, THIEVES CANNOT BE LET TO STEAL.

BUT MANY WHO SCREAM FOR FREEDOM AND DESPAIR BECAUSE STRUGGLING HUMANITY IS SO OFTEN CO-ERCED BY THOU SHALT NOT, APPEAR TO FORGET THAT COMPARED WITH THE REALM OF PHYSICAL LAW AND EVEN OF BIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL COMPULSIONS, THE REGIONS WHERE THE SPIRIT OF MAN MAY RANGE FREE OF ALL DISTORTION AND RESTRAINT IS INFINITELY LARGER, DEEPER AND BROADER THAN THE NARROW MARGINS OF COMPULSION. AND BEYOND THAT, WHILE IN OUR IGNORANCE AND FEAR, AND WITH OUR UTTER LACK OF FAITH IN THE CAPACITIES OF THE HUMAN SOUL, WE STAND COMPELLED HERE AND TODAY TO REMAIN PRISONERS OF OUR BELLIES TO AN EXTENT WHICH DISGRACES OUR SCIENCE AND HISTORY, WE NEVERTHELESS KNOW THAT WE ALSO STAND THIS INSTANT, TIPTOE ON THE THRESHHOLD OF INFINITE FREEDOMS, THAT OURSTRETCH THIS DAY OF SLAVERY AS THE UNIVERSE OF SUNS OUTMEASURES OUR LITTLE EARTHLY SYSTEM. WE HAVE BUT TO THINK OF

35-3-245

THE UPSURGING EMOTIONS OF MEN: OF THE DREAMS AND PHANTASIES OF MIND: OF IMAGINATION AND CONTRIVANCE, PLAYING WITH THE INFINITE POSSIBILITIES OF EVER-REVEALING TRUTH--WE HAVE BUT TO LET OUR MINDS FOR A MINUTE CONTEMPLATE WHAT THE HUMAN SOUL MAY DO, ONCE IT IS FREE TO THINK AND WRITE AND SAY, BUT A MORSEL OF WHAT OUR THOUGHT IS CAPABLE. EVEN THE CHAINED AND BARRED FIELDS OF WORK AND FOOD AND DISEASE TODAY WILL YIELD TO VASTER FREEDOMS WHEN MEN ARE LET TO THINK AND TALK AND EXPLORE MORE WIDELY IN REGIONS ALREADY REALLY FREE.

THERE IS OF COURSE A GREY BORDERLAND, WHERE HUMAN EFFORT AND NATURAL LAW COMBINE TO RAISE FOOD, BUILD SHELTER AND TRAIN THE YOUNG. HERE INFLEXIBLE LAW MERGES WITH WISH AND WILL, AND FREEDOM IS AN INDETERMINATE VARIABLE. HERE MEN MAY RESTRAIN ACTION IN ORDER TO PROTECT AND GUIDE IGNORANCE AND INEXPERIENCE TOWARD USING FREEDOM RIGHT AND HERE MORE OFTEN TOO MANY MEN SEEK ARTIFICALLY TO RESTRAIN SUCH FREEDOM AS EMERGES FOR SELFISH

AND SHORTSIGHTED AIMS, CHOOSING IGNORANCE FOR FEAR TOO MANY WILL KNOW: GIVING MASSES TOO LITTLE SO THAT A FEW MAY HAVE TOO MUCH: PREFERRING HATE TO LOVE, LEST POWER CHANGE HANDS AND PRESTIGE WANE. THEY FORGET THAT IT IS THE WIDER REACHES OF MORE COMPLETE FREEDOMS THAT CAN ULTIMATELY BEST TEACH AND GUIDE OUR TWILIGHT IGNORANCE AMID THE UNESCAPABLE IRON OF LAW: AND THE BORDERLAND WHERE FREEDOM CHOKES TODAY MAY EASILY, AS FREEDOM GROWS, FADE INTO ITS MORE COMPLETE REALM.

TWO BARRIERS AND TWO ALONE HEM US IN AND HURL US BACK TODAY--ONE STINKING PERSISTENT RELIC OF ANCIENT BARBARISM---WAR: ORGANIZED MURDER, MAINIMG DESTRUCTION AND INSANITY OF OUR YOUNG MEN: AND THE OTHER, THE WORLD-OLD HABIT OF REFUSING OURSELVES TO THINK OR TO LISTEN TO THOSE WHO DO THINK. AGAINST THIS IGNORANCE AND INTOLERANCE WE PROTEST FOREVER. BUT WE DO NOT MERELY PROTEST, WE MAKE RENEWED DEMAND FOR FREEDOM IN THAT VAST KINGDOM OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT WHERE FREEDOM HAS EVER HAD THE RIGHT TO DWELL. THE EXPRESSING OF THOUGHT TO UN-STUFFED EARS: THE DREAMING OF DREAMS BY UNTWISTED SOULS.

Thinking & Writing

By W. E. B. Du Bois

 C 1956

Writing and publishing---knowing, expressing and thinking; dreaming and contriving, through the world-old ways of poetry and story, drama and essay; history and the interpretation of human emotion; experience and action---these things occupy the broadest realm of freedom which the mind can grasp. No same person ever pictured freedom everywhere and at all times. Parts of human action always have been and always will be, subject to inexorable law. We cannot abolish gravitation because we do not like it; and the law of atomic weights will ever defy Congress. Even where natural law and human effort unite to grow food or dig coal or curb disease, the freedom of human action must yield in greater or lesser degree not simply to probabilities or tendencies, which refuse to conform entirely to desire; but to enacted law, which insists that if we would conquer ignorance, men must be made to learn; if we would conquer poverty, thieves cannot be let to steal.

42-3-49

But many who scream for Freedom and despair because struggling humanity is so often co-erced by Thou shalt not, appear to forget that compared with the realm of physical law and even of biological and psychological compulsions, the regions where the Spirit of Man may range free of all distortion and restraint is infinitely larger, deeper and broader than the narrow margins of compulsion. And beyond that, while in our ignorance and fear, and withour utter lack of faith in the capabilities of the Human Soul, we stand compelled hereand today to remain prisoners of our bellies to an extent which disgraces our Science and History, we nevertheless know that we also stand this instant, tiptoe on the threshhold of infinite Freedoms, that ourstretch this day of slavery as the Universe of Suns outmeasures our little Earthly system. We have but to think of the upsurging emotions of men; of the dreams and phantasies of mind; of imagination and contrivance, playing with the infinite possibilities

of ever-revealing Truth--we have but to let our minds for a minute contemplate what the Human Soul may do, once it is free to think and write and say, but a morsel of what our thought is capable. Even the chained and barred fields of work and fook and Disease today will yield to vaster freedoms when men are let more to widely think and talk and explore in regions really free.

There is of course a grey borderland, where human effort and natural law combine to raise food, build shelter and train the young. Here inflexible law merges with wish and will, and freedom is an indeterminate variable. And here too many men seek artifically to restrain such freedom as emerges for selfish and shortsighted aims, choosing ignorance for fear too many will know; giving masses too little so that a few may have too much; preferring Hate to Love, lest Power change hands and presitge wane. They forget that it is the wider reaches of more complete freedoms that can ultimately best teach and guide our twilight ignorance aimd the unescapable iron of law and the borderland where freedom chokes today may easily as freedom grows, fade into its more complete realm.

42-3-50

Two barries and tow alone hem us in and hurl us back today--one stinking persistent relic of ancient barbarism--War; organized murder, maiming destruction and insanity of our young men; and the other, the world-old habit of refusing ourselves to think or to listen to those who do think. Against this ignorance and intolerance we protest forever. But we do not merely protest! we make renewed demand for Freedom in that vast kingdom of the human spirit where Freedom has ever had the right to dwell--the expressing of Thought to un-stuffed ears; the dreaming of dreams to untwisted souls.

Thirty-Eight Words
By W.E.B. DuBois

Writing and publishing---knowing, expressing and thinking; dreaming and contriving, through the world-old ways of poetry and story, drama and essay; history and the interpretation of human emotion; experience and action---these things occupy the broadest realm of freedom which the mind can grasp. No sane person ever pictured freedom everywhere and at all times. Parts of human action always have been and always will be, subject to inexorable law. We cannot abolish gravitation because we do not like it; and the law of atomic weights will ever defy Congress. Even where natural law and human effort unite to ~~grow food or dig coal or cure disease~~ wrest life from nature, the freedom of human action must yield in greater or lesser degree not simply to probabilities or tendencies, which refuse to conform entirely to desire; but to enacted law, which insists that if we would conquer ignorance, men must be made to learn; if we would conquer poverty, thieves cannot be let to steal.

But many who scream for Freedom and despair because struggling humanity is so often co-erced by Thou shalt not, appear to forget that compared with the realm of physical law and even of biological and psychological compulsions, the regions where the Spirit of Man may range free of all distortion and restraint is infinitely larger, deeper and broader than the narrow margins of compulsion. And beyond that, while in our ignorance and fear, and without our utter lack of faith in the capabilities of the Human Soul, we stand compelled here and today to remain prisoners of our bellies to an extent which disgraces our Science and History, we nevertheless know that we also stand this instant, tiptoe on the threshhold of infinite Freedoms, that ourstretch this day of slavery as the Universe of Suns outmeasures our little Earthly system. We have but to think of the upsurging emotions of men; of the dreams and phantasies of mind; of imagination and contrivance, playing with the infinite possibilities

of ever-revealing Truth--we have but to let our minds for a minute contemplate what the Human Soul may do, once it is free to think and write and say, but a morsel of what our thought is capable. Even the chained and barred fields of Work and Food and Disease today will yield to vaster freedoms when men are let more to widely think and talk and explore in regions already really free.

There is of course a grey borderland, where human effort and natural law combine to raise food, build shelter and train the young. Here inflexible law merges with wish and will, and freedom is an indeterminate variable. And here too many men seek artifically to restrain such freedom as emerges for selfish and shortsighted aims, choosing ignorance for fear too many will know; giving masses too little so that a few may have too much; preferring Hate to Love, lest Power change hands and prestige wane. They forget that it is the wider reaches of more complete freedoms that can ultimately best teach and guide our twilight ignorance amid the unescapable iron of law; and the borderland where freedom chokes today may easily, as freedom grows, fade into its more complete realm.

Two barries and tow alone hem us in and hurl us back today--one stinking persistent relic of ancient barbarism--War; organized murder, maiming, destruction and insanity of our young men; and the other, the world-old habit of refusing ourselves to think or to listen to those who do think. Against this ignorance and intolerance we protest forever. But we do not merely protest! we make renewed demand for Freedom in that vast kingdom of the human spirit where Freedom has ever had the right to dwell--the expressing of Thought to un-stuffed ears; the dreaming of dreams by untwisted souls.

38-6-47

How men may restrain action in order to protect and guide ignorance + inexperience toward using freedom aright. And here more often

Writing and publishing--knowing, expressing and thinking; dreaming and contriving, through the world-old ways of poetry and story, drama and essay, history and the interpretation of human emotion, experience and action---these things occupy the broadest realm of freedom which the mind can grasp. No sane person ever pictured freedom everywhere and at all times. Parts of human action always have been and always will be, subject to inexorable law. We cannot abolish gravitation because we do not like it; and the law of atomic weights will ever defy Congress. Even where natural law and human effort unite to grow food or dig coal or curb disease, the freedom of human action must yield in greater or lesser degree, not entirely, to probilities or tendencies, which refuse to conform entirely to desire.

But many who scream for Freedom and despair because struggling humanity is so often co-erced by Thou shalt Not, appear to forget that compared with the realm of physical law and even of biological and psychological compulsions, the regions where the Spirit of Man may range free of all distortion and restraint is infinitely larger, deeper and broader, than the narrow margins of cumpulsion. And beyond that, while in our ignorance and fear, and with our utter lack of faith in the capacities of the Human Soul, we stand compelled here and today to remain prisoners of our bellies to an extent which disgraces our Science and History, we nevertheless know that we also stand this instant, tiptoe on the threshhold of infinite Freedoms, that ourstretch this day of slavery as the Universe of Suns outmeasures our little Earthly ~~solar~~ system. We have but to think of the upsurging emotions of men; of the dreams and phantasies of mind; of imagination and contrivance, playing with the infinite possibilities of ever-revealing Truth-- we have but to let our minds for a minute contemplate what the Human Soul may do, once it is free to think and write and say, but a morsel of what our thought is capable. Even the chained and barred fields of work and food and

Disease today will yield to vaster freedoms when men are let more to widely think and talk and explore in regions really free.

There is, of course, a grey borderland, where human effort and natural law combine to raise food, build shelter and train the young. Here inflexible law merges with wish and will, and freedom is an indeterminate variable. And here too many men for selfish and shortsighted aims, seek artifically to restrain such freedom as emerges, choosing ignorance for fear too many will know; giving masses too little so that a few may have too much; preferring Hate to Love, lest Power change hands and prestige wane. They forget that wilful imposing of chains on men makes slower the widening of the boundaries of freedom. ~~For that~~ borderland where freedom chokes today may easily as freedom grows, fade into its more complete realm.

42-3-52

Two barriers and two alone hem us in and hurl us back today---one stinking persistent relic of ancient barbarism---War; organized murder, maiming ~~marching~~ destruction and insanity of our young men; and the other, the world-old habit of refusing ourselves to think or to listen to those who do think ~~curbing thought through a bought Press and a dumb public~~ Forum. Against this ignorance and intolerance we protest forever. But ~~our program is not~~ merely we do not protest. We make ~~It is a~~ renewed demand for Freedom in that vast kingdom of the human spirit where Freedom has ever had the right to dwell--the expressing of Thought to un-stuffed ears; the dreaming of dreams to untwisted souls.

It is the wider reaches of more complete freedoms that can ultimately best teach & guide our twilight ignorance amid the unescapable iron of laws and the

Speech mailed as Dr. Was in Paris China Welfare Dinner--April 19, 1949

THE CHINA WELFARE FUND

BY
W. E. B. Du Bois

In 1936, I stood on the marble altar of Heaven in Peiping, China; that city which for a thousand years has been the capital of a country where today four hundred and sixty million human beings live. I think then I realized as never before the position of Asia as the center of this world. I realized that Europe was but a small peninsula of Asia, and America an outlying province of the world. What this world is going to be for the next thousand years depends on Asia, more than on any other part of the world. Asia has wealth, it has numbers, it has brains and the discipline of an ancient culture not yet destroyed. Once free of foreign control, Asia will lead humanity. The relation, therefore, of the people of Asia to the rest of the world, is of primary concern to us all. If it is to be a relation of friendship and cooperation the chances for human progress and happiness will be infinitely enhanced. If on the other hand, it is going to be hatred, war and struggle, then dark ages are sure to settle again upon this world, before we can again turn our faces toward the sun.

I was in Germany as a student when the Boxer troubles took place late in the 19th century. I saw the coming of the Chinese representatives, ordered at Kowtow before the Emperor of Germany in apology for Chinese attack upon European missionaries.

It was not long after that, however, that the bitter resentment of the Chinese toward white people because of long oppression and this final insult, was mitigated in the case of the United States, because the Boxer indemnity due us was given for the education of Chinese students in Western civilization. It was one of the finest gestures that the United States ever made. It is unfortunate that in our day the faith and hope of China in the great democracy of the United

States has been radically changed and that because of our curious and illogical foreign policy, we are now looked upon as the enemies of the Chinese People.

In Greece, Turkey, and in China we have used our power against the interests of the mass of people and they know it and resent it. But it happens now that we have a unique opportunity of doing the right thing and showing real friendship in China. It is not a matter of different ideologies in government or industrial control; it is the flat fact that the Chinese people are hungry and oppressed and have been for ages.

35-3-252

At last today they are arising , by their own effort, they are helping themselves. They are organizing their everyday life. They need help. They are hungry and naked and sick. The help that the United States has already been giving China has discriminated against, the mass of people and helped the dishonest and grasping bureaucrats.

How can we really help the Chinese People? There is in China one person of such eminence and power that the world believes in her. They know that whatever is given to Madame Sun Yat Sen will be used for the benefit of the Chinese people; without distrimination as to whether they belong to this or that faction; or have one or another economic faith. We have the opportunity to take a great step toward World Peace and understanding, and to show our belief in democracy by disclaiming any intention of using our wealth and charity to compel the people of China to follow any political or economic path.

On the other hand, knowing the need, and knowing the way in which this need can honestly be met, we have the unique opportunity of helping the most populous country of the world to eat and clothe and shelter itself, to regain its health and to carry on its education, so that in the great role of leadership which China is bound eventually to assume in the world; the China will realise that in the United States they have friends and not enemies! They have people whose democratic faith is shown by their works; whose religion is shown by sacrifice rather than sermons.

35-3-267

COLONIES AS CAUSE OF WAR

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

LET US NOT BE MISLED. THE REAL CAUSE OF THE DIFFERENCES WHICH THREATEN WORLD WAR IS NOT THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM OR EVEN OF THE COMPLETE SOCIALISM WHICH COMMUNISM ENVISAGES. SOCIALISM IS SPREADING ALL OVER THE WORLD AND ~~IN FEW NATIONS FASTER THAN~~ even IN THE UNITED STATES. ON NO SINGLE THEORY OF HUMAN PROGRESS IS THERE SUCH WIDE UNANIMITY AS IN THE BELIEF THAT SCIENTIFIC SOCIAL PLANNING MUST GUIDE FUTURE INDUSTRY AND THAT THE INDIVIDUAL EFFORT IN WORK AND THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH MUST BE SUBJECT TO SOCIAL CONTROL FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

AGAINST THIS SPREAD OF SOCIALISM, ONE MODERN INSTITUTION IS WORKING DESPERATELY, AND THAT IS COLONIALISM AND COLONIALISM HAS BEEN

AND IS AND EVER WILL BE ONE OF THE CHIEF CAUSES OF WAR.

COLONIALISM IS THE MODERN SURVIVAL OF THE ANCIENT METHOD OF PRODUCTION THROUGH THE ENSLAVEMENT OF THE WORKING CLASSES. THROUGH HUMAN SYMPATHY AND RELIGIOUS FAITH, SLAVERY FADED INTO SERFDOM AND WAS ABOUT TO DISAPPEAR IN EUROPE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES WHEN SUDDENLY IN NEWLY DISCOVERED AMERICA AND FED BY IMPORTED BLACK FOLK FROM AFRICA IT WAS BORN AGAIN. THIS SLAVE SYSTEM APPLIED TO NEW CROPS AND TO MATERIALS PROCESSED BY A NEWLY DISCOVERED TECHNIQUE, PRECIPITATED AN INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND BIRTHED THE MODERN USE OF THE SUDDENLY INCREASED WEALTH AS CAPITAL FOR MAKING MORE WEALTH RATHER THAN AS CONSUMERS GOODS. MOST OF THE NEW WEALTH AND POWER THEREFORE WENT TO THE OWNERS OF CAPITAL BUT SOME OF IT WENT TO THE WENT TO THE LABORERS AND THEY INCREASED IN INTELLIGENCE AND POLITICAL POWER. WHEN THIS EMANCIPATION OF THE EUROPEAN WORKING

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CLASS BEGAN TO SPREAD TO YELLOW LABOR IN ASIA AND TO BLACK SLAVES IN AMERICA, COLONIALISM AROSE AS A PLAN TO CONCENTRATE AND PRESERVE SLAVE LABOR AMONG THE COLORED RACES. COLONIES WERE FOUNDED IN AFRICA AND ASIA WHERE UNDER EUROPEAN CONTROL, MILLIONS OF NATIVES WERE REGIMENTED IN FORCED LABOR WITH LITTLE EDUCATION, MONOPOLIZED LAND, NO POLITICAL POWER AND ONLY PRIMITIVE TECHNIQUES. THUS THE VIRTUAL SLAVERY OF A MAJORITY OF THE WORLD'S LABORERS WAS PROLONGED.

BUT THIS SYSTEM COULD ONLY BE MAINTAINED WITH THE CONSENT OF THE ENFRANCHISED WHITE WORKING CLASS. TO UPHOLD AND DEFEND THIS SYSTEM, SPIRITUAL AND PHYSICAL FORCE WAS NECESSARY: A RACE THEORY WHICH PURSUADED WHITE LABOR THAT IT BELONGED TO A SUPERIOR RACE WITH THE RIGHT TO ENSLAVE COLORED PEOPLE AS THE ONLY METHOD OF PRESERVING CIVILIZATION: AND UNIVERSAL MILITARISM DESIGNED TO HOLD COLONIALS IN CONTROL. THUS THE WORKING CLASS WAS SPLIT INTO TWO COMPLETE GROUPS, EACH WILLING TO HOLD THE OTHER

IN THRALL, THE ONE HALF-SLAVE, THE OTHER ONLY HALF FREE. BUT THE WHITE WORKERS WERE BRIBED WITH A SHARE OF THE VAST PROFITS OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM AND IMBUED WITH A SENSE OF NATIONAL PRIDE AND THE GLORY OF IMPERIAL RULE.

BUT THIS INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM HAD ITS INHERENT DANGERS: IT LEFT IN WHITE COUNTRIES, VESTIGIAL REMAINS OF SLAVE LABOR, IN DEPRESSED CLASSES AND SLUMS: ESPECIALLY IN AMERICA, IT LEFT MILLIONS OF BLACK SERFS, WHO COULD NOT BE REMOVED TO COLONIES, AND YET COULD BE HELD TO FORCED LABOR ONLY BY NULLIFYING THE DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION ON WHICH THE UNITED STATES WAS FOUNDED. TODAY IN THE UNITED STATES, 15,000,000 SUCH CITIZENS ARE STILL IN SEMI-SLAVERY, AND FORM PART OF AN INTERNAL COLONIAL SYSTEM. INN CHINA AND THE MIDDLE EAST: IN THE BALKANS AND SOUTH AMERICA, AND EVEN IN LEADING CIVILIZED COUNTRIES THIS DEGRADATION OF DEPRESSED WORKERS CONTINUES AS PART OF THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL PROCESS.

THIS SYSTEM OF COLONIALISM, SEMI-COLONIALISM AND DEPRESSED CLASSES WITH ECONOMIC CONTROL CENTERED IN THE HANDS OF RICH, GIFTED AND POWERFUL INDIVIDUALS AND SOCIAL CLASSES, PUT THE CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF MOST COUNTRIES IN THEIR HANDS AND NEUTRALIZED DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. THIS KEPT ALIVE THE IDEA, WHICH SCIENCE AND TECHNIQUE INCREASINGLY DENIED, THAT POVERTY OF THE MASSES WAS THE INEVITABLE FOUNDATION OF MODERN CULTURE.

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THIS COLONIAL SYSTEM AND ITS HALF-CONCEALED COUNTERPARTS IN THE SO-CALLED "BACKWARD" LANDS AND IN THE SLUMS OF THE MOST CIVILIZED STATES BECAME THE MAIN CAUSE OF WAR AND FEAR OF WAR. COLONIAL REVOLT, HOWEVER FUTILE, WAS A CONTINUING DANGER. INTERNAL SERVILE REVOLT, STRIKES AND LABOR UNREST, AND CRIME CALLED FOR VAST POLICE POWER AND ARBITRARY COURT PROCEDURE. BUT EVEN GREATER DANGER AROSE FROM THE GREED AND ENVY OF THE RULING NATIONS WHO RESENTED THE COLONIAL MONOPOLIES OF THE GREAT EMPIRES. THE DETERMINATION OF GERMANY AND ITALY TO SHARE THE COLONIAL WEALTH

MONOPOLIZED BY BRITAIN AND FRANCE PRECIPITATED THE FIRST WORLD WAR, WHICH BROUGHT THE WHOLE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM TO THE BRINK OF BANKRUPTCY. THE RUSSIAN WORKING CLASS SEIZED THIS OPPORTUNITY TO REVOLT AND SOUGHT BY A SYSTEM TO ABOLISH POVERTY WITHOUT COLONIAL SLAVERY: BY PLANNED WORK AND MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. SHE WAS ATTACKED BY fourteen COUNTRIES OVER A PERIOD OF TWENTY- EIGHT YEARS AND CONSEQUENTLY HAS NOT YET HAD FAIR CHANCE TO FULLY CARRY OUT HER BOLD EXPERIMENT.

MEANTIME, THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE AND AMERICA WAS SO WEAKENED BY WAR AND DEPRESSION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND DISEASE, THAT PLANNED DICTATORSHIP AROSE IN GERMANY AND ITALY, WITH WIDE SYMPATHY IN BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES TO SAVE IT. THE UNEXPECTED RESULT WAS A WIDER AND MORE TERRIBLE WORLD WAR---- A WAR NEITHER PLANNED NOR EXPECTED, WITH NO ONE CAUSE AND NO RESULT, SAVE THAT THE UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS NOW ROSE TO ITS FULL STATURE OF PROMISE AND BY THROWING ALL OF HER POWER TO THE DEFENSE OF

WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA, GAVE THIRTY MILLION LIVES TO SAVE THE WORLD FROM ADOLF HITLER. THE CLEAR RESULT OF THIS VICTORY OF SOCIALISM OVER DICTATORSHIP WAS TO HERALD THE CERTAIN BEGINNING OF THE END OF COLONIAL-ISM: INDIA WAS FREED, CHINA THREW OFF WESTERN DOMINATION, THE WEST INDIES SEIZED BEGINNINGS OF POLITICAL POWER AND EAST EUROPE SEIZED OWNER-SHIP OF ITS LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCES.

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THIS RESULT WAS SO ASTOUNDING, AND SO CLEAR A THREAT TO IMPERIALISM AND SLAVE LABOR THAT INSTEAD OF WORLD RECOGNITION OF THE FACT THAT THIS END OF COLONIALISM WAS THE ONLY DEVELOPEMENT TO END WAR, WE ARE TODAY RUSHING PELL-MELL INTO A THIRD WORLD WAR, NOT AS MOST PERSONS SEEM TO THINK, BY ARMING, MARCHING AND MAKING FANTASTIC MUNITIONS TO DEVELOP THE RIVAL STRENGTH OF TWO GREAT NATIONS BUT BY TRYING BEHIND THIS FALSE FACADE DESPERATELY AND FRANTICALLY TO BUILD A NEW COLONIALISM IN AFRICA. WAR ~~IS NOT BREWING~~ preparing May be IN ~~THE SOVIET UNION NOR~~ Europe And IN THE UNITED STATES, but its seeds are being sown ~~IT IS BREW-~~ ~~ING~~ IN AFRICA,

WHERE BRITISH, AMERICAN, FRENCH AND BELGIAN WEALTH IS TRYING TO REBUILD AN OLD WORLD ECONOMY ON SLAVE LABOR. ON SLAVE LABOR WHICH WILL CONTINUE TO COMPETE WITH THE BEST PAID LABOR OF THE WORLD AND ACCUMULATE MORE WEALTH IN PRIVATE CONTROL WHICH CAN BE USED IN THE FUTURE AS IN THE PAST TO KILL DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE AND AMERICA AND TO STOP THE INEVITABLE SPREAD OF PLANNED INDUSTRY AND THE JUST DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH RATHER THAN AN ANARCHY OF BUSINESS ENTERPRISE BASED ON FORCE AND CHANCE.

BEFORE THIS REBIRTH OF COLONIALISM, THE UNITED NATIONS STAND DUMB AND HELPLESS MUMBLING FORMULAS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND DENYING THE WRETCHED EVAN THE RIGHT TO COMPLAIN. EVEN ORGANIZED LABOR IS TOO BLIND TO SEE THE CLOUD RISING TO DESTROY IT. BRITISH LABOR DREAMS OF SECURITY AND WEALTH BY BRIBING OIL BARONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND LETTING THEM FATTEN ON THE FILTH AND FLIES OF THEIR PAUPER POPULATIONS. THE AMERICAN LABOR UNIONS SMASHED THE WORLD FEDERATION NOT FOR FEAR OF RUSSIA BUT FOR FEAR OF THE BLACK DELEGATES FROM AFRICA AND THE INDIES DEMANDING THE

END OF COLONIALISM AND EQUAL WAGE FOR EQUAL WORK.

FOREMOST IN THIS FIGHT TO RE-ENSLAVE HUMAN LABOR ARE TWO "DEMOCRACIES": THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA-----BOTH WITH THE FATAL INITIALS-----USA. NOWHERE ON EARTH SINCE THE BIRTH OF CHRIST HAS A NATION EXPRESSED A MORE REPULSIVE PLAN TO DEGRADE HUMAN BEINGS THAN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA TODAY: COMPLETE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF SIX MILLION BLACK WORKERS BY TWO MILLION WHITE PARASITES: NO TRADE UNIONS FOR BLACKS, LIMITED EDUCATION, POVERTY AND DISEASE UNEQUALLED IN ANY CIVILIZED LAND.

NORTH FROM THIS BLATANT TYRANNY AND INSPIRED BY IT, THE RHODESIAS AND KENYA DEMAND AS A RIGHT THE OWNERSHIP OF TEN MILLIONS OF BLACKS WITH ONLY SUCH RIGHTS AS LOCAL WHITES CONTROLLING GOVERNMENT, LAND AND LABOR, CHOSE TO GIVE THEM. INTO SUCH A CONTINENT, WITH ITS NINE MILLION BLACK SLAVES OF BELGIUM, ITS TWENTY-FOUR MILLION SERFS OF FRANCE, ITS SEVEN MILLION SLAVES IN DISPUTE BETWEEN EGYPT AND BRITAIN AND BRITAIN'S OWN

FIFTY MILLIONS OF WEST AFRICA, COMES THE WEALTH OF THE WORLD TODAY SEEKING INVESTMENT AT PERCENTAGES THEY WOULD NOT DARE DEMAND AT HOME AND LED BY THE MOST EXPERIENCED EXPLOITER OF HELPLESS PEOPLE, UNILEVERS, TO PLANT AND REAP: TO BUILD AND DAM: TO WHIP AND DRIVE: AND REAP SUCH RICHES OUT OF A RE-ENSLAVED AFRICA, AS TO BUILD A MONOPOLY OF WORLD INDUSTRY ABLE TO CONTROL MODERN CULTURE EVEN MORE EFFECTIVELY THAN BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

LEADING THIS NEW COLONIAL IMPERIALISM COMES MY OWN NATIVE LAND, BUILT BY MY FATHERS' TOIL AND BLOOD, THE UNITED STATES. THE UNITED STATES IS A GREAT NATION: RICH BY GRACE OF GOD AND PROSPEROUS BY THE HARD WORK OF ITS HUMBLEST CITIZENS. AND THESE CITIZENS WERE NOT MADE UP OF THE ELECT OF THE EARTH: OF NOBLES AND ARISTOCRATS: OF THE LEARNED AND GIFTED. NO. AMERICA WAS PEOPLED BY THE LOWEST OF MEN, THE HUMBLEST OF HUMAN STRAINS: BY SLAVES AND PAUPERS, EVEN IN PART BY JAILBIRDS AND PROSTITUTES: BEGGARS

AND OUTCASTS: AS WELL AS BY HONEST, HARD-WORKING PEASANTS. OUT OF THIS MATERIAL SHE HAS BUILT A POWERFUL NATION, WHICH IS IN ITSELF THE HIGHEST PROOF OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF HUMAN KIND. HOW IS IT THAT UPON SOIL SUCH AS THIS AROSE MODERN SLAVERY WITH UNPARALLELED EXPLOITATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND TODAY A FRIGHTFUL MILITARISM ON THE VASTEST SCALE EVER KNOWN TO MAN AND THREATENING TO BRIBE AND COERCE AND RULE MANKIND? WHY IS IT THAT TODAY AMERICANS ARE THE GREATEST EMPLOYERS OF COLONIAL LABOR IN THE WORLD, AND ARE STRETCHING EVERY SINEW TO CONTROL ALL THE LABOR AND PROFIT OF EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA?

35-3-272

IT IS BECAUSE WE ARE TOO NEW TO BE WISE, TOO IMPATIENT TO BE INTELLIGENT: TOO RICH TO BE HUMBLE AND TOO BOASTFUL TO HAVE GOOD MANNERS. WE CRUCIFIED THE PROPHETS WHO WARNED US OF NEGRO SLAVERY UNTIL THAT SLAVERY PLUNGED US INTO BLOODY, COSTLY AND UNNECESSARY CIVIL WAR. TODAY WHEN THE GRANDCHILDREN OF THESE SLAVES, STRUGGLING AND CRAWLING TO THE LIGHT AND DEMANDING THE RIGHTS OF FREE MEN, CONGRESS LAUGHS AT OUR JUST DEMANDS AND

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES GOES FISHING. YET THE NATION KNOWS WE ARE RIGHT. IT KNOWS WE ARE RULED BY CORPORATE WEALTH. BUT IT DOES NOT KNOW HOW OR WHAT IS THE POSSIBLE ALTERNATE. IT IS DELIBERATELY MISLED BY A PROSTITUTED PRESS, A CONTROLLED EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, A BODY OF FRIGHTENED SCIENTISTS AND ARTISTS AND BY SUCH WASTE OF FUNDS ON WAR THAT LITTLE IS LEFT FOR SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS, FLOOD CONTROL AND RATIONALLY PLANNED ECONOMY. DRUNK WITH POWER WE ARE LEADING THE WORLD TO HELL IN A NEW COLONIALISM WITH THE SAME OLD HUMAN SLAVERY WHICH ONCE RUINED US AND TO A THIRD WORLD WAR WHICH WILL RUIN THE WORLD.

D

HOW CAN WE STOP THIS DESCENT INTO HELL? BY HALTING IN ITS TRACKS THIS NEW WORLD-WIDE RAID ON AFRICA! BY STOPPING WORLD WAR IN ABOLISHING THE COLONIAL SEEDS OF WAR AND THE SLAVERY OF HUMAN TOIL. TO SAVE THE WORLD---------SAVE AFRICA!

Colonies as cause of war

1948 (c)

by W.E.B. Du Bois

Let us not be misled. The real cause of the differences which threaten world war is not the spread of socialism or even of the complete socialism which communism envisages. Socialism is spreading all over the world and nowhere faster than in the United States. On no single theory of human progress is there such wide unamimity as in the belief that scientific social planning must guide future industry and that individual effort in work and the production and distribution of wealth must be subject to social control for the common good.

Against this spread of socialism, one modern institution is working desperately, and that is colonialism and colonialism has been and is and ever will be one of the chief causes of ~~world~~ war.

Colonialism is the ~~chief~~ modern survival of the ancient method of production through the enslavement of the working classes. Through human sympathy and religious faith, slavery faded into serfdom and was about to disappear in Europe during the Middle Ages when suddenly it was born again in newly discovered America and fed by imported black folk from Africa. This slave system applied to new crops and materials ~~and~~ processed by a newly discovered technique, precipitated an Industrial Revolution and birthed the modern use of the ~~vastly~~ suddenly increased wealth as capital for making more wealth. ~~While~~ Most of the new wealth and power went to the owners of Capital ~~this wealth,~~ but some of it went to the laborers and they increased in intelligence and political power. When this emancipation of the European working class began to spread to Yellow labor in Asia and to black slaves in America, Colonialism arose to concentrate and preserve slave labor among the colored races. Colonies were formed in Africa and Asia, where under European control, millions of natives were regimented, with forced labor, ~~no~~ little education, monopolized land, no political power, and only primitive techniques. Thus the virtual slavery of a majority of the world's laborers was prolonged ~~and concentrated.~~ But this system could only be maintained with the consent of the ~~enfranchised~~ White working class.

To uphold and defend this system, spiritual and physical force was necessary: a race theory which pursuaded white labor that it ~~was~~ Colored a superior ~~class~~ race with the right to enslave colored people as the only method of preserving civilization; and militarism designed to hold colonials in ~~power and even to arm them so as to fight each other or even to fight white labor.~~ control. Thus the working class was split into two combating groups, each helping to hold the other in thrall, ~~This was widely accomplished by bribing~~ the one half-slave, the other only half free. But the white workers with a share of the vast profits were bribed

of the colonial system and imbued them with a sense of the glory of imperial rule. But this industrial system had its dangers: it left in white countries, vestigial remains of slave labor, in depressed classes and slums; especially in America, it left millions of serfs, who could not be removed to colonies, and yet could be held to forced labor only by nullifying the democratic constitution on which the nation was founded. Today in the United States, 15,000,000 citizens are still in semi-slavery, and form part of an internal colonial system. In the Balkans and South America, this degradation of depressed workers continued as part of the modern industrial process.

This system of colonialism, semi-colonialism and oligarchic economic control centered in the hands of rich, gifted and powerful individuals and social classes, who controlled the governments of most countries and neutralized democratic government. They kept alive the idea, which science and technique increasingly denied, that Poverty of the masses was the inevitable foundation of modern culture.

This colonial system and its half-concealed counterparts in the so-called "Backward" lands and in the slums of the most civilized states, is the main cause of war and fear of war. Colonial revolt, however futile, was a continuing danger. But even greater danger arose from the greed and envy of the dominating ruling nations who resented the monopolies of the great empires. The determination of Germany and Italy to share the colonial wealth of Britain and France precipitated the First World War, which brought the whole industrial system to the brink of bankruptcy. The Russian working class revolted and sought by a new industrial system to abolish poverty without colonial slavery; by planned work and more equitable distribution of wealth. She was attacked by countries over a period of years and consequently has not yet had fair chance to carry out her theory.

Meantime the industrial system of Europe and America was so weakened by war and depression, unemployment and disease, that planned dictatorships arose in Germany and Italy, with wide sympathy in Britain and the United states to save it. The result was a wider and more terrible world war--a war neither planned nor expected, with no one cause and no clear result, except the beginning of the end of colonialism. Instead of world recognition

of the fact that this end of colonialism ~~is the~~ was the only thing which will end war, developments to

we are today rushing pell-mell into a third world war, NOT as most persons seem to think, by arming, marching and making fantastic munitions to derail the rival strength of two great nations but by trying behind this false facade desperately and frantically to build a new colonialism in Africa. War is not brewing in The Soviet Union nor in the United States. It is brewing in Africa where British, American, French and Belgium wealth is trying to re-build ~~a new~~ an old world economy ~~built~~ on slave labor. On slave labor which will continue to compete with the cheaply paid labor of the world and accumulate more wealth in private control ~~furnish wealth~~ which can be used in the future as in the past to kill democracy in Europe and America and stop the inevitable spread of planned industry and the just distribution of wealth rather than an anarchy of business enterprise based on force and chance. Even organized labor is too blind to see the cloud rising (own)

Foremost in this fight to re-enslave human labor are two democracies: the Union of South Africa and the United States of America -- both with the fatal initials -- USA. Nowhere on earth since the birth of Crist has a nation expressed a more repusive plan to degrade human beings than the Union of South Africa: complete disfranchisement of six million black workers (by 2 million white parasites); no trade unions, miserably limited education, and poverty and disease unequalled in any civilized land. North from this blatant tyrrany and inspired by it, the Rhodesias and Kenya demand as a right the ownership of millions of blacks with only such rights as local whites (cheaply governed land + labor) chose to give them. Into such a continent, with its nine million slaves of Belgium, its million serfs of France, its seven million slaves in dispute between Egypt and Britian and Britain's own 50 millions of West Africa, comes the wealth of the world seeking investment at fifty percent (percentages they would not dare demand at home), and led by the most experienced exploiter of helpless peoples, Unilevers, to plant and reap; to build and damn; to whip and drive; and reap such riches pursuch wealth out of a re-enslaved Africa, as to build that a monopoly of world industry able to control modern culture even more effectively than before the First World War.

Before this rebirth of Colonialism, the United Nations stands dumb and helpless (mumbling promises on human rights & denying the right to complain

Leading this new colonial imperialism comes my own native land, built by my fathers' toil and blood, the United States. The United States is a great nation: rich by the grace of god and prosperous by the hard work of its humblest citizens. And these citizens ~~are~~ were not made up of the elect of the earth: of ~~nobility~~ nobles and aristocrats; of the learned and gifted. No. America was peopled by the

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COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26TH STREET • NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK • MURRAY HILL 3-6209

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

To destroy it: British labor dreams of security + wealth by bribery oil barons of the Middle East and selling them fatten on the filth + flies of their fraudulent populations
The American Labor unions smash the World federation not for fear of Russia but for fear of the black delegates from Africa + the Indies demanding the end of colonialism + equal wage for equal work

as well as by honest, hard-working peasants

lowest of men, the humblest of human strains: by slaves and pau pers, jailbirds and p
even in part by

prostitutes; beggars and outcasts. Out of this material, she built a ~~great and pwoe~~
has

powerful nation, which is the highest ~~xxxxxx~~ proof of the possibilities of human
in death

kind. How is it that upon ~~this~~ soil such as this arose modern slavery, with unparalleled exploitation of ~~labor~~
~~and monopoly~~ of natural resources and today a frightful militarism on the vastest scale ever known
Americans

to man? Why is it that today ~~we~~ are the greatest ~~investor and~~ employers of colonial
all and profit

slave labor in the world, and are stretching every sinew to control the labor of

Europe, Asia and Africa?

too rich to be humble + too boastful to have good manners.

It is because we are too new to be wise, too impatient to be intelligent; ~~We~~
that slavery

crucified the prophets who warned us of Negro slavery un til ~~it~~ plunged us into
and Civil War

bloody, unnecessary ~~and bloo dy~~ civil war. Today when the grandchildren of these
struggling and

slaves, ~~have~~ crawled to the light and demand the rights of free men, ~~citizens~~, Congress laughs
of the United States

at our just demands and the President goes fishing. Yet the nation knows we are

right. It knows we do not have democracy in America neither for blacks nor thousands of

whites. It knows we are ruled by corporate wealth. But it does not know how

or what is the possible alternative. It is deliberately misled by a prostituted press,
a body of frightened scoundrels + cowards

~~by~~ a controlled educational system, and by such waste of funds on war that

little is left for schools, hospitals, flood control and rationally planned econ-
to hell in

omy. Drunk with power we are leading the world ~~astray to~~ a new colonialism, to

a third ~~world~~ war. which will ruin the World.

How can we stop this descent into hell? By ~~stopping~~ halting in its tracks this new world-wide raid

on Africa! Save Africa! To ~~and~~ save the world.

and Upstairs, to hide and cower and rule mankind?

25-2 QCh

By stopping World War II by abolishing the Colonial needs of war and the slavery of human toil.

With the same old human slavery which once ruined us and

Statement by W E B
Du Bois to Atlas News
Service - 6/3/49

The attempt of Italy to regain her African Colonies is unjust to Africa and unfair to the Italian people. After England and France had divided up Africa and later the Germans had seized a part, the Italiana concluded that their place as a great power depended on expansion in Africa. Their hearts were set on Tunis which was the ancient seat of Cartharge but France balked them. They finally seized the Libyan desert with incredible cruelty and annexed that waste of sand. But earlier then this they were set on seizing Ethiopia, when the Black Mahdi drove England out of the Sudan the English egged the Italians on to seize Ethiopia from their foot-hold in Eretria, the Italians began their attack but were thrown back. They then intrigued with Menelik who was trying to seize the Ethiopian throne. When he succeeded in becoming Emperor the Italians asked as their price, colonial control over Ethiopia. This Menelik indigently refused and decisivly over-thre the Italian army at Adua in 1896.

In the First World War, Italy refused to join the allies unless she were given Ethiopia. This the allies practically promised , but reneged on their promise at the Peace of Verailles. Mussolini used the promise of reviving the glories of the Roman Empire in order to distract attention on conditions in Italy. He started the Second World War by treacherously conquering Ethiopia from Eretria as point of attack. The overthrow of the Axis restored Ethiopia to independence but Italy, having made peace and alliance with the Allies now asked the return of Libya and Eretria as Italian colonies. Neither is of any real worth to the Italian people. Lybia is a desert and Eretria can only be self supporting by depending on Ethiopian trade. It's use to Italy is only that of a base to attack Ethiopia. It is on the other hand, by history, racial-identity an economic necessity and an integral part of Ethiopia.

35-3-310

If colonialism is going to disappear from the world--as it must, Italy has no need of Eretria and Ethiopia has every right to it. A colonial empire would only help forge chains of exploitation on the working people of Italy.

June 10, 1949

F. Party

35-3-266

THE YOUNG PROGRESSIVES

I am very glad to know of young people in these days who are willing to take their stand for progressive and forward looking polidies. Every pressure is being put upon students today to keep them from questioning present conditions in the world or advocation forward movements. A ridiculous doctrice has become current: namely that if any person or party or nation advocates something in which you are in favor, that nevertheless you should stop advocation it if you do not like or approve of everything which this group is doing. This is sheer nonsense. Certainly, I propose to be fellow-traveler with any group of people who are advocating peace, the reform of our economic system, the abolition of poverty and the implementation of democracy. I trust that you as young students will have the guts to stand up for a program of this sort.

W. E. B. Du Bois

WEBD:lm

3800 words

NEWS RELEASE from

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

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35-3-444

ADDRESS BY DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS

WELCOME HOME RALLY FOR PAUL ROBESON, NEW YORK, JUNE 19, 1949
AUSPICES OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

On last Easter morning I found myself quite unexpectedly flying to France for my tenth visit. My first visits took place fifty years ago when as a student and young teacher I first saw Paris and the sweep of that greatest avenue in the world from the Triumphant Arch to the Place of Peace. It was in 1894 and 1900, the apogee of European civilization; and for 250 years France had, in many respects, led that march of culture. One sensed this in the pride of its boulevards; in the universal reign of its tastes; and in the world dominance of its exquisite language.

Fifty years passed over the world—a half century more revolutionary in cultural outlook and political ideal than any which humanity has seen. The whole world changed. The whole meaning of human culture was revolutionized. The total ideal of man was uprooted, for disaster or complete replanting.

France showed in 1949 a change and metamorphasis undreamed of in 1894. Gone was the subtle security of wealth; the confidence in the perfect setting of canons of taste to which all the world paid homage; and the gayety and light touch on life which always made Paris a thousand and one nights. But back of the change, the old and indomitable spirit of the French people still emerged, as it had at Verdun and Dunkirk; back of a vast shadow of uncounted dead, of crippled and maimed living; back of rags and poverty, still lingered and lived the old spirit of liberty, equality and brotherhood, which the work, family and country of Vichy had not transformed. The sweep of the Champs Elysees is still the noblest on earth, despite the shrinking of its fashion parade; the buildings of the grand boulevards need carpentry, masonry and paint; and the gay little restaurants with their pride of cheap living and high thinking reflect today the fall of the franc from 19 cents to three tenths of a cent.

45-3-85

The story of what has happened to France and Europe in the first half of the 20th century I have seen and heard in the visits I made between 1900 and 1949. I saw in 1906 and 1911, the division which placed colonial imperialism in growing opposition to interracial cooperation and world peace. French science and philanthropy ranged themselves back of the great Race Congress held in London in 1911, an event which might have changed world history but for that little German warship that slipped into Agadir and bluntly challenged the French and British grip on the cheap labor of Asia and Africa. The result was disaster to European civilization, and disaster which I only began to realize when I landed at Brest in December, 1918, a month after the Armistice closing the first World War.

France was prone. Her agony of suffering and death was written on the faces of 30 millions of people. Her very cry of military triumph was shot with tears. I remember vividly in the great hall of the Trocadero, how the magnificent figure of the leading actress of France stood before thousands and cried "C'est la victoire, c'est la victoire!" And how a marshall of France kissed the Legion of Honor on the cheeks of a black African and a yellow Annamese. But we all soon knew that it was a victory which cost too much, and from which not France nor Europe; not Britain nor Germany had courage to learn. Only Russia dared a new way and with one accord 14 nations including us, made war on her six times in twelve years and would repeat it today, if they dared.

I came to France four times between the first and second world wars, so that in each of the intervening decades I saw and judged and tried in weak and ineffectual ways to guide history. I hammered into deaf ears the continuing threat of colonialism; I tried to unite black public opinion the world over back of my demand for African freedom; I visited Belgium, England, Russia, Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal; French and British colonies in Africa, and the republic of Liberia. But the world, oblivious to small voices like mine and even to the stronger voice of rising socialism not only in Russia but over the world, swept doggedly on to restore conditions which existed before 1914; to reestablish the domination of Europe over Asia, Africa and the sea isles, and to make the white people of western Europe and North America the effective rulers of mankind and arbitrators of its destiny.

They killed the system of human culture which they sought to restore. How completely, by death and destruction; by uprooting of old culture patterns and vast displacement of peoples, they transformed this world and its civilization, even intelligent persons today to astounding extent utterly fail to conceive. Stop and compare the world of my first visit to France with today; in 1894, even I did not question the rightful leadership of the world by European culture; everyone expected that Europe would continue to rule Asiatics and Africans; that the British Empire was the last word in democracy; that American wealth was the object and end of American freedom and that the highest ambition of black and colored folk was to become as much like white folk as possible. What we did ask was that the colored world be ruled for its own eventual good; what we did believe and insist on, was that given time and opportunity, the colored world would catch up with the white in ability to make contribution to civilization; but we never questioned the norms and methods of that white world as the one way to accomplish all this.

What has happened since 1894? The white rule of the world has stopped. It is not merely going to stop--it has stopped. When 300 million Indians walked out of the British Empire in all but name; when 400 million Chinese kicked the United States in the teeth and declared their independence of Europe; when the 100 millions of Indonesia refused longer to submit to the rule of Holland; in these events, by determination of the vast majority of human beings, an old world ended and a new world began. And those blind folk in the United States and the British Isles who still doggedly cling to the hope that by wealth, force and atomic energy they are going to restore the old world, are whistling to the winds of a dead past.

Nor was the new world inducted into being by force from without. It was decay within which made European civilization collapse. The second world war marked the failure of a system of industry which for four centuries tried to base the comfort and civilization of a few on the degradation, ignorance, disease and slave toil of the vast majority of mankind, and justified this procedure by preaching the belief that most human beings were not men in the same sense as Europeans. For a time this system had such phenomenal success that it seemed to prove its truth; Wealth poured into Europe and North America; miraculous technique made man master of nature; huge, high, wide and flamboyant cities were built; history, literature and art depicted white folk as supermen and ridiculed "niggers". Comfort and luxury spread themselves down even to white skilled workers who rejoiced in superiority to dark peoples and joined armies by tens of thousands to keep black wages down. All Europe congratulated itself that never before had mankind reached such heights of civilization. All was progress. All progress was measured in size and weight. All real men were white.

Then came signs of disaster--within the white countries, poverty, disease and crime persisted and grew. Ethics and religion gained wider areas of hypocrisy and misrepresentation. The majority of men were not being ruled for their own good or advancement. Business was to an astounding extent gambling, cheating and lying against this misrule and misconception. The French Revolution, the American Revolution, the Haitian Revolution and the Russian Revolution, from 1787 to 1917, 130 years, revolted with force and violence. But beyond revolution and superior to it came ideas in the minds of free men who had the courage to think. The ideal of the Socialistic state arose or rather was restored from more primitive times and other lands; instead of a state ruled by the anardhy of individual gain there came gradually the idea of a state organized and planned by its scientists and artists for the good of the mass of its citizens.

Instead of industry for the profit of business men, came the idea of business for the comfort and good of all men. These ideas were not the invention of a few, but the gradually developed thought of men of learning and experience in all lands from the 18th century to our day. What has been the result?

One of the first things which I noticed in this visit to France was that the railroads of France no longer belong to private companies, but to the state. I knew

that France already owned her telegraphs and telephones; I knew French cities owned their underground lines, streetcars and busses; all of the main public service were in the hands of the state; the state was entering private industry and when direct ownership did not result, severe regulation was increasing. Foreign trade, steamships and airplanes had state supervision and partial ownership. In other words, France is today a socialistic state to a large extent, and this socialization is growing.

But is France in this respect, exceptional in Europe? It is not. Neither in Europe nor in the world. There is not today in the world a single civilized land in which socialism is not wide-spread and growing. Every European country owns its transportation systems and systems of communication; every European country has nationalized many of its main businesses from banking to mining; from housing to manufacturing; from foreign trade to retail distribution of goods; from private land ownership to state ownership of all public utilities. In one group of countries, including the Union of Soviet Republics, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and most of the Balkans an industrial system is being worked out under which all wealth used for capital and all land and natural resources are either owned by the state or in process of gradual absorption. This system is not an experiment nor is it the result of the plotting of thieves and scoundrels.

It is the result of the considered thought and planning of the best minds of the world for the last 300 years. In Asia, the same policy in industry is being put into practice. India is basically socialistic in aim. China is becoming completely a socialistic state after the Russian model. Socialism is strong in Southeastern Asia and the concept of business and industry for public welfare and not for private profit is growing in the West Indies and among the laboring masses of South and Central America.

Only one great nation is apparently openly fighting the advance of socialism and that is the United States of America. And the fight here is more apparent than real. The advance of socialism in this country has been steady and large and still continues. We not only run the post office and a large part of the express business; we dominate flood control and irrigation; cities own transport facilities, water works, parks and recreation; the nation and states regulate mines, railroads, rivers and forests; bridges, tunnels and harbors; we regulate wages, rents, interest, education, poor relief and old age security; banking in all its aspects and manufacturing in many respects, not to mention prices of goods for sale, are under national and state regulation.

Yet a vast propaganda is spread over the land, ascribing all our prosperity t unrestrained individual enterprise, our wealth entirely to private initiative and representing socialism as a failure and especially painting Russian communism, the most hopeful human effort in a hundred years, as a low conspiracy which can only be met by spending 83 cents of every dollar of the oppressive taxation laid on us for aggressive war in all parts of the world. Such insane propaganda and lying can only be met by sane and persistent array of facts and spread of information.

The one splendid thing about France of today, is the persistence of freedom of thought and expression. It was like a bath in clear, cold water to be six weeks in a country where people of intelligence and conviction were not afraid to talk, where a man has a right to be a communist and defend Russia, and another has equal right to praise the United States and the Marshall Plan, neither is smeared, jailed nor driven to suicide. France is today as ever a place of asylum for the oppressed of all races. At the Peace Congress were Europeans, Americans, Africans, Asiatics and West Indians, laborers, shop-keepers and capitalists. But France has no such aggregation of liars, traitors, spies, stool-pigeons and stray bitches as are today so rampant and so popular in the United States. In France today it is permissible to stand up and advocate peace without losing your right to earn a living.

I have, in my life attended many great meetings of men. I saw the Triple Alliance renewed in Berlin with pomp of three kings. I was at the University of London in 1911 with the races of the world; in Paris in 1919 to celebrate victory; in Geneva when the Assembly of the League of Nations was born; in Moscow on May Day, 1928; and in San Francisco when the United Nations was formed. I have had some experience in judging numbers and attitudes and sincerities among masses of men. I can say truthfully, that never before have I seen so great, so sincere and

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so tremendous an outpouring of human beings, so utterly intent on the progress of mankind, as at the World Congress for Peace in Paris, April 21 to 24, 1949. I saw over two thousand delegates from all the world and all the continents attend eleven almost continuous sessions of the Congress for five long days, to listen not to vaudeville but to long factual speeches from men and women without grace of oratory but with bitter sincerity of truth, and I saw on that memorable Sunday 8 weeks ago five hundred thousand human beings, some of whom walked half across France, file all day through the Buffalo Stadium, and before the best brains and accomplishments of Europe, to register one solemn and unforgettable determination: "No more war!"

The Nation and the Herald Tribune reported 50,000 persons present in a "communist" demonstration! and this is the kind of information you are getting and swallowing. This is the sort of lie which a monopolized press is jamming down the throat of Americans. The news of the world is deliberately distorted or omitted by our newspapers. Our schools are being bought off or silenced. Yesterday Harvard received five million dollars to teach that the "American Way" of business was the best in the world; not, mind you, to investigate business methods in order to find which is best. Few teachers today can hold their job and teach the truth about American industry. I do not know a single Negro college in the United States where any complete picture of the economic condition of the world can be studied. But more important to this audience is the fact that in the last two decades, American Negroes have lost their world leadership of the darker people. After the first World War, when I went abroad, almost invariably I was approached by white persons and black for information on how we American Negroes were conducting our fight for liberty and equality. This time no one asked. Apparently they all sensed that the Negroes of the United States no longer were aware of the international situation nor in position to lead the darker world.

Gabriel D'Arboussier, Secretary of the French African Reunion was honored by the Peace Congress and made one of its vice-presidents. He sat May Day on the Tribune beside Joliot-Curie, Aragon and Picasso. He told me with enthusiasm of the effort of his organization to raise the economic level of the 25 million blacks of the French Sudan and Equatorial Africa. He pointed out how this organized black nucleus faced on the east the seven millions of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; and through it, Uganda and Kenya where Britain is today straining every nerve to restore her colonial empire and control of cheap black labor and materials; on the south, nine million blacks of the Belgian Congo where America is today monopolizing material for the atomic bomb, to control the world; and in the west, British West Africa which is fighting for Negro nationhood. I was gratified to see that this movement, instead of aiming at equal right with whites to exploit natives was set to raise the natives themselves to higher income, better education and less disease. I knew that D'Arboussier sensed that American Negroes were either unaware of this socialistic advance of the mass of men or were simply determined to share with white industry the spoils of exploitation. This explains why American Negroes today are not only beginning to be cautious in what they think or say; and why they think that their value to the United States is to agree with the dominant group, no matter what it advocates; and to fight anybody it orders them to fight, even their own friends; why, for instance, Negro physicians in so large majority oppose socialized medicine. They do not read what Russia, China and India are doing for public health. They are interested in income quickly and easily made.

There are two things American Negroes must do; first, they must know what is going on in this world; the vast revolution through which all of us are passing, the fundamental changes in the organization of work and income, the spread of democracy from politics to industry, the new concept of business for service and not for profit, the public ownership of land and capital, the equalization of income and the basic axiom "to each according to need and from each according to ability". This is the new world we are entering. We now here will not live to see its complete triumph but the shadow of its unfolding is upon us and the cry of its birth pains in our ears. As with study and understanding we sense the meaning of the coming world change, we must have the courage to help its beginnings and speed its growth.

45-3-88

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Secondly, while the change is approaching, we must prepare its path: First, by a firm stand for peace. No more war. Least of all, war with Russia, the one nation which has curbed wealth, outlawed race prejudice and refused to own colonies. Russia is not perfect; neither are we; but there is nothing wrong with either that war can cure and we will do scant service to our country if we let our greedy leaders lie us into an unjust war.

Moreover, there is positive work for peace in front of us. The colonial world, and especially Africa, is today hungry and diseased, with small chances in education. Africa needs help which we can easily spare. She does not need further teaching of religious dogma. She needs food, medicine and schools.

The Council on African Affairs has just helped in establishing an African Aid Committee as a separate body whose function it is to send aid to Africa. For this work we ask your help and the help of all who care for the most exploited part of the world today, for the continent crucified for four centuries to make white folk rich,—where the imperialists are trying now to restore slavery and colonial exploitation. We welcome to this work all men of all minds.

It is more than stupid to refuse cooperation because other men's aims are not all yours. The man who works for peace is my brother; the woman who works for Africa and against colonialism is your sister. As a free American whose fathers for five generations have served this land, I will know what I say and say what I mean and none nor nothing shall stop me. So long as he walks toward the truth as I see it, I will be fellow traveler with communist or capitalist, with white man or black and I will proclaim as a fool the man who lays down a goal and then refuses himself to follow it because somebody he does not like walks to the same great end. This is the day that sorts cowards from the men of courage, and self-seekers from the unselfish. This is the day to stand and be counted. But I will not deceive you, such a stand will cost you something. It may cost you your job. But you can still own your soul.

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Undated

38-12-363

A SOCIAL PROBLEM MUST EVER BE ~~RECESSED AND~~ RE-STATED IN TERMS OF CURRENT ATTITUDES, ELSE IT CAN NOT PROPERLY BE UNDERSTOOD. // THIS IS NOT SO MUCH BECAUSE OF ANY CHANGE IN THE ESSENTIAL FACTS // AS BECAUSE OF CONTINUOUS CHANGE IN CURRENT BELIEFS. // SUCH RE-STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEMS SURROUNDING THE AMERICAN NEGRO I AM ATTEMPTING NOW.

WHETHER OR NOT WE CALL THIS A RACE PROBLEM, DEPENDS ON WHAT WE MEAN BY A RACE: IF WE FOLLOW THE 19th CENTURY DEFINITION AND THINK OF RACE AS A BIOLOGICAL GROUP, SET OFF FROM SIMILAR GROUPS BY DISTINCTIVE AND HERITABLE PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS, THEN EVEN IF SUCH RACES EXIST IN FACT, THE AMERICAN NEGRO IS NOT ONE BECAUSE HE IS THE OFFSPRING OF MANY DIFFERENT STRAINS OF MEN. // BUT IF WE MEAN BY RACE, A GROUP OF FOLK, WHO BY LONG JUXTAPOSITION, COMMON EXPERIENCES AND COMMON MEMORIES, CONTINUOUS INTERMARRIAGE AND WIDE COMMUNITY OF THOUGHT, FEELING AND ACTION, HAVE BECOME A SOCIAL ENTITY SUCH A CULTURAL CONCEPT OF RACE DESCRIBES FAIRLY WELL THE POSITION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO TODAY. //

38-12-364

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NATURALLY IN THE COURSE OF THE HALF MILLENIUM SINCE AFRICANS APPEARED IN AMERICA THIS GROUP HAS DIFFERED BOTH IN ITS OWN COMPOSITION AND IN ITS RELATION TO ITS SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT. // ITS MEMBERS APPEARED FIRST AS STRAGGLING SERVANTS AND FREE ADVENTURERS ACCOMPANYING EUROPEANS. // THEN IN LARGER NUMBERS THEY CAME AS A GROUP OF LABORERS TO FILL A DEMAND FOR THE HARD LABOR NECESSARY FOR EXPLOITING MINES AND TRANSPORTING GOODS. // ALL THIS WAS TEMPORARY AND INCIDENTAL TO AN UNUSUAL EMERGENCY. // THEN IN SUCCESSION CAME THREE CROPS CANE SUGAR, TOBACCO, AND COTTON--A DRUG AND SWEETENING: A NEW LUXURY AND A CHEAP CLOTHING. // ALL EUROPE, FROM KING TO PEASANT WANTED THESE GOODS AND THE LAND SUITED TO RAISING THEM WAS ABUNDANT IN AMERICA. // ONLY LABOR WAS WANTING // AND AFTER A PERIOD OF SPASMODIC EFFORTS (INCLUDING WHITE SLAVES) TO FURNISH SUCH LABOR, ENGLISH MERCHANTS IN THE 18th CENTURY ORGANIZED THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE ON A SYSTEMATIC BASIS ESPECIALLY FOR THE SUGAR PLANTATIONS. //

38-12-365

THE PROFIT FROM THIS EFFORT ATTRACTED SO MANY SHIPS THAT THE IMPORTED SLAVES OVERFLOWED THE WEST INDIAN AND SOUTH AMERICAN DEMAND AND THE SURPLUS WAS DUMPED INTO NORTH AMERICA AMID MUCH PROTEST. // BUT BEFORE THIS PROTEST BECAME EFFECTIVE, THE NORTH AMERICAN EXPERIMENTS IN COTTON RAISING IN THE NEW, RICH LAND STRETCHING FROM CAROLINA TO MEXICO, CREATED AN INCREASED DEMAND FOR LABOR. // THE NEW AMERICAN DEMOCRACY COUNTERED THIS BY FORBIDDING THE AFRICAN TRADE, WHICH THEY WERE CONFIDENT IN 1787 WOULD KILL THE SLAVE SYSTEM IN TIME. // BUT THIS DID NOT HAPPEN, BECAUSE OF SLAVE SMUGGLING, THE INCREASING DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE FROM VIRGINIA AND THE BORDER STATES AND BECAUSE OF THE SLOW DEVELOPEMENT OF THE NEGRO GROUP INTO AN INCREASINGLY EFFECTIVE LABOR FORCE. // BY 1820, THE INCOME FROM THE SLAVE SYSTEM WAS TOO LARGE AND TOO WIDELY DISTRIBUTED TO BE EASILY CUT OFF. // THE SLAVE POWER HAD STRONG HOLD ON NORTHERN TRADE AND BRITISH MANUFACTURE AND THUS ON THE CHURCH AND ARISTOCRACY. //

THIS AROUSED OPPOSITION IN THE NORTH FROM FREE LABOR FREE NEGROES AND FROM FOLLOWERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEALS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. //

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THUS THE CHURCH AND SOCIETY, BUSINESS AND COMMERCE CAME TO GRIPS WITH ABOLITIONISTS, FREE NEGROS, CITY LABORERS AND SMALL WESTERN FARMERS. // SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT WAS REACHED BY THE MID-CENTURY ON A POLICY OF CONTAINMENT FOR THE SLAVE SYSTEM SOUTH OF THE MASON AND DIXON LINE AND EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI, SAVE TEXAS // BUT THIS UNDERSTANDING WAS BROKEN BY THE GROWING EXHAUSTION OF SOUTHERN SOIL UNDER THE WASTEFUL SLAVE CULTURE AND THE INCREASED DEMAND FOR COTTON. THE COTTON KINGDOM THEREUPON CAME TO HAVE ILLUSIONS OF GRANDEUR BASED ON EXTENDING ITS SYSTEM AND ITS PROFITS INTO MEXICO, THE CARRIBBEAN AREA AND CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA. // TO REINFORCE THIS ECONOMIC URGE CAME THE NEW THEORIES OF EVOLUTION, AND THE DOCTRINE OF RACE SUPERIORITY. // PHENOMENAL INCREASE IN THE SOUTHERN COTTON CROPS IN THE FIFTIES DROVE THE SOUTHERN RADICALS INTO DETERMINATION TO FORCE SLAVERY ON THE NATION AS A LEGALLY RECOGNIZED LABOR SYSTEM. //

THE NORTH REACTED WITH FORCE, NOT TO ABOLISH SLAVERY IN THE AREA WHERE IT WAS ESTABLISHED, BUT TO PREVENT ITS EXTENTION TO THE REST OF THE NATION AND TO HOLD INTACT THE WHOLE UNITED STATES AS AN INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ENTITY, INCLUDING SLAVE-RAISED GOODS //

38-12-367

THUS THE WAR/ "FOR UNION"/ BEGAN.// TWO TRUTHS SOON EMERGED:// IT IS ~~IMPOSSIBLE~~ DIFFICULT TO CONQUER/ A LARGE GROUP OF PEOPLE/ AND FORCE THEM TO DO/ WHAT THEY ARE UNWILLING TO DO// SECOND,/ THE FATAL WEAKNESS OF THE SOUTH/ WAS ITS BLACK LABOR FORCE/ ON WHICH IT ~~DEPENDS~~ DEPENDED/ FOR SUPPORT IN WAR.// THIS LABOR FORCE/ BEGAN TO DESERT TO THE NORTHERN ARMIES/ FIRST IN DRIBLETS/ THEN IN VAST CROWDS/ WHICH TAXED THE CAMPS:// AND FINALLY/ AS ARMED SOLDIERS/ TAKING PART IN/ BEHIND-THE-LINE DEFENSE.// THEN AS FRONT LINE SHOCK TROOPS.// THIS ENDED THE WAR, ALTHOUGH FEW WRITERS/ EVEN NOW/ ACKNOWLEDGE IT./ BUT IT IS CLEAR:/ AS SOON AS SLAVES/ IN ANY NUMBERS/ STOPPED RAISING FOOD/ FOR THE SOUTHERN ARMIES (AND 500,000 blacks)// AS SOON AS 200,000 NEGRO TROOPS/ WERE ARMED/ WITH THE POSSIBILITY/ OF ARMING A MILLION MORE,/ SOUTHERN RESISTENCE/ WAS FUTILE.// MOREOVER/ AS (LONG AS) BLACK TROOPS/ LESSENED THE NECESSITY FOR NORTHERN DRAFTED WHITES,/ THE LONGER THOSE WHITES/ IN WELL-PAID WAR INDUSTRIES/ WOULD BE WILLING AND ABLE/ TO FINANCE THE WAR.

THE NEXT EFFORT/ ON THE PART OF THE SOUTH/ WAS TO RETURN TO THE PRE-WAR STATUS.// THIS WAS IMPOSSIBLE./ THE WAR AFTER (THE FIRST 2 years) ~~1862,~~/ HAD BEEN FOUGHT TO

38-12-368

"FREE THE SLAVES,"/ SO THAT THE SLAVES COULD ~~SAVE~~ FREE THE UNION.// THE NATION HAD POSED/ BEFORE THE WORLD/ ON THIS PLATFORM/ AND THUS KEPT ENGLAND AND FRANCE/ FROM AIDING THE SOUTH/ AS THEIR ECONOMIC INTERESTS/ DICTATED.// SLAVERY THEN HAD TO BE ABOLISHED/ AFTER APPOMATOX.// BUT THE SOUTH OFFERED COMPROMISE:/ PARTIAL EMANCIPATION/ WITH CIVIL RIGHTS ~~AND~~ SOME PROPERTY, and/ BUT NO POLITICAL ~~RIGHTS~~ STATUS FOR NEGROES, THIS THE NORTH/ WAS WILLING TO ACCEPT.// BUT THE SOUTH MADE FURTHER DEMANDS:/ INCREASED POLITICAL POWER/ (from 26 new Southern Congressmen) BASED ON FREE/ BUT DISFRANCHISED NEGROES// AND SOME COMPENSATION/ FOR WAR COSTS/ AND LOSS OF SLAVE PROPERTY.// TO THIS THE WEST ADDED/ SCALING OF THE INFLATED PUBLIC DEBT/ AND LOWER TARIFF DUTIES.// WHEN SOUTH AND WEST THREATENED/ TO UNITE IN THESE DEMANDS,/ THE NORTH WENT INTO ACTION:/ THEY ENFRAN* CHISED THE FREEDMEN/ TO NEUTRALISE THE INCREASED SOUTHERN REPRESENTATION/ IN CONGRESS,// AND THUS SUPPORTED THE PUBLIC DEBT AT FULL VALUE,/ (Enable them to) REFUSED TO PAY FOR SOUTHERN SLAVES/ OR WAR COSTS/ AND (to) RAISED INSTEAD OF LOWERING/ THE TARIFF/ ON WHICH THE NEW NORTHERN MANUFACTURING DEPENDED.

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IMMEDIATELY THE TWO ~~PARTIES~~ sections CAME TO TERMS: // THE SOUTH / WITHDREW ITS DEMAND FOR COMPENSATION / AND LOW TARIFF / WHILE THE NORTH / WINKED AT THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF NEGROES / FIRST BY FORCE AND FRAUD / AND LATER BY LAW.

BUT THE MAIN PROBLEM / REMAINED STILL: // HOW WERE FOUR MILLION WORKERS, // WITHOUT CAPITAL, LAND, CLOTHES OR FOOD, GOING TO LIVE AND WORK / AS MODERN WAGE LABORERS? // WAR EMERGENCIES / ANSWERED THIS IN PART: / THE NEGROES WORKED IN ARMY CAMPS / THEY RAISED COTTON / AT A DOLLAR A POUND / AND THEY GOT HOLD / OF SOME ABANDONED LAND. // THE INTERVAL OF RECONSTRUCTION / WHEN FOR A BRIEF ~~INTERVAL~~ DAY / THE NEGRO WAS AS FREE / AS HIS POVERTY AND IGNORANCE ALLOWED / AND WHEN UNDER COURAGEOUS LEADERS / HE GAVE THE SOUTH / PUBLIC SCHOOLS (white + black, the ballot) AND NEW SOCIAL LEGISLATION / IN THE MIDST / OF THE DISHONESTY AND CORRUPTION / OF THE WHOLE NATION, (and in spite of) RECONSTRUCTION GAVE THE WHOLE (black) RACE / A LIFT AND SHORT HEAD-START. // BUT ONLY A START: / THE BULK OF THE RACE / WAS STILL IN SEMI-SLAVERY / STILL IN IGNORANCE / STILL SICK AND DISEASED. // MANY AMERICANS BY 1870 / WERE (QUITE) HOPEFUL THAT THE ~~RACE~~ negroes / WOULD SOON DIE

But the North refused to implement a Bureau to give Freedmen, Land and education

38-12-370

OUT. // BUT THE NEGROES / AND AN INCREASING NUMBER OF WHITE FRIENDS / WERE FIGHTING BACK: // THE WHITE FRIENDS, / ESPECIALLY IN THE INSURGENT / AND DEMOCRATIC CHURCHES / ESTABLISHED NEGRO SCHOOLS / IN THE SOUTH (even during the war) AND THE NEGROES FILLED THEM: // IN A GENERATION MOST NEGROES / COULD READ AND WRITE. // THEY CONTINUED (almost alone) TO HAMMER AT THE DEMOCRATIC (a) IDEAL. // THE NORTH RESPONDED / BY OFFERING A PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT // WHICH BOOKER WASHINGTON VOICED / AND THE SOUTH AGREED TO (in principle). // BUT this Compromise was based on legal disfranchise ment and Color Caste and the promise of education

~~THIS PROGRAM~~ WAS NEVER IMPLEMENTED: / NOT ENOUGH (elementary or) INDUSTRIAL TRAINING / WAS PROVIDED // EITHER IN PUBLIC (or) AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS / TO TEACH THE NEWER / AND BETTER PAID SKILLS. // UNIONS, (increased their) EXCLUDED (sion) OF NEGRO ARTISANS / AND THE SOUTH DISFRANCHISED / EVEN NEGROES OF EDUCATION.

RACE HATE WAS (thus) ENCOURAGED, / LYNCHING SPREAD / AND WIDE SPREAD PESSIMISM / REIGNED / OVER ANY SOLUTION / OF THIS RACE PROBLEM. // THIS WAS ACCENTUATED (from 1890 to 1910) BY COLONIAL IMPERIALISM / IN EUROPE / WHICH WAS BUILT / ON THE ASSUMPTION / THAT THE WHITE RACE / WAS GOING TO RULE THE WORLD, / FOR ITS OWN PROFIT, / AND WITH THE EXCLUSION OF THE MAJORITY / OF HUMAN BEINGS / FROM ANY VOICE / IN THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT.

DESPITE THIS DARK ~~=~~ OR SHOULD I SAY / WHITE / OUTLOOK, THE AMERICAN NEGRO / IN THE FIRST DECADE / OF THE 20th CENTURY, ~~WITH~~ A STAUNCH BAND OF WHITE RADICALS ~~DETERMINED ORGANIZATION / THE AMERICAN NEGRO~~ / BEGAN A NEW FIGHT ~~IN 1910~~ / for Freedom

In the midst of ~~ARMED IN~~ TWO WORLD WARS / WHICH CRIPPLED WHITE NATIONS / AND SET THEM MURDERING EACH OTHER // THE AMERICAN NEGRO / BEGAN TO REGAIN THE BALLOT / to FORCE HIMSELF INTO LABOR UNIONS / AND BIT BY BIT / TO RECEIVE SOME CIVIL RIGHTS / AND SOME RECOGNITION OF HIS STATUS / AS A HUMAN BEING. // THE EFFORT WAS COSTLY. / IT MADE THE COLORED GROUP PROVINCIAL, OVER SELF-CONSCIOUS / AND ONLY PARTLY WILLING / TO RECOGNIZE ANY WHITE FOLK / AS EVEN PARTIALLY HUMAN. // BUT PRESENT TRENDS / WILL GAIN / IF and only if THE WORLD / STOPS DEPENDING / ON ORGANIZED MURDER / FOR UPLIFT // AND IF THE UNITED STATES / IN PARTICULAR / CEASES TO MISTAKE / PROFIT FOR PROGRESS.

38-12-321

A Re-statement of the Negro Problems

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
LA GUARDIA HALL
FRIDAY, July 22, 1949

A social problem must ever be recessed and re-stated in terms of current attitudes, else it cannot properly be understood. This is not so much because of any change in the essential facts, as because of continuous change in current beliefs. Such re-statement of the problems surrounding the American Negro I am attempting now.

Whether or not we call this a race problem, depends on what we mean by race: if we follow the 19th century definition and think of race as a biological group, set off from similar groups by distinctive and heritable physical and psychological characteristics, then even if such races exist in fact, the American Negro is not one because he is the offspring of many different strains of men. But if we mean by race, a group of folk, who by long juxtaposition, common experiences and common memories, continuous intermarriage and wide community of thought, feeling and action have become a social entity such a cultural concept of race describes fairly well the position of the American Negro today.

Naturally in the course of the half millenium since Africans appeared in America this group has differed both in its own composition and in its relation to its social environment. Its members appeared first as straggling servants and adventurers accompanying Europeans; then in larger numbers they came as a group of laborers to fill a demand for the hard labor necessary for exploiting mines and transporting goods. All this was temporary and incidental to an unusual emergency. Then in succession came three crops--cane sugar, tobacco, and cotton--a drug and sweetening; a new luxury and a cheap clothing All Europe, from King to Peasant wanted these goods and the land suited to raising them was abundant in America. Only labor was wanting, and after a period of spasmodic efforts to furnish such labor, English merchants in the 18th century organized the African Slave Trade on a systematic basis, especially for the sugar plantations. The profit from this effort attracted so many ships that the imported slaves overflowed the West Indian and South American demand and the surplus was dumped into North America amid much protest. But before this protest became effective, the North American experiments in cotton raising in the new, rich land stretching from Carolina to Mexico, created an increased demand for labor. The new American democracy countered this by forbidding the African trade, which they were confiednt in 1787 would kill the slave system in time. But this did not happen, becuase of slave smuggling, the increasing domestic slave trade from Virginia and the border states and because of the slow development of the Negro group into an increasingly effective labor force. By 1820, the income from the slave system was too large and too widely distributed to easily be cut off. The slave power had strong hold on Northern trade and British manufacture, and thus on the church and aristocracy.

This aroused opposition in the North from free labor, free Negroes and followers of the democratic ideals of the French Revolution. Thus the Church and society, business and commerce cameto grips with Abolitionists, Free Negroes, city laborers and small western farmers. Substantial agreement was reached by the mid-century on a policy of containment for the slave system of south of the Mason and Dixon line and east of the Mississippi, but this understanding was broken by the growing exhaustion of Southern soil under the w steful slave culture and the increased demand for cotton. The Cotton Kingdom thereupon came to have illusions of grandeur based on extending its system and its profits into Mexico, the Caribbean area, Central and South America. To re-inforce this economic urge came the new theories of Evolution, and the doctrine of race superiority. Phenomenal increase in the Southern cotton crops in the fifties drove the Southern radicals into

determination to force slavery on the nation as a legally recongized labor system.

The North reacted with force, not to abolish slavery in the area where it was established, but to prevent its extention to the rest of the nation and to hold intact the whole United States as an industrial and commercial entity. Thus the war "for Union" began . Two truths soon emerged: it is impossible to conquer a large group of people and force them to do what they are unwilling to do; second , the fatal weakness of the South was its black labor force on which it depended for support in war. This labor force began to desert to the Northern armies; ifrst in driblets, then in vast crowds which taxed the campsl and finally as armed soldiers taking part in behind the line defense, then as front line shock troops. This ended the war, although few writers even now acknowledge this . But it is clear: as soon as slaves in any numbers stopped raising food for the Southern armies; as soon as 200,000 Negro troops were armed, with the possibility of arming a million more, Southern resistence was futile. Moreover as black troops lessened the necessity for Northern drafted whites, the longer those whites in well-paid war industries would be willing and able to finance the war.

The next effort on the part of the South was to return to the pre-war status. This was impossible. The war after 1862, had been fought to "free the slaves," so that the slaves could save the Union. The nation had posed before the world on this platform and thus kept England and France from aiding the South as their economic interests dictated. Slavery then had to be abolished after Appomatox. But the South offered compromise; partial emancipation with some property and civil rights, but no political rights. This the North was willing to accept, but the South made further demands: increased political powe, based on free but disfranchised Negroes; and some compensation for war costs and loss of slave property. To this the West added scaling of the inflated public debt and lower tarif duties. When the South and West threatned to unite in these demands, the North went into action: they enfranchised the freedmen to neutralise the increased Southern representation in Congress, supported thepublic debt at full value, refused to pay for Southern slaves or war costs and raised instead of lowering the tarif on which the new Northen manufacturing depended.

Immediately the two parties came to terms: the South withdrew its demands for compensation and low tarif, while the North winked at the disfranchisement of Negroes , first by force and fraud and later by law.

But the main problem still remained: how were four million workers, without capital, land, clothes, or food going to live and work as modern wage laborers? War emergencies answered this in part: the Negroes worked in army camps, they raised cotton at a dollar a pound and they got hold of some abandoned land. The interval of Reconstruction when for a brief interval the Negro was asfree as his poverty and ignorance allowed and when under courageous leaders he gave the South public schools and new social legislation in the midst of the dishonesty and corruption of the whole nation , Reconctruction gave the whole race a lift and short head start. But only a start: the bulk of the race was still in semi-slavery, still in ignorance, still sick and diseased.

35-3-305

Many Americans by 1870 were hopeful that the race would soon die out. But the Negroes and an increasing number of white friends were fighting back: the white friends, especially in the insurgent and democratic chruches established Negro schools in the South and the Negroes filled them. In a generation most Negroes could read and write. They continuedto hammer at the democratic ideal. The North responded by offering a program of economic advancement which Booker Washington voiced and the South agreed to. But this program was never implemented: not enough industrial training was provided either in public or private schools to teach the newer and better paid skills; unions excluded Negro artisans and the South disfranchised even Negroes od education Race hate was encouraged, lynching spread and wide-spread pessimism reigned over any solution of this race problem. This was accentuated by colonial imperialism in Europe which was built on the assumption that the white race was going to rule the World.

With international orgasinations the American Negro began a new fight in 1910. ~~Armmix~~ Amid two world wars whic crippled white nations and set them murdering each other, the American Negro began to regain the ballot, force himself into labor unions and bit by bit to receive many civil rights and some recognition of his status as a human being. The effort was costly. It made the colonial group provincial, over self-conscious, and only partly willing to recognise any white folk as even partially human. But present trends will gain if the world stops depending on organized murder for uplift and if the United States in particular ceases to mistake Profit for Progress.

COPY

(1) put in "Daily Congressional Record" Aug 11 1949 Atlantic Pact

TESTIMONY OF W.E.B. DU BOIS

I APPEAR HERE/AT THE REQUEST OF THE CONTINENTAL PEACE CONGRESS/TO BE HELD IN MEXICO/NEXT MONTH/AND OF THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS// TO PROTEST AGAINST THE PROPOSAL/FOR THE UNITED STATES/TO ARM EUROPE FOR WAR// THE CONGRESS IS ASKED TO VOTE/A DOWN PAYMENT OF A BILLION AND A HALF/DOLLARS/TOGETHER WITH UNSPECIFIED SUMS/IN THE FUTURE/TO IMPLEMENT THE ATLANTIC PACT// THIS HUGE SUM/IS NOT FOR EDUCATION/ALTHOUGH OUR SCHOOLS/ARE IN DESPERATE NEED OF HELP IT IS NOT FOR INFANTILE PARALYSIS/WHICH IS SWEEPING THE LAND/ NOR FOR CANCER WHICH IS KIL LING THOUSANDS// IT IS NOT FOR CURBING/AND PUTTING TO WORK/THE MAD WATERS/OF THOSE GREAT RIV ERS/WHICH ANNUALLY KILL MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN/destroy THEIR HOMES/ STOCK AND PROPERTY/ LEAV ING MUDDY/AND STINKING DISEASE BEHIND.// THIS RICH COUNTRY/HAS NOT ENOUGH MONEY/TO SPEND FOR FIGHTING IGNORANCE, DISEASE AND WASTE,/ OR FOR THE OLD AGE SECURITY/ OF ITS WORKERS// BUT NEV THELESS/IS ASKED TO SPEND A VAST TREASURE/TO MURDER MEN,/WOMEN AND CHILDREN/TO BLIND AND CRIPPLE THEM/AND DRIVE THEM INSANE// TO DISTROY PROPERTY/BY FIRE AND FLOOD/AND FOR A THIRD TIME/IN A HALF CENTURY/TO JEOPARDIZE THE WHOLE EDIFICE/OF CIVILIZATION.// WE ARE ASSURED THAT THESE ARMS/ARE FOR PEACE,/ NOT WAR.// JUST AS WE WERE PROMISED/THAT THE PACT WAS FOR PEACE NOT ARMS// NONE BUT THE STUPID/BELIEVE THIS ASSURANCE/ MR ACHESONS LOGIC/IS FLAWLES S FOR FOOLS: ~~"GENTLEMEN THIS IS A PACT FOR PEACE." "THANK YOU, GENTLEMEN; NOW ARMS FOR THEE~~

35-3-107

1½/ IT IS LIKE THE LITTLE RED BALL/IN THE WELL KNOWN THIMBLE TRICK/

"GENTLEMEN, THE LITTLE RED BALL/ LOOK AT IT./ IT IS A PACT FOR PEACE./ NOW, GENTLEMEN ARMS FOR THE PACT/TO PREPARE THE WORLD FOR WAR// ARMS FOR WAR? C RTAINLY NOT./ WAR FOR PEACE. RUSSIA?/THE PACT DOES NOT MENTION RUSSIA/ IT IS SIMPLE, GENTLEMEN./ WE MUST FIGHT RUSSIA./ THE LITTLE RED BALL/ NOW YOU SEE IT/ NOW YOU DONT SEE IT. IT IS SIMPLE, GENTLEMEN./ IT IS TOO SIMPLE.

35-3-108

2)

~~PACT, NOT FOR WAR BUT FOR PEACE, WAR FOR PEACE. RUSSIA? WE DO NOT MENTION RUSSIA. WE JUST MUST FIGHT RUSSIA. IT IS SIMPLE, GENTLEMEN." IT IS TOO SIMPLE.~~

35-3-109

WE ARE ASKED TO BELIEVE/THAT THIS COUNTRY/IS IN DANGER OF ATTACK FROM RUSSIA/OR THAT RUSSIA/IS READY TO CONQUER THE WORLD// WE DID NOT BELIEVE THIS/WHEN WE ASKED TEN MILLION RUSSIANS/TO DIE IN ORDER/TO SAVE THE WORLD FROM HITLER// WE DID NOT BELIEVE IT/WHEN WE BEGGED RUSSIAN HELP/TO CONQUER JAPAN// WE ONLY BEGAN TO BELIEVE IT/WHEN WE REALIZED THAT THE RUSSIAN CONCEPT/OF A STATE/WAS NOT ~~BEING~~ GOING TO COLLAPSE/BUT WAS SPREADING.

ASSUMING/THAT YOU DO NOT LIKE/AND EVEN FEAR RUSSIAN COMMUNISM/BY WHAT RIGHT DO ~~WE~~ YOU ~~ASSUME~~ THINK/THAT IT CAN STOPPED BY FORCE?// ~~THIS~~ OUR IDEA SEEMS TO BE/THAT WE CAN CONQUER THE WORLD AND MAKE IT DO OUR BIDDING/ BECAUSE WE ARE RICH/AND HAVE THE ATOM BOMB!! EVEN IF THIS WERE TRUE/IT BEGS THE QUESTION/OF THE RIGHT AND JUSTICE/OF OUR RULE// WHY IN GODS NAME/ DO WE WANT/TO CONTROL THE EARTH?/ IS IT BECAUSE OF OUR SUCCESS/IN RULING MEN?/WE WANT TO RULE RUSSIA/AND WE CANNOT RULE ALABAMA;/ WE TRIED TO RULE PORTO RICO/AND GAVE IT THE HIGHEST SUICIDE RATE/IN THE WORLD// WE SOUGHT TO RULE CHINA/AND HAVE JUST CONFESSED OUR FAILURE WE SET OUT TO RULE GERMANY/AND APPARENTLY/OUR ONLY RESULT/IS SURRENDER TO THE VERY FORCES WHICH WE FOUGHT/A WORLD WAR TO SUBDUE// ~~HOW~~ HOW HAVE WE EQUIPPED OURSELVES/TO TEACH THE WORLD? TO TEACH THE WORLD DEMOCRACY./ WE CHOSE A SECRETARY OF STATE/TRAINED IN THE DEMOCRACY OF

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SOUTH CAROLINA;/WHEN WE WANTED TO UNRAVEL THE WORST ECONOMIC SNARL/OF THE MODERN WORLD/ WE CHOSE A GENERAL/TRAINED IN MILITARY TACTICS/AT WEST POINT// WHEN WE WANT TO STUDY RACE RELATIONS/IN OUR OWN BORDERS/WE SUMMON A BASEBALL PLAYER// IF WE AIM TO RULE THE WORLD/WE HAVE GOT TO LEARN/TO RULE OURSELVES/ WE HAVE GOT TO FREE OUR SCIENCE/FROM THE CONTROL OF THE ARMY AND NAVY/ WE HAVE GOT TO MAKE OUR SCHOOLS/CENTERS OF REAL LEARNING/AND NOT OF PROPAGANDA AND HYSTERIA// WE HAVE GOT TO CLEAR OUR MINDS/OF UNREASONING PREJUDICES/WE WHO HATE NIGGERS AND DARKIES,/ PROPOSE TO CONTROL A WORLD/FULL OF COLORED PEOPLE./ WILL THEY HAVE NO VOICE IN THE MATTER?// WITHOUT EXACT AND CAREFUL KNOWLEDGE/OF THIS WORLD/ HOW CAN WE GUIDE IT?/ YET WE KNOW THAT OUR KNOWLEDGE/OF THE WORLD/IS TODAY/FED TO US BY A PRESS/ WHOSE REPORTERS/SAY WHAT THE OWNERS OF THE PRESS/ORDER THEM TO SAY/ THIS IS NOT NOT THE REPORTERS FAULT./ IF THEY WANT TO EAT/THEY WILL WRITE AS THEY ARE TOLD./ IT IS RATHER THE FAULT OF US/ WHO DO NOT WANT/TO PAY EVEN FIVE CENTS FOR WORLD NEWS/EACH MORNING/ WHILE BIG BUSINESS WHICH OWNS THE PAPERS/PAYS THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS// OF COURSE THE PRESS REFLECTS/WHAT BIG BUSINESS WANTS THE PUBLIC/TO KNOW/AND OF COURSE WE ARE SILLY/TO ASSUME THAT WE ARE GETTING/ANY COMPLETE PICTURE/OF THE WORLD BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN// IT IS NO ANSWER/TO SAY THAT THE RUSSIAN PRESS/IS EQUALLY MISLEADING/ TWO LIES DO NOT SPELL THE TRUTH// IF ALL THIS ENDED IN OPINION/ TIME WOULD ANSWER IT./ BUT IT THREATENS TO END IN WAR/ WE ARE ASKED TO BEGIN/A THIRD WORLD WAR/ON THE ASSUMPTION/THAT WE ARE THE POSSESSORS OF TRUTH/

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AND RIGHT/AND ABLE TO POUND OUR ~~IDEAS~~ BELIEFS INTO THE WORLD'S HEAD/BY BRUTE FORCE// THIS IS A CRAZY IDEA/AND IT IS WORSE THAN FOLLY TO TRY// IF WE HAVE THE ANSWER/TO HUMAN WEALTH AND HAPPINESS/ WE DO NOT HAVE TO FORCE MEN/TO BELIEVE IT/ ~~[illegible]~~ BY ATOM BOMBS// IDEAS ARE SELDOM/CHANGED BY FORCE.//I WILL NOT SAY/THAT WAR HAS NEVER ADVANCED MANKIND,/ BUT I WILL AVER/THAT IN MODERN DAYS/IT WOULD BE HARD TO PROVE/THAT OF A THOUSAND WARS,/A HUNDRED HAD ADDED TO HUMAN PROGRESS// WHATEVER IS TRUE IN THE PAST/ IT IS CERTAIN THAT TODAY NO WORLD WAR/CAN BRING SUCESS TO ANY NATION// OF COURSE WE KNOW/THIS IS TRUE/OF WAR AS USUALLY FOUGHT// BUT WE THINK THAT WE CAN NOW FIGHT/ BY PUSHBUTTON AND MACHINE/ THAT HUMAN BEINGS BEINGS/WILL ONLY BE NECESSARY IN MOPPING UP/ WE AMERICANS WILL NOT FIGHT./ WE'LL LET JOHN DO IT - JOHN AND JACQUES AND POSSIBLY HANS./ WHILE WE PAY THE BILL/FROM SUCH POCKETS AS WE CAN REACH MOST EASILY/ THIS IS CRUDE SELF DECEPTION/ (It has helped make us one of the most hated nations on earth) THE WORLD INDULGED IN THAT DREAM/ of control/WHEN ARROWS WERE INVENTED,/ WHEN GUNPOWDER WAS FIRST USED,/ WHEN ARMORED BATTLESHIPS AND SUB MARINES APPEARED.// IT IS A DREAM WHICH NEVER WILL BE REALIZED// NO,/ THE ONLY CURE FOR WAR IS REASON/ WE HAVE GOT TO KNOW/AND STUDY THE FACTS/AND ACT SO AS TO AVOID FORCE./ OTHER WISE WE ARE LOST.// LETS FACE IT: WE FIGHT RUSSIA./ WE FIGHT CHINA./ WE WIN OR LOSE OR STALE MATE./ IF WE WIN,/ WHAT CAN WE DO WITH 200 MILLION RUSSIANS/AND 450 MILLIONS CHINESE?/ WHAT WOULD WE KNOW/IN THEIR CASE/MORE THAN WE KNEW/IN GERMANY OR JAPAN?/ WHAT WOULD CONVERT

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5/ THEM TO OUR WAY OF LIFE/EXCEPT THEIR EVENTUAL BELIEF IN IT?// AND IS NOT BELIEF, FACT AND REASON/OUR ONLY REAL RECOURSE? ~~NOW AND NOT GUNS?~~/ WHAT HINDERS US/FROM BEGINNING TO REASON NOW BEFORE WE FIGHT?/ WHY ARE WE AFRAID/TO REASON AND WAIT/AND PURSUADE?// WE ARE AFRAID/ FOR WE STOP LOGICAL THINKING/ WE IN VENT WITCHWORDS.// IF IN ~~XXXX~~ IN 1850/AN AMERICAN DISLIKED SLAVERY,/ THE WORD OF EXORCISM/WAS "ABOLITIONIST". HE WAS A NIGGER LOVER/ HE BELIEVED IN FREE LOVE/AND MURDER OF KIND SLAVE MASTERS./ HE OUGHT TO BE LYNCHED AND MOBBED// TODAY THE WORD IS COMMUNIST./ NEVER MIND ITS MEANING/ ~~IN A MANS MIND~~:// IF ANYBODY QUESTIONS THE POWER OF WEALTH,/ WANTS TO BUILD MORE TVA S, ADVOCATES CIVIL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES/ HE IS A COMMUNIST/ AR REVOLUTIONIST,/ A SCOUNDREL AND IS LIABLE/TO LOSE HIS JOB/OR LAND IN JAIL.// AND YET/THERE IS NOT TODAY/ IN THIS NATION/ AN HONEST PROGRESSIVE CITIZEN/WHO DOES NOT SHARE/ IN HIS BELIEFS/MANY OF THE BASIC IDEAS/OF COMMUNISM.// I AM A FELLOW TRAVELLOR/WITH COMMUNISTS/IN SO FAR/AS THEY BELIEVE THE GREAT IDEALS OF SOCIALISM/AS LAID DOWN/BY THE WORLD'S ~~GREAT~~ THINKERS/SINCE THE 17th CENTURY// I BELIEVE/IN THE ABOLITION OF POVERTY./ I BELIEVE IN CURBING THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL POWER OF WEALTH./ I BELIEVE IN PLANNED INDUSTRY/AND MORE JUST DISTRIBUTION OF ~~WEALTH~~ INCOME./ THERE IS/IN THIS BODY OF BELIEF/NOTHING REVOLUTIONARY/UNLESS HUMAN PROGRESS/IS REVOLUTIONARY/ THERE IS NOTHING/WHICH HAS NOT BEEN ADVOCATED/BY THE BEST THINKERS/OF THREE CENTURIES./ BUT/WHAT WE ARE BEING TAUGHT/TO BELIEVE TODAY/IS THAT RUSSIAN COMMUNISM/IS NOT

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SOCIALISM/ BUT SOMETHING DISHONEST/ MISLED/ AND ESSENTIALLY EVIL// WHILE OUR CAPITALIST SYSTEM ALONE/ IS LIGHT AND TRUTH// CALLING NAMES/ DOES NOT SETTLE THIS CONTROVERSY. WE CALL RUSSIA/ AN AUTHORITARIAN STATE/ SO ARE WE./ ALL STATES ARE AND MUST BE SLAVE STATES/ THEY DIFFER/ IN DEGREE OF CONTROL/ OVER CITIZENS// AND PROGRESSIVE STATES/ LOOK FORWARD/ TO TO DECREASE/ OF STATE CONTROL/ AND INCREASE OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM// BUT RUSSIA/ STARTING WITH 90%/ OF ILLITERACY IN 1917/ could not start/ as a free democracy// Only educated people/ CAN RULE SUCESSFULLY// RUSSIA SHOWED HER FAITH/ IN DEMOCRACY/ BY PROMPTLY DECREASING/ HER ILLITERACY/ TO LESS THAN 10%/ IN 30 YEARS// WE SHOWED OUR BELIEF IN SLAVERY/ BY TAKING 86 YEARS/ TO REDUCE NEGRO ILLITERACY TO 30%// we rage at planned economy./ but WE HAVE PLANNED ECONOMY./ IT GROWS AND SELLS OUR CROPS/ IT SETS OUR WAGES/ AND FIXES OUR PRICES/ IT TELLS US/ WHAT TO MANUFACTURE/ AND WHEN,/ WHERE TO SELL OUR GOODS/ AND WHERE NOT./ BUT DEMOCRACY HAS NO PART IN IT/ OUR PLANNING IS DONE/ BY OUR PLANTATION SYSTEM./ BY THE GREAT TRUSTS/ OF STEEL, TIN AND ALUMINUM:/ BY GENERAL MOTORS AND THE DU PONT EMPIRE/ BY STANDARD OIL/ BY RAILROADS WITH THEIR FRAUDULENT BONDED DEBT/ AND WATERED STOCK:/ BY WALL STREET// THIS PLANNING/ IS STRICTLY IN PRIVATE HANDS/ UNTIL IT BREAKS DOWN./ THEN TRUST AND RAILROAD/ BANK AND BIG FARM/ COME CRAWLING TO THE GOVERNMENT FOR RELIEF// THAT we are told IS NOT SOCIALISM,/ IT IS PATRIOTISM// LET US BALANCE/ IN REASONABLE WAY/ THE CASE OF RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES./ RUSSIA HAS NEVER ATTACKED US./ WE NOT ONLY/ HAVE ~~LANDED OUR SOLDIERS~~

~~BALANCING CAREFULLY THE CASE OF RUSSIA IN THE LIGHT OF REASON, THIS IS TRUE: RUSSIA HAS NEVER ATTACKED THE UNITED STATES, WHILE WE HAVE~~ INVADED RUSSIA, ~~AND~~ BUT ALLOWED OUR COUNTRY/ TO BECOME THE CENTER/ OF THE MOST FAR REACHING/ ~~VERBAL ATTACKS~~ SLANDERS ON RUSSIA/ OF ANY COUNTRY/ WE ARE ARE MAKING THE UNITED STATES/ A REFUGE FOR EVERY OUSTED LANDLORD/ AND EXPLOITER/ SPY AND INFORMER/ WHO FOR ANY REASON HATES RUSSIA./ WE BLAME RUSSIA/ FOR JOINING GERMANY IN ~~XXXX~~ 1940/ BUT WE KNOW THAT SHE DID THIS/ ONLY AFTER THE UNITED STATES/ AND GREAT BRITAIN/ HAD REFUSED HER OFFERS OF ALLIANCE/ AND SHE MUST JOIN GERMANY/ OR STAND ALONE// WHEN GERMANY TURNED/ AND TREACHEROUSLY ATTACKED RUSSIA/ WE AWAITED HER ANNIHILATION/ WITH EQUANIMITY// WHEN TO OUR SURPRIZE/ RUSSIA BEAT HITLER/ WE WELCOMED HER HELP/ BUT TOOK OUR OWN GOOD TIME/ BEFORE EASING HER DESPERATE STRUGGLE/ IN THE EAST/ BY A WESTERN OFFENSIVE// WE SOUGHT HER ALLIANCE AGAINST JAPAN/ AND COURTED HER AT YALTA/ BECAUSE WE DID NOT DREAM/ JAPAN WAS SO NEAR COLLAPSE/ AND EVEN THEN WE YIELDED/ NO MORE THAN RUSSIA/ WAS ABLE TO TAKE// SHE KEPT FAITH WITH US/ IN EVERY PROMISE/ AT A GREATER COST/ THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY PAID/ YET WE PEREMTORILY ENDED/ HER ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL LEND-LEASE/ AND SINCE 1945/ HAVE APPARENTLY/ SOUGHT EVERY EXCUSE/ TO MAKE WAR UPON HER.

TRIED TO WELSH on our Yalta commitments

WHY DO WE WANT WAR WITH RUSSIA/ AND WHO LEADS THIS DEMAND?/ WE PROFESS/ TO WANT TO PROTECT WESTERN EUROPE/ AGAINST RUSSIA./ BUT IT IS WESTERN EUROPE/ WHICH SINCE 1917/ HAS ALMOST CONTINUOUSLY/ ATTACKED RUSSIA.// IT WAS WESTERN EUROPE/ AND THE UNITED STATES/ WHO

AFTER WORLD WAR I/ SEIZED COUNTRIES/ LONG RECOGNIZED AS RUSSIAN/ AND ORGANIZED BORDER NATIONS LIKE POLAND/ FOR THE EXPRESSED/ AND DECLARED PURPOSE/ OF USING THEM EVENTUALLY/ FOR CONQUERING RUSSIA// IT WAS NOT IMPERIALIST EXPANSION/ WHICH LED RUSSIA/ TO RE-ANNEX THE BALTIC STATES/ AND TO SECURE/ BY EVERY MEANS/ THE CLOSE ALLIANCE OF POLAND/ AND THE BALKANS// THE REAL REASON FOR WAR ON RUSSIA/ IS NOT HER NATURAL EFFORT/ TO PROTECT HER OWN BORDERS/ BUT HER EFFORT/ TO ESTABLISH A SOCIALISTIC STATE.// OUR COUNTRY IS RULED BY INCORPORATED WEALTH/ INCORPORATED/ SO AS TO FORM A NON-HUMAN PERSON/ PROTECTED BY THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT/, SECRET IN ORGANIZATION/ AND OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY/ AND ABLE TO ESCAPE MAJOR TAXATION/ BY HIRING THE ~~THIS POWER INFLUENCES ELECTIONS, SWAYS LAWMAKERS AND OWNS THE PRESS~~ BEST LEGAL TALENT/ OF THE LAND./ THIS WEALTH/ IS FORCING US INTO WAR./ THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY/ DO NOT WANT WAR/ YOU DO NOT WANT WAR. BUT SOMEBODY DOES WANT WAR,/ SOMEBODY WITH POWER AND INFLUENCE,/ WHO OWNS THE PRESS/ AND CONTROLLS RADIO, CINEMA AND THEATRE/ SOMEBODY WHOSE CONSEQUENT ABILITY/ TO FORM PUBLIC OPINION/ HAS FORCED THIS NATION INTO HYSTERIA/ AND FEAR./ WHO IS THIS SOMEBODY?/ IT IS THE GROUP/ WHICH CONTROL THE CORPORATE WEALTH/ OF THIS LAND./ THEY SWAY ELECTIONS AND INFLUENCE LAWMAKING; THEY HAVE MADE MONEY OUT OF WAR/ THEY ARE MAKING MONEY/ OUT OF THE FEAR OF WAR/ THEY DEMAND/ A THIRD WORLD WAR/ TO WARD OFF THE DEPRESSION/ WHICH THREATENS THEIR BUSINESS/ AND THIER WILD WASTE OF PUBLIC TAXATION// THE ENEMY/ OF THIS POWER/ IS THE PLAN OF RUSSIA/ TO FOUND A STATE/ WHERE THIS ~~POWER~~ RULE OF WEALTH/ WILL BE CURBED AND DISTROYED// IT IS NOT

A QUESTION/ AS TO WHETHER OR NOT/ RUSSIA CAN DO THIS/ AS TO WHETHER OR NOT/ THE PRESENT RUSSIAN STATE IS OR IS NOT SUCCEEDING.// IT IS THE DETERMINATION/ TO COMPELL CITIZENS/ TO BELIEVE THIS CAN NEVER BE DONE/ AND THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO CURB/ THE ANARCHY OF RULE/ BY WEALTH/ IS OF ITSELF/ A CRIME TO BE SUPPRESSED/ AND NOT EVEN DISCUSSED

GENTLEMEN/ MAKE NO MISTAKE/ RUSSIA AND COMMUNISM/ ARE NOT YOUR ENEMIES// YOUR ENEMY, RUTHLESS AND IMPLACABLE/ IS THE SOULLESS/ AND UTTERLY SELFISH CORPORATE WEALTH/ ORGANIZED FOR PROFIT/ AND WILLING TO KILL YOUR SONS/ IN ORDER TO RETAIN/ ITS PRESENT ~~ABSOLUTE~~ POWER// IT IS NOT OUR SYMPATHY/ FOR THE BALKANS/ THAT IS LEADING US TO WAR/ WHAT DID WE CARE ABOUT THE BALKANS/ SO LONG AS WESTERN CAPITAL/ WAS MAKING 75% profit/ out of oil and slaves?/ WE KOWTOWED TO CZARS/ AND SPLENDID GRAND DUKES/ SO LONG AS THEY HELD POWER// BUT WHEN RUSSIA DROVE OUT IDLE NOBILITY/ AND FOREIGN EXPLOITATION/ AND TRIED ~~TO TRIED~~ TO BUILD A STATE/ FOR THE CONSUMER/ AND NOT THE INVESTOR/ THEN THE WORD WHICH LIVES ON LOW WAGE/ MONOPOLIZED LAND/ AND RESOURCES AND COLONIES/ BEGAN TO SCREAM/ THAT THIS PLAN WAS IMPOSSIBLE/ AND CRIMINAL/ AND MUST BE STOPPED BY FORCE.// BUT WHY?/ IF COMMUNISM CANNOT BE MADE TO WORK,/ IT WILL FALL OF ITS OWN OVERWEIGHT./ BUT IT MAY SUCCEED/ AND TO STOP ANY SUCH CHANCE/ YOU ARE ASKED TO HURL THE WORLD INTO WAR.

THE COST WILL BE HORRIBLE./ IF WE FORCE EUROPE/ TO A MILITARY RACE FOR ARMS/ HER

10/ EFFORT TO RECOVER/ WILL BE NULLIFIED.// ANOTHER WAR/ EVEN IF VICTORIOUS/ WILL RUIN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE/ AND ITS EVENTUAL PAYMENT/ BY INCREASED TAXATION/ WILL THROW THE LABORING CLASSES/ OF ALL THE AMERICAS/ INTO HOPELESS TURMOIL AND DISPAIR.// THIS IS WHY/ WE ARE CALLING ~~THIS A~~ NEXT MONTH/ A CONTINENTAL PEACE CONGRESS/ IN MEXICO.// THE HOPE OF AMERICA,/ THE HOPE OF THE WORLD IS NO MORE WAR./ WE HAVE THE CURE/ FOR DISAGREEMENT AND MISTAKE/ IN THE UNITED NATIONS.// ONCE/ WE FORCED THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS/ ON AN UNWILLING WORLD./ THEN WE REFUSED/ BECAUSE OF PETTY INTERNAL POLITICS/ TO SUPPORT OUR OWN CHILD.// IT FAILED/ AND WAR AND DEPRESSION RESULTED/ WE PLANNED A UNITED NATIONS/ INCLUDING OUR OWN PROVISION/ FOR UNANIMITY/ WITHOUT WHICH WE WOULD NOT JOIN.// NOW/ WHEN WE CANNOT HAVE OUR WAY/ IN EVERYTHING/ WE ARE READY AGAIN/ TO SABOTAGE/ OUR OWN HANDIWORK/ AND SUBSTITUTE WAR FOR PERSUASION.

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IF YOU VOTE/ THIS BLANK CHECK/ GENTLEMEN,/ DO NOT ASSUME/ THAT YOU WILL DECIDE/ WHEN AND WHERE TO FIGHT.// WE FOUGHT MEXICO/ BEFORE CONGRESS DECLARED WAR.// WE FOUGHT SPAIN/ AFTER SPAIN HAD YIELDED TO OUR DEMANDS.// WE WERE NEARLY THRUST INTO WORLD WAR/ TWO YEARS AGO/ BY AN UNEXPLAINED "MISTAKE".// WE CAN EASILY BE/ IN A THIRD WORLD WAR/ BEFORE YOU LEARN OF IT./ IF YOU VOTE THESE BILLIONS

11/ HOW DOES IT HAPPEN/ THAT THE UNITED STATES TODAY/ REVERSING ITS TRADITIONAL STAND/ OF CENTURIES,/ IS NOW SIDING/ WITH EVERY REACTIONARY MOVEMENT/ IN THE WORLD/ WITH DECADENT TURKEY. WITH ROYALIST GREECE, WITH LAND MONOPOLY IN KOREA,/ WITH BIG BUSINESS IN JAPAN,/ WITH BRITISH TORIES AND FASCIST ITALY?/ THIS IS AGAINST OUR BETTER IMPULSES/ AND SANER JUDGMENT.// THERE IS MUCH/ IN THE RUSSIAN EFFORT/ AT SOCIAL UPLIFT/ WITH WHICH/ IF I KNEW IT FULLY/ I AM SURE/ I WOULD NOT AGREE.// ALSO THERE IS MUCH/ IN OUR WAY OF LIFE/ WITH WHICH I STRONGLY DISAGREE.// NO NATION IS PERFECT WITH A PERFECT PROGRAM/ BUT EVERY PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT/ TO TRY THEIR WAY/ AND NO NATION/ HAS MORE CLEARLY EARNED/ HER RIGHT TO TEST/ THE DOCTRINES OF COMMUNISM/ THAN THE UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS./ WHETHER THEY ACCOMPLISH/ THEIR GREATER AIMS/ OR WHETHER A REFORMED CAPITALISM/ IN AMERICA/ EVENTUALLY BRINGS MORE HUMAN HAPPINESS.// IN EITHER CASE/ OR IN COMBINATION OF BOTH// SOCIALISM IS THE NATURAL AND INEVITABLE ~~END~~ AIM/ OF THE MODERN WORLD.// IT WILL/ GROW OUT OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION/ of the 18th century/ AS FLOWER FROM SEED.// SEEKING TO STOP IT/ BY RED BAITING/ IS STUPID/ TRYING TO STOP IT/ BY WAR/ IS A CRIME.// LET THE CHURCHES SIT SILENT OR YELL FOR MURDER.// LET THE UNIVERSITIES LEAD THE WITCH HUNT.// LET THE GOVERNMENT CALL EVERY EFFORT FOR SOCIAL UPLIFT SUBVERSIVE.// YOU AND I/ GENTLEMEN/ KNOW THE TRUTH.// GOD GIVE US GUTS TO FOLLOW IT.

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TESTIMONY OF DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS

Historian and Vice Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, on behalf of that organization and the American Continental Congress for Peace to be held in Mexico in September, in opposition to the Military Assistance Bill, H.R. 5748, at hearing of the House Committee on Foreign Relations, Washington, D. C., August 8, 1949.

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I appear here at the request of the Continental Peace Congress to be held in Mexico next month and of the Council on African Affairs to protest against the proposal for the United States to arm Europe for war. The Congress is asked to vote down payment of a billion and a half dollars together with unspecified sums in the future to implement the Atlantic Pact. This huge sum is not for education, although our schools are in desperate need of help. It is not for infantile paralysis which is sweeping the land, nor for cancer which is killing thousands. It is not for curbing and putting to work the mad waters of those great rivers which annually kill men, women and children and destroy their homes, stock and property, leaving muddy and stinking disease behind. This rich country has not enough money to spend for fighting ignorance, disease and waste, or for the old age security of its workers, but nevertheless is asked to spend a vast treasure to murder men, women and children; to blind and cripple them and drive them insane; to destroy property by fire and flood; and for a third time in a half century to jeopardize the whole edifice of civilization.

We are assured that these arms are for peace, not war--just as we were promised that the Pact was for peace not arms. None but the stupid believe this assurance. Mr. Acheson's logic is flawless for fools: "Gentlemen, this is a pact for peace." "Thank you, gentlemen; now arms for the Pact, not for war but for peace, war for peace. Russia? We do not mention Russia. We just must fight Russia. It is simple, gentlemen."

We are asked to believe that this country is in danger of attack from Russia or that Russia is ready to conquer the world. We did not believe this when we asked ten million Russians to die in order to save the world from Hitler. We did not believe it when we begged Russian help to conquer Japan. We only began to believe it when we realized that the Russian concept of a state was not going to collapse but was spreading.

Assuming that you do not like and even fear Russian communism, by what right do we assume that it can be stopped by force? One idea seems to be that we can conquer the world and make it do our bidding because we are rich and have the atom bomb. Even if this were true it begs the question of the right and justice of our rule. Why in God's name do we want to control the earth? Is it because of our success in ruling men? We want to rule Russia and we cannot rule Alabama. We tried to rule Porto Rico and gave it the highest suicide rate in the world. We

sought to rule China and have just confessed our failure. We set out to rule Germany and apparently our only result is surrender to the very forces which we fought a world war to subdue.

How have we equipped ourselves to teach the world? To teach the world democracy, we chose a Secretary of State trained in the democracy of South Carolina; when we wanted to unravel the worst economic snarl of the modern world, we chose a general trained in military tactics at West Point; when we want to study race relations in our own borders we summon a baseball player. If we aim to rule the world we have got to learn to rule ourselves. We have got to free our science from the control of the Army and Navy. We have got to make our schools centers of real learning and not of propaganda and hysteria. We have got to clear our minds of unreasoning prejudices. We who hate niggers and darkies, propose to control a world full of colored people. Will they have no voice in the matter?

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Without exact and careful knowledge of this world, how can we guide it? Yet we know that our knowledge of the world is today fed to us by a press whose reporters say what the owners of the press order them to say. This is not the reporters' fault. If they want to eat they will write as they are told. It is our fault, we who are unwilling to pay even five cents for our morning news. Big business which pays mil- for control of news gets what it wants printed. We naively assume that what we read in our press is the whole truth, when a little reflection would convince us that we have in America no complete picture of what is transpiring behind the "iron curtain". If we retort with the assertion that Russians are equally deceived as to conditions here, that is no excuse for us. Two wrongs never made a right and two lies do not spell the truth.

If all this was simply opinion, we could rest there and wait. But we are asked to fight. We are daily being pushed into a third world war on the assumption that we are the sole possessors of Truth and Right, and are able to pound our ideas into the world's head by brut force. This is a crazy idea and it is worse than folly to try. If we have the answer to human wealth and happiness, we do not have to force this knowledge by atom bombs.

Ideas are seldom changed by force. I will not say that war has never advanced mankind, but I will aver that in modern days it would be hard to prove that of a thousand wars, a hundred had added to human progress. Whatever is true in the past, it is certain that no world war can bring success to any nation.

Of course, we know this is true of war as usually fought. But we think that we can now fight by pushbutton and machine; that human beings will only be necessary in mopping up. We Americans will not fight. We'll let John do it--John and Jacques

and possibly, Hans. While we pay the bill from such pockets as we can reach most easily.

This is crude self-deception and makes us today the most hated nation on earth. The world indulged in that dream when arrows were invented, when gunpowder was first used, when armored battleships and submarines appeared. It is a dream which never will be realized. No, the only cure for war is reason. We have got to know and study the facts and act so as to avoid force. Otherwise we are lost.

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Let's face it. We fight Russia. We fight China. We win or lose or stalemate. If we win, what can we do with 150 million Russians and 450 million Chinese? What would we know in their case more than we knew in Germany or Japan? What would convert them to our way of life except their eventual belief in it? And is not belief, fact and reason--and not guns--our real recourse?

What hinders us from beginning to reason now before we fight? Why are we afraid to reason and wait and pursuade? We <u>are</u> afraid. For we stop logical thinking. We invent witchwords. If in 1850 an American disliked slavery, the word of exorcism was "abolitionist". He was a "nigger lover". He believed in free love and murder of kind slave masters. He ought to be lynched and mobbed. Today the word is "communist". Never mind its meaning in a man's mind. If anybody questions the power of wealth, wants to build more TVA's, advocates civil rights for Negroes, he is a communist, a revolutionist, a scoundrel, and is liable to lose his job or land in jail. And yet there is not today in this nation an honest progressive citizen who does not share in his beliefs many of the basic ideas of communism.

I am a fellow-traveler with communists in so far as they believe the great ideals of socialism as laid down by the world's great thinkers since the 17th century. I believe in the abolition of poverty. I believe in curbing the social and political power of wealth. I believe in planned industry and more just distribution of wealth. There is in this body of belief nothing revolutionary, unless human progress is revolutionary. There is nothing which has not been advocated by the best thinkers of three centuries.

But what we are being taught to believe today is that Russian communism is not socialism, but something dishonest, misled and essentially evil,--while our capitalist system alone is light and truth. Calling names does not settle this controversy. We call Russia an authoritarian state. So are we. All states are and must be slave states. They differ in degree of control over citizens and progressive states look forward to a decrease of state control and increase of individual freedom. But Russia starting with 90% of illiteracy in 1917 could not start as a free democracy. Only educated people can rule successfully. Russia showed her faith in democracy by promptly decreasing her illiteracy to less than 10 per cent in 30 years. We showed our belief in slavery by taking 86 years to reduce Negro illiteracy to 30 per cent.

We rage at planned economy. But we have planned economy. It grows and sells our crops. It sets our wages and fixes our prices. It tells us what to manufacture and when. But democracy has no part in it. Our planning is done by our plantation system; by the great trusts of steel, tin and aluminum; by General Motors and the Du Pont empire and Standard Oil; by railroads with their fraudulent bonded debt and watered stock; by Wall Street. This planning is strictly in private hands until it breaks down. Then trust and railroad, bank and big farm come to the government for relief. That is not socialism, it is patriotism.

Let us balance in a reasonable way the case of Russia and the United States. Russia has never attacked us. We not only have invaded Russia, but allowed our country to become the center of the most far-reaching verbal attacks on Russia. We are making the United States a refuge for every ousted landlord and exploiter, spy and informer who hates Russia. We blame Russia for joining Germany in 1940. But we know that she did this only after the United States and Great Britain had refused her offers of alliance and she must join Germany or stand alone. When Germany turned and treacherously attacked Russia, we awaited her annihilation with equanimity. When, to our surprise, Russia beat Hitler, we welcomed her help but took our own good time before easing her desperate struggle in the east by a western offensive. We sought her alliance against Japan and courted her at Yalta because we did not dream Japan was so near collapse. And even then we yielded no more than Russia was able to take. She kept faith with us in every promise at a greater cost than any other country paid. Yet we peremptorily ended her absolutely essential lend-lease and since 1945 have apparently sought every excuse to make war upon her.

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Why do we want war with Russia and who leads this demand? We profess to want to protect western Europe against Russia. But it is western Europe which since 1917 has almost continuously attacked Russia. It was western Europe and the United States who after World War I seized countries long recognized as Russian and organized border nations like Poland for the expressed and declared purpose of using them eventually for conquering Russia. It was not imperialist expansion which led Russia to re-annex the Baltic states and to secure by every means the close alliance of Poland and the Balkans.

The real reason for war on Russia is not her natural effort to protect her own borders but her effort to establish a socialistic state. Our country is ruled by incorporated wealth, incorporated so as to form a non-human person, protected by the Fourteenth Amendment, secure in organization and ownership of property and able to escape major taxation by hiring the best legal talent of the land. This wealth is forcing us into war. The people of the country do not want war. You do not want war. But somebody does want war, sombbody with power and influence, who owns the press and controls radio, cinema and theatre. Somebody whose consequent ability to to form public opinion has forced this nation into hysteria and fear.

Who is this somebody? It is the group which control the corporate wealth of this land. They have made money out of war. They are making money out of the fear of war. They demand a third world war to ward off the depression which threatens their business and their wild waste of public taxation. The enemy of this power is the plan of Russia to found a state where this power of wealth will be curbed and destroyed. It is not a question as to whether or not Russia can do this, as to whether or not the present Russian state is or is not succeeding. It is the determination to compel citizens to believe this can never be done and that any attempt to curb the anarchy of rule by wealth is of itself a crime to be suppressed and not even discussed.

Gentlemen, make no mistake. Russia and Communism are not your enemies. Your enemy, ruthless and implacable, is the soulless and utterly selfish corporate wealth, organized for profit and willing to kill your sons in order to retain its present absolute power. It is not our sympathy for the Balkans that is leading us to war. What did we care about the Balkans so long as western capital was making 75 per cent profit out of oil and slaves? We kowtowed to czars and splendid grand dukes so long as they held power. But when Russia drove out idle nobility and foreign exploitation and tried to build a state for the consumer and not the investor, then the world which lives on low wage and monopolized land and resources began to scream

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that this plan was impossible and criminal and must be stopped by force. But why? If Communism cannot be made to work, it will fall of its own overweight. But it may succeed, and to stop any such chance you are asked to hurl the world into war.

The cost will be horrible. If we force Europe to a military race for arms her effort to recover will be nullified. Another war, even if victorious, will ruin Great Britain and France. And its eventual cost by increased taxation will throw the laboring classes of all the Americas into hopeless turmoil and despair. This is why we are calling next month a Continental Peace Congress in Mexico.

The hope of America, the hope of the world, is no more war. We have the cure for disagreement and mistake in the United Nations. Once we forced the League of Nations on an unwilling world. Then we refused because of petty internal politics to support our own child. It failed, and war and depression resulted. We planned a United Nations, including our own provision for unanimity without which we would not join. Now when we cannot have our way in everything, we are ready again to sabotage our own handiwork and substitute war for persuasion.

If you vote these billions, never believe that war will never start without your consent. If there had been such an appropriation two years ago, we would have been at war now by an unexplained "mistake". We began the Mexican War before Congress declared war. We fought Spain after she had yielded every point Congress demanded. We can easily be in a Third World War before you hear of it, when the military has this blank check.

Socialism, whether accomplished by communism or reformed capitalism or both, is the natural and inevitable end of the modern world and grows out of the industrial revolution as fruit out of the seed. It is spreading in every civilized land today including the United States. To try stopping it by red-baiting and hysterics is stupid. To turn back the clock by war is a crime.

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Moscow Aug. 1949

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I REPRESENT MILLIONS OF CITIZENS/OF THE UNITED STATES/WHO ARE JUST AS OPPOSED TO WAR AS YOU ARE.// BUT IT IS NOT EASY/FOR AMERICAN CITIZENS/EITHER TO KNOW THE TRUTH ABOUT THE WORLD/OR TO EXPRESS IT.// THIS IS TRUE/DESPITE THE INTELLIGENCE/AND WEALTH AND ENERGY/OF THE UNITED STATES.// PERHAPS I CAN BEST PERFORM/MY DUTY TO MY COUNTRY/AND TO THE CAUSE OF WORLD PEACE/BY TAKING A SHORT TIME/TO EXPLAIN THE HISTORIC REASONS/FOR THE PART WHICH THE UNITED STATES/IS PLAYING IN THE WORLD TODAY.// I CAN DO THIS THE MORE APPROPRIATELY/BECAUSE I REPRESENT/THAT LARGE GROUP OF FOURTEEN MILLION/ AMERICANS,/ ONE TENTH OF THE NATION,/ WHO IN A SENSE/EXPLAIN AMERICA'S PRESSING PROBLEMS.

THE TWO GREAT ADVANTAGES/OF THE UNITED STATES/HAVE BEEN VAST NATURAL RESOURCES AND EFFECTIVE LABOR FORCE./ THE FIRST EFFECTIVE LABOR FORCE/WERE SLAVES,/ ~~AT FIRST~~ BOTH WHITE AND BLACK,/ BUT INCREASINGLY/AS TIME WENT ON

35-3-33

BLACK AFRICANS/BROUGHT IN BY AN INTENSE EFFORT/MADE BY THE ENGLISH ESPECIALLY IN THE 18th CENTURY// WHICH SUCCEEDED IN LANDING/15 MILLION BLACK LABORERS/IN ALL THE AMERICAS FROM 1500 to 1800/ AT A COST OF 100,000,000 SOULS/ TO AFRICA, DISRUPTING ITS CULTURE/AND RUINING ITS ECONOMY.// THIS LABOR GAVE THE WORLD/TOBACCO, COTTON, SUGAR/AND NUMBERS OF OTHER CROPS/AND OPENED AMERICA TO THE WORLD.// THERE FOLLOWED/AN INCREASING MIGRATION/OF MILLIONS OF WORKERS/CHIEFLY FROM EUROPE/WHO BECAME ENERGETIC LABORERS/WITH INITIATIVE AND SKILL/ENCOURAGED BY THE LARGE AND IMMEDIATE RETURNS/FROM THEIR EFFORTS.// WITH FREE LAND,/ FAVORABLE CLIMATE AND FREEDOM OF TRADE,/ THE INDIVIDUAL LABORER/COULD MAKE A LIVING/AND OFTEN BECOME RICH/WITHOUT THE NECESSITY OF ANY WIDE SOCIAL CONTROL/FOR THE COMMON GOOD.// PLENTY FOR MOST WORKERS, WITHOUT SOCIALISM,/ MARKED AMERICA/FROM 1800 to 1900.

35-3-34

BUT THIS WAS POSSIBLE/ NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF VAST NATURAL RESOURCES/ BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF THE SLAVERY OF THE BLACKS./ SO LONG AS A DEPRESSED CLASS/ OF SLAVES/ WITH NO POLITICAL NOR SOCIAL RIGHTS/ SUPPLIED A RICH MASS/ OF BASIC MATERIALS/ AND A WHOLE AREA OF PERSONAL SERVICE/ THE SHARE OF WHITE CAPITAL AND WHITE LABOR/ WAS ABNORMALLY LARGE.// EVEN WHEN THE EXPANDING MASS/ OF WHITE LABOR/ TRIED TO BUILD A DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT,/ INSPIRED BY THE THINKERS/ OF THE LATE 18th CENTURY,/ THEY FACED THE UNCOMFORTABLE FACT OF SLAVERY/ IN THE LAND OF LIBERTY.// SOME WANTED TO ABOLISH NEGRO SLAVERY FORTWITH:/ BUT SLAVES REPRESENTED/ TOO MUCH INVESTED PROPERTY AND INCOME/ FOR THIS TO BE EASY.// SO IN 1787,/ THE UNITED STATES DECLARED/ "ALL MEN ARE EQUAL"/ IN THE FACE OF THE FACT/ THAT AT THE TIME/ NEARLY ONE AMERICAN IN EVERY FIVE WAS A SLAVE.// THIS WAS NOT COMPLETE HYPOCRISY./ MOST PERSONS BELIEVED/ THAT NEGRO SLAVERY/ COULD NOT CONTINUE/ WITHOUT A SLAVE TRADE SO THEY ARRANGED/ TO SUPPRESS THIS AFRICAN TRADE/ IN 20 YEARS/ AND THUS

35-3-35

GRADUALLY/ THEY HOPED THE SLAVE LABOR/ WOULD DISAPPEAR.// THIS DID NOT HAPPEN, BECAUSE SLAVE LABOR/ IN THE UNITED STATES/ EVEN WITH A CURTAILED SLAVE TRADE/ BEGAN TO RAISE SO VALUABLE A COTTON CROP/ THAT THIS CROP/ BY USE OF NEWLY INVENTED MACHINERY/ BECAME ONE OF THE MOST PROFITABLE INVESTMENTS/ OF THE MODERN WORLD.// THE [redacted] SPINDLES FOR SPINNING COTTON CLOTH/ IN EUROPE/ INCREASED FROM FIVE MILLION IN 1800 TO 150 MILLION IN 1900/ and black LABOR/ FURNISHED THE RAW MATERIAL.// THIS WAS THE COTTON KINGDOM AND IT REPRESENTED VAST CAPITAL/ AND THE INCOME OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE.// SLAVERY THEREFORE IN THE UNITED STATES/ BY 1820,/ HAD SO FIRM AN ECONOMIC FOUNDATION/ THAT EMANCIPATION/ BECAME [redacted] IMPOSSIBLE/ WITHOUT CATACLYSM.

THIS PRESSURE FOR SOCIAL UPHEAVEL/ NATURALLY DID NOT COME FROM THE ORGANIZERS OF INDUSTRY,/ NOR FROM PROPERTY OWNERS,/ NOR EVEN AT FIRST/ FROM THE WHITE WORKERS,/ WHO HAD BEEN TAUGHT/ THAT THEIR HIGH WAGES DEPENDED ON

THE SLAVERY OF NEGROES.// THE PRESSURE CAME PRIMARILY/FROM THE NEGROES/ FIRST BY THEIR SHEER PHYSICAL EXPANSION/FROM 750,000 in 1790 to 3 MILLION IN 1840,/ OF WHOM NEARLY 400,000/HAD GAINED THEIR FREEDOM/BY PURCHASE, ESCAPE OR PHILANTHROPY.// THEY ORGANIZED SYSTEMATIC ESCAPE/FROM THE TERRITORY WHERE THE SLAVE SYSTEM PREVAILED:/ THEY JOINED WITH WHITE MEN/IN AN ABOLITION MOVEMENT;/ AND THEIR KIN IN HAITI AND OTHER WEST INDIES ISLANDS/SHOOK THE WORLD WITH BLOODY REVOLT./

35-3-36

BUT THE STRUGGLE/OF THE BLACK SLAVE FOR FREEDOM/DID NOT IMMEDIATELY GAIN THE SYMPATHY OF THE MAJORITY OF CITIZENS/OF THE UNITED STATES.// THIS WAS BECAUSE A PERSISTANT PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN/HAD BEEN SPREAD/AS SLAVE LABOR BEGAN TO INCREASE IN VALUE/ TO PROVE BY SCIENCE AND RELIGION/THAT BLACK MEN WERE NOT REAL MEN;/ THAT THEY WERE A SUB-SPECIES/FIT ONLY FOR SLAVERY.// CONSEQUENTLY THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY/AND ESPECIALLY THE STRUGGLE/FOR A BROADER SOCIAL CONTROL OF WEALTH/AND OF INDIVIDUAL EFFORT/WAS HINDERED AND TURNED ASIDE BY

WIDE-SPREAD CONTEMPT/FOR THE LOWEST CLASS OF LABOR/AND THE CONSEQUENT UNDUE EMPHASIS/PUT ON UNHAMPERED FREEDOM OF INDIVIDUAL EFFORT,/ EVEN AT THE COST/OF SOCIAL LOSS AND DEGRADATION.// THEREFORE AT THE TIME/WHEN SOCIALISM AND BROAD SOCIAL CONTROL/FOR THE COMMON GOOD/SHOULD HAVE SPREAD IN THE UNITED STATES/AS IT WAS SPREADING IN EUROPE//THERE GREW/ON THE CONTRARY EXALTATION OF INDUSTRIAL ANARCHY,/ TIGHTENING OF THE SLAVE SYSTEM/AND BELIEF IN INDIVIDUAL/OR GROUP SUCCESS/EVEN AT THE EXPENSE OF NATIONAL WELFARE.

35-3-37

THE CATASTROPHE/WAS PRECIPITATED/AS THE WORKERS GRADUALLY DISCOVERED THAT SLAVERY/OF THEIR BLACK FELLOWS WORKERS/WAS NOT TO THEIR ADVANTAGE/IF SLAVE LABOR/SPREAD TO THE FREE SOIL OF THE WEST.// THE NATION WENT TO CIVIL WAR THEREFORE/ NOT TO ABOLISH SLAVERY,/ BUT TO LIMIT IT/TO THE COTTON STATES. THE SOUTH WAS DETERMINED/TO SPREAD SLAVERY IN THE NORTH/AND IF NOT THERE, INTO THE CARIBBEAN AND SOUTH AMERICA./ THIS WOULD CUT NORTHERN CAPITAL/OFF FROM ITS MOST VALUABLE MARKET,/ AND THE NORTH FOUGHT TO PRESERVE THIS

UNION MARKET.// BUT THE NORTH COULD NOT WIN/ WITHOUT THE COOPERATION OF THE SLAVE WORKERS/ SINCE THE SLAVES/ WERE SUPPORTING THE SOUTHERN ARMIES.// GRADUALLY/ BY A GENERAL STRIKE/ THE SLAVES BEGAN TO DESERT THE SOUTH/ AS WORKERS AND TO FIGHT WITH THE NORTH/ AS ARMED SOLDIERS// 250,000 OF THEM/ ENROLLED IN THE NORTHERN ARMY/ AND A MILLION MORE WERE READY// THUS THEY GAINED THEIR FREEDOM.//

35-3-38

NOW CAME THE PROBLEM/ AS TO WHAT TO DO WITH THEM./ THEY WERE IGNORANT POVERTY-STRICKEN/ SICK.// THE NORTHERNERS WANTED TO LET THEM DRIFT./ THE FREEDMEN DESPERATELY/ WANTED LAND AND EDUCATION./ A PLAN FOR SOCIALISTIC CONTROL/ WITH SCHOOLS AND LAND DISTRIBUTION/ WAS WORKED OUT BY PHILANTHROPISTS, CHARLES SUMNER, THADDEUS STEPHENS, BUT INDUSTRY REJECTED IT/ AS TOO COSTLY/ AND AS ALIEN TO AMERICAN INDIVIDUALISM.// THEN CAME A HITCH:/ UNLESS THE SLAVES/ WERE GIVEN THE RIGHT TO VOTE/ THEIR NUMERICAL VOTING STRENGTH/ WOULD GO TO THEIR WHITE FORMER MASTERS/ WHO WOULD VOTE TO LOWER THE TARIF/ ON WHICH WAR INDUSTRY FLOURISHED// AND TO SCALE THE WAR DEBT.// SUDDENLY/ INDUSTRY GAVE THE BLACK FREEDMEN THE VOTE,/ EXPECTING

35-3-39

THEM TO FAIL/ BUT MEANTIME/ TO BREAK THE POWER OF THE PLANTERS./ THE NEGROES DID NOT FAIL/ THEY ENFRANCHISED THEIR WHITE FELLOW WORKERS,/ ESTABLISHED PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR ALL/ AND BEGAN A MODERN SOCIALISTIC LEGISLATION/ FOR HOSPITALS PRISONS AND LAND DISTRIBUTION.// IMMEDIATELY THE FORMER SLAVE OWNERS/ MADE A DEAL/ WITH THE NORTHERN INDUSTRIAL LEADERS/ FOR THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF THE FREEDMEN/ IF THE SOUTH/ WOULD SUP ORT THE TARIF AND THE DEBT.// THE FREEDMEN LOST THE PIGHT TO VOTE/ BUT RETAINED THEIR SCHOOLS,/ POORLY SUPPORTED AS THEY WERE BY PUBLIC FUNDS.

THEN BEGAN THE LONG, SLOW ROAD UPWARD. CORPORATE WEALTH, REINFORCED BY THE SOUTH TOOK OVER THE DIRECTION OF THE COUNTRY AND MADE DEMOCRATIC RULE IMPOSSIBLE.

Stet

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES/ IN THE LAST 75 YEARS/ HAS BEEN ONE OF THE GREAT SERIES OF EVENTS/ IN HUMAN DEVELOPEMENT/. WITH MARVELOUS TECHNIQUE/ BASED ON SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE/ WITH ORGANIZED EXPERT MANAGEMENT/ VAST

35-3-40

NATURAL RESOURSES/AND WORLD WIDE COMMERCE,/ THIS COUNTRY HAS BUILT THE GREATEST INDUSTRIAL MACHINE/IN HISTORY-/STILL CAPABLE OF WIDE EXPANSION.// THIS ORGANIZATION IS SOCIALISTIC/IN ITS PLANNING AND COORDINATION AND METHODS/BUT IT IS NOT UNDER DEMOCRATIC CONTROL / NOR ARE ITS OBJECTS/THOSE OF THE WELFARE STATE.

OUR INDUSTRY IS TODAY CONTROLLED,/ AS GEORGE SELDES TELLS US,/ BY 1000 INDIVIDUALS/AND IS CONDUCTED PRIMARILY FOR THEIR PROFIT AND POWER.// THIS DOES NOT EXCLUDE/A GREAT DEAL/WHICH IS FOR THE PROGRESS OF AMERICA/AND THE WORLD,// BUT HUMAN PROGRESS/IS NOT ITS MAIN OBJECT/NOR ITS SOLE RESULT.//THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY/ BROUGHT OVER FROM PIONEER DAYS/WAS THAT INDIVIDUAL SUCCESS/WAS NECESSARILY SOCIAL UPLIFT,/ AND TODAY LARGE NUMBERS OF AMERICANS/FIRMLY BELIEVE/THAT THE SUCCESS OF MONOPOLIZED INDUSTRY/ CONTROLLED BY AN OLIGARCHY / IS THE SUCCESS OF THIS NATION.// IT IS NOT/AND THE HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING / IN THE UNITED STATES/AND ITS PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY/ IS NOT DUE TO MONOPOLY

35-3-41

AND PRIVATE PROFIT/ BUT HAS COME INSPITE OF THIS/AND INDICATES HOW MUCH HIGHER STANDARDS OF LIVING/MIGHT HAVE BEEN REACHED/NOT ONLY IN AMERICA/BUT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD,/ IF THE BOUNTY OF THE UNITED STATES/ AND ITS INDUSTRIAL PLANNING/HAD BEEN ADMINISTERED/FOR THE PROGRESS OF THE MASSES/INSTEAD OF THE POWER AND LUXURY OF THE FEW.

THE POWER OF PRIVATE CORPORATE WEALTH/IN THE UNITED STATES/HAS THROTTLED DEMOCRACY/AND THIS WAS MADE POSSIBLE/BY THE COLOR CASTE/WHICH FOLLOWED RECONSTRUCTION AFTER THE CIVIL WAR// WHEN THE NEGRO WAS DISFRANCHISED/IN THE SOUTH [redacted]/ THE WHITE SOUTH WAS/AND IS OWNED INCREASINGLY/BY THE INDUSTRIAL NORTH.// THUS CASTE/WHICH DEPRIVED THE MASS OF NEGROES/OF POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS/AND COMPELLED ~~HIM~~ THEM TO ACCEPT THE LOWEST WAGE/ LAY UNDERNEATH THE VAST INDUSTRIAL PROFIT/OF THE YEARS 1890 to 1900/WHEN THE GREATEST COMBINATIONS OF CAPITAL TOOK PLACE.

35-3-42

THE FIGHT OF NEGROES FOR DEMOCRACY/IN THESE YEARS/WAS THE MAIN MOVEMENT OF THE KIND/IN THE UNITED STATES.// THEY BEGAN TO GAIN/THE SYMPATHY AND COOPERATION/OF THOSE LIBERAL WHITES/WHO SUCCEEDED THE ABOLITIONISTS/AND WHO NOW REALIZED/THAT PHYSICAL EMANCIPATION/OF A WORKING CLASS/MUST BE FOLLOWED BY POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION/OR MEANS NOTHING.// FOR MORE THAN A HALF CENTURY/THIS BATTLE/OF A GROUP OF BLACK AND WHITE AMERICANS/FOR THE ABOLITION OF COLOR CASTE/HAS GONE ON AND MADE STRIKING PROGRESS.// THE AMERICAN NEGRO IS BEGINNING TO VOTE,/ TO BE ADMITTED TO LABOR UNIONS/AND TO BE GRANTED MANY CIVIL RIGHTS.// BUT THE MISCHIEF/AND LONG NEGLECT OF DEMOCRACY/HAS ALREADY SPREAD/THROUGHOUT THE NATION.// A LARGE PERCENTAGE OF ELIGIBLE VOTERS/ ~~DO NOT~~ NEVER GO TO THE POLLS.// DEMOCRACY HAS NO PART IN INDUSTRY,/ SAVE THROUGH THE VIOLENCE/OR THREATENED VIOLENCE/OF THE STRIKE.// NO GREAT AMERICAN INDUSTRY/ ADMITS THAT IT COULD OR SHOULD/BE CONTROLLED BY THOSE WHO DO ITS WORK.// BUT UNLESS DEMOCRATIC METHODS/ENTER INDUSTRY,/ DEMOCRACY FAILS TO FUNCTION

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IN OTHER PATHS OF LIFE.// OUR POLITICAL LIFE/IS ADMITTEDLY UNDER THE CONTROL OF ORGANIZED WEALTH/AND WHILE THE SOCIALIZED ORGANIZATION OF ALL OUR WORK/ PROCEEDS/ITS MANAGEMENT/REMAINS UNDER OLIGARCHICAL CONTROL/AND ITS OBJECTS ARE WHAT THAT OLIGARCHY DECIDE.// THEY MAY BE BENEFICIAL DECISIONS,/THEY MAY BE DETRIMENTAL.// BUT IN NO CASE ARE THEY ARRIVED AT/BY DEMOCRATIC METHODS.

THE CLAIM OF THE UNITED STATES/THAT IT REPRESENTS DEMOCRACY/IN CONTRAST TO FASCISM OR COMMUNISM/IS PATENTLY FALSE.// FASCISM IS OLIGARCHY IN CONTROL/ OF A SOCIALIZED STATE/WHICH IS RUN/FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE OLIGARCHS/AND THEIR FRIENDS.// COMMUNISM IS A SOCIALIZED STATE/CONDUCTED BY A GROUP OF WORKERS/ FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE.// THERE MAY BE LITTLE DIFFERENCE/IN THE NATURE OF THE CONTROLS EXERCIZED/IN THE UNITED STATES,/ FASCIST GERMANY/AND THE SOVIET REPUBLICS.// THERE IS A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE IN THE OBJECTS/OF THAT CONTROL.// IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY/THE OBJECT IS

35-3-44

TO CENTER AND INCREASE/THE POWER OF THOSE/WHO CONTROL ORGANIZED WEALTH/ AND THEY SEEK TO PROVE TO AMERICANS/ THAT NO OTHER SYSTEM/IS SO SUCCESSFUL IN HUMAN PROGRESS.// BUT INSTEAD OF LEAVING PROOF OF THIS/TO THE FREE INVESTIGATION OF SCIENCE,/ THE REPORTS OF A FREE PRESS,/ AND THE DISCUSSION OF THE PUBLIC PLATFORM.//TODAY IN THE UNITED STATES,/ ORGANIZED WEALTH OWNS THE PRESS/AND CHIEF NEWS GATHERING ORGANS/AND IS EXERCISING INCREASED CONTROL/OVER THE SCHOOLS/ AND MAKING PUBLIC DISCUSSION/AND EVEN FREE THINKING/ DIFFICULT AND OFTEN IMPOSSIBLE.

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THE CURE FOR THIS/ AND THE WAY TO CHANGE/THE SOCIALLY PLANNED UNITED STATES/INTO A WELFARE STATE/IS FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE/TO TAKE OVER THE CONTROL OF THE NATION/IN INDUSTRY/AS WELL AS GOVERNMENT.// THIS IS PROCEEDING GRADUALLY.//MANY AMERICANS ARE NOT AWARE OF THIS/ BUT IT IS TRUE.// WE CONDUCT THE POST OFFICE;/ WE ARE IN THE EXPRESS AND BANKING BUSINESS;/ WE HAVE BUILT/ THE GREAT TENNESSEE VALLEY RIVER CONTROL SYSTEM:/WE EXERCISE CONTROL/IN

35-3-45

VARYING DEGREES/OVER RAILROADS, RADIO, CITY PLANNING, AIR AND WATER TRAFFIC:// IN A THOUSAND OTHER WAYS.//SOCIAL CONTROL FOR GENERAL WELFARE/IS GROWING AND MUST GROW IN OUR COUNTRY.// BUT KNOWLEDGE OF THIS:/OF ITS SUCCESS/AND OF ITS PREVALANCE/IN OTHER LANDS/DOES NOT REACH THE MASS OF PEOPLE.

THEY ARE TODAY BEING CARRIED AWAY/BY ALMOST HYSTERICAL PROPAGANDA/THAT THE FREEDOMS/WHICH THEY HAVE/AND SUCH INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE/AS REMAINS/ARE BEING THREATENED/AND THAT A THIRD WORLD WAR/IS THE ONLY REMEDY.

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NOT ALL AMERICA/HAS SUCCUMBED TO THIS INDEFENSIBLE BELIEF.// THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY/UNDER THE CLEAR-SIGHTED/HENRY WALLACE/HAS CHALLENGED THIS PROGRAM:// THE VOTERS IN 1948/DECLARED WIDE AGREEMENT/BUT WERE INDUCED/BY FEAR/TO VOTE FOR A MAN/WHO HAS NOT CARRIED OUT HIS PROMISES.// THE COUNCIL OF ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS/ASSEMBLED A VAST PROTEST AGAINST WAR LAST YEAR/AND THE RELIGIOUS SECT OF QUAKERS/HAVE JUST ISSUED A FINE BALANCED STATEMENT/ IN THE SAME LINE.// THERE ARE MILLIONS/OF OTHER AMERICANS/WHO AGREE WITH THESE LEADERS/OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT/ I BRING YOU THEIR GREETINGS.

Moscow Peace Conference
August 25, 1949
W. E. B. DU BOIS

I represent millions of citizens of the United States who are just as opposed to war as you are. But it is not easy for American citizens either to know the truth about the world or to express it. This is true despite the intelligence and wealth and energy of the United States. Perhaps I can best perform my duty to my country and to the cause of world peace by taking a short time to explain the historic reasons for the part which the United States is playing in the world today. I can do this the more appropriately because I represent that large group of fourteen million Americans, one tenth of the nation, who in a sense explain America's pressing problems.

The two great advantages of the United States have been vast natural resources and effective Labor force. The first effective labor force were slaves, at first both white and black, but increasingly as time went on black Africans brought in by an intense effort made by the English especially in the 18th century which succeeded in landing 15 million black laborers in all the Americas from 1500 to 1800, at a cost of 100,000,000 souls to Africa, disrupting its culture and ruining its economy. This labor gave the world tobacco, cotton, sugar and numbers of other crops and opened America to the world. There followed an increasing migration of millions of workers chiefly from Europe who became energetic laborers with initiative and skill encouraged by the large and immediate returns from their efforts. With free land, favorable climate and freedom of trade, the individual laborer could make a living and often become rich without the necessity of any wide social control for the common good. Plenty for most workers, without socialism, marked America from 1800 to 1900.

But this was possible not only because of vast resources but also because of the slavery of the black. So long as a depressed class of slaves with no political nor social rights supplied a rich mass of basic materials and a whole area of personal service the share of white capital and white labor was abnormally large. Even when the expanding mass of white labor tried to build a democratic form of Government, inspired by the thinkers of the late 18th century, they faced the uncomfortable fact of slavery in the land of liberty. Some wanted to abolish Negro slavery forthwith: but slaves represented too much invested property and income for this to be easy. So in 1787, the United States declared "All men are equal" in the face of the fact that at the time nearly one American in every five was a slave. This was not complete hypocrisy. Most persons believed that Negro slavery could not continue without a slave trade so they arranged to suppress this African trade in 20 years and thus gradually they hoped the slave labor would disappear.

This did not happen, because slave labor in the United States even with a curtailed slave trade began to raise so valuable a cotton crop that this crop by use of newly invented machinery became one of the most profitable investments of the modern world. The spindles for spinning cotton cloth in Europe increased from five million in 1800 to 100 million in 1900 and black labor furnished the raw material. This was the Cotton Kingdom and it represented vast capital and the income of millions of people. Slavery therefore in the United States by 1820, had so firm an economic foundation that emancipation became impossible without cataclysm.

This pressure for social upheaval naturally did not come from the roganizers of industry, nor from property owners, nor even at first from the white workers, who had been taught that their high wages depended on the slavery of Negroes. The pressure came primarily from the Negroes; first by their sheer physical expansion from 750,000 in 1750 to 3 million in 1840,

of whom nearly 400,000 had gained their freedom by purchase, escape or philanthropy. They organized systematic escape from the territory where the slave system prevailed: they joined with white men in an abolition movement; and their kin in Haiti and other West Indies Islands shook the world with bloody revolt.

But the struggle of the black slave fro freedom did not gain the sympathy of the majority of citizens of the United States. This was because a persistant propaganda campaign had been spread ab slave labor began to increase in value, to prove by science and religion that black men were not real men; that they were a sub-species fit only for slavery. Consequently the fight for democracy and especially the struggle for a broader social control of wealth and of individual effort was hindered and turned aside by wide-spread contempt for the lowest class of labor and the consequent undue emphasis put on unhampered freedom of individual effort, even at the cost of a social loss and degradation. Therefore at the time when socialism and broad social control for the common good should have spread in the United States as it was spreading in Europe there grew on the contrary exaltion of industrial anarchy, tightening of the slave system and belief in individual or group success even at the expense of national welfare.

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The catastrophe was precipitated as the workers gradually discovered that slavery of their black fellows was not to their advantage if slave labor spread to the free soil of the West. The nation went to Civil War therefore not to abolish slavery, but to limit it to the cotton states. The south was determined to spread slavery in the North and if not there, into the Carribbean and South America. This would cut Northern capital off from its most valuable market, and the North fought to preserve this market. But the north could not win without the cooperation of the slave workers since the slaves were supporting the Southern armies. Gradually by a general strike the slaves began to desert the South and to fight with the North as armed soldiers, 250,000 of them enroled in the Northern Army and a million more were ready. Thus they gained their freedom.

Now came the problem as to what to do with them. They were in grant poverty-stricken, sick. The Northerners wanted to let them drift. The freedmen desperately wanted land and education. A plan of socialistic control with schools and land distribution was worked out by philanthropists, but industry rejected it as too costly and as alien to American individualism. Then came a hitch: unless the slaves were given the right to vote, their numerical voting strength would go to their white former masters, who would vote to lower the tarif on which war industry flourished and to scale the war debt. Suddenly industry gave the black freedmen the vote, expecting them to fail but meantime to break the power of the planters. The Negroes did not fail; they enfranchised their white fellow workers, established public schools for all and began a modern socialistic legislation for hospitals prisons and land distribution. Immediately the former slave owners made a deal with the Northern industrial leaders for the disfranchisement of the freedmen, the South would support the tarif and the debt. The freedmen lost the right to vote but retained their schools, poorly supported as they were by public funds.

The history of the United States in the last 75 years has been one of the great series of events in human history. With marvelous technique based on scientific knowledge with organized expert management, vast natural resources and world wide commerce, this country has built the greatest industrial machine in history--still capable of wide expansion. This organization is socialistic in its planning and coordination and methods but it is not under democratic control, nor are its objects those of the welfare state.

Our industry is today controlled, as George Seldes tells us, by 1000 individuals and is conducted primarily for their profit and power. This does not exclude a great deal which is for the progress of America and the world, but human progress is not its main object nor its sole result. The American philosophy brought over from poineer days was that indivudual success was necessarily social uplift, and today large numbers of Americans firmly believe that the success of monopolized industry controlled by an oligarchy is the success of this nation. It is not and the high standard of living in the United States and its productive capacity is not due to monopoly and private profit, but has come ins ite of this and indicates how much higher standards of living might have been reached not only in America but throughout the world, if the bounty of the United States and its industrial planning had been administered for the progress of the masses instead of the power and luxury of the few.

35-3-222

The power of private corporate wealth in the United States has throttled democracy and this was made possible by the color caste which followed reconstruction after the Civil War. When the Negro was disfranchised in the South, the white South was and is owned increasingly by the industrial North. Thus caste which deprived the mass of Negroes of political and Civil Rights and compelled him to accept the lowest wage, lay underneath the vast industrial profit of the years 1890 to 1900 when the greatest combinations of capital took place.

The fight of Negroes for democracy in these years was the main movement of the kind in the United States. They began to gain the sympathy and cooperation of those liberal whites who succeeded the abolitionists and who not realized that physical emancipation of a working class must be followed by political and economic emancipation or means nothing. For more than a half century this battle of a group of black and white Americans for the abolition of color caste has gone on and made striking progress: The American Negro is beginning to vote, to be admitted to labor unions and to be granted many Civil Rights. But the mischief and long neglect of democracy has already spread throughout the Nation. A large percentage of eligible voters do not go to the polls. Democracy has no part in industry, save through the violence or threatened violence of the strike. No great American industry admits that it could or should be controlled by those who do its work. But unless democratic methods enter industry, democracy fails to function in orther paths of life. Our political life is admittedly under the control of organized wealth and while the socialized organization of all our work proceeds its management remains under oligarchical control and its objects are what that oligarchy decide. They may be beneficial decisions, they may be detrimental, but in no case are they arrived at by democratic methods.

The claim of the United States that it represents democracy in contrast to fascism or communism is patently false. Fascism is oligarchy in control of a socialized statex which is run for the benefit of the oligarchs and their friends. Communism is a socialized state conducted by a group of workers for the benefit of the mass of the people. There may be little difference in the nature of the controls exercized in the United States, fascist Germany and the Soviet republics. There is a world of difference in the objects of that control. In the United States today the object is to center and increase the power of those who control organized wealth and they seek to prove to Americans, that no other system is so successful in human progress. But instead of leaving proff of this to the free investigation of science, the reports of a free press, and the discussion of the public platform, today in the United States, organized wealth owns the press and chief news gathering organs and is exercising increased control over the schools and making public discussion and even free thinking difficult and often impossible.

35-3-23

The cure for this and the way to change the socially planned United States into a welfare state is for the /American people to take over the control of the nation in industry as well as government. This is proceeding gradually. Many Americans are not aware of this, but it is true: we conduct the post office: we are in the express and banking business; we have built the great Tennessee valley river control system: we exercise control in varying degrees over railroads, radio, city planning, air and water traffic; in a thousand other ways, social control for general welfare is growing and must grow in our country. But knowledge of this: of its success and of its prevalance in other lands does not reach the mass of people.

They are today being carried away by almost hysterical propaganda that the freedoms which they have and such individual initiative as remains are being threatened and that a third world war is the only remedy.

Not all America has succumbed to this indefensible belief. The Progressiv Party under the ~~clear-sighted Henry Wallace~~ has challenged this program; the voters in 1948 declared wide agreement but were induced by fear to vote for a man who has not carried out his promises; the Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions assembled a vast protest against war last year and the Religious Sect of Quakers have just issued a fine balanced statement in the same line. There are millions of other Americans who agree with these leaders of the Peace Movement. I bring you their greeting.

W. E. B. DU BOIS
October 27, 1949
St. Nicholas Arena

38-5-82

WHENEVER AND WHEREEVER THE DEMOCRATIC METHOD THREATENS TO INVADE THE INNER CITIDELS OF REAL SOCIAL POWER // THEN WE MAY EXPECT PROLONGED EFFORT TO CURTAIL DEMOCRACY AND LIMIT IT TO SUCH AREAS AS WILL BE LEAST DANGEROUS TO THE CURRENT RULERS. // MEN HAVE LONG VOTED FOR ADMINISTRATORS, AND HELPED MAKE LAWS, BUT LAND, LABOR AND PROPERTY HAVE BEEN KEPT FROM THE POLLS AND PROTECTED BY THE JUDICIARY. // THE JUDGES HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM POPULAR CONTROL BY EVERY DEVICE FROM APPOINTMENT BY THE KING TO SINGLE BI-PARTISAN NOMINATIONS WHICH GIVE THE VOTER NO CHOICE. // TYRANNY THEN, WHETHER BY FORCED LABOR, UNEQUAL TAXATION, MONOPOLY OR HEREDITARY PRIVILEGE FINDS ITS LAST BULWARK IN THE COURTS, AND DESPERATE EFFORT IS MADE TO ASSURE THE PUBLIC THAT A JUDICIAL DECISION IS THE VOICE OF GOD.

IT IS RIGHT THAT HERE THE FREE VOTER MAKE HIS PROTEST AND TAKE HIS STAND. IF VOTERS HAVE THE RIGHT TO PROTEST AGAINST AND CHANGE A LAW WHICH THEY REGARD AS UNJUST, HOW MUCH SURER IS THEIR RIGHT TO PROTEST A LABORED AND

38-5-83

CASUISTIC INTERPRETATION OF SUCH A LAW, WHEN THE ULTERIOR OBJECT IS CLEAR // IN THE CASE OF THE CONVICTION OF THE ELEVEN COMMUNISTS, NOT FOR ACTS, NOT EVEN FOR BELIEFS, BUT FOR POSSIBLE INTERPRETATION OF THEIR BELIEFS, THEN EVERY MAN KNOWS THAT THIS IS THOUGHT-CONTROL CARRIED TO UNBEARABLE DEGREE, AND ALL HONEST MEN REALIZE THAT HERE AN ATTEMPT IS BEING MADE TO STOP THE WORLD FROM THINKING ABOUT AND EXAMINING THE ETHICAL BASIS OF PROPERTY, INDUSTRY AND INCOME. // THESE ARE MATTERS WHICH TOUCH EVERY HUMAN BEING. IF YOU AND I CAN BE COMPELLED TO STOP THINKING OF THESE MATTERS ON PAIN OF IMPRISONMENT THEN THERE IS NO FREEDOM AND NO DEMOCRACY. /// WHAT CAN BE DONE? // WE CAN VOTE.

WE CANNOT VOTE AS DIRECTLY AND DECISIVELY AS WE OUGHT TO HAVE THE RIGHT TO, BUT WE STILL HAVE LEFT THE RIGHT TO ELECT A MAYOR OF NEW YORK AND A MEMBER OF THE CITY COUNCIL // BY ELECTING THE KIND OF MAN WHOM WE WISH TO EXERCISE

38-5-84

THE POWERS OF THESE OFFICES/ WE CAN MAKE THESE OFFICES/STAND FOR WHAT WE WANT/THIS FIRST CITY OF THE WORLD/TO REPRESENT.// THE RECORDS OF VITO MARCANTONIO/ AND BEN DAVIS/ SHOW CLEARLY/ THAT THEY BELIEVE IN FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE/ IN OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM/ IN A WELFARE STATE/TO REPLACE THE ANARCHY/OF PRIVATE PROFIT//AND A JUDICIAL SYSTEM/ WHICH SERVES JUSTICE/ AND NOT MONOPOLY.// NOTHING WE CAN DO/BY AGITATION, PROTEST, OR RIGHTEOUS ANGER/AT THE JUDICIAL DICTUM/ OF JUDGE MEDINA/AND THE SYSTEM WHICH HE REPRESENTS/ CAN HAVE HALF SUCH EFFECT/ AS THE OVERWHELMING ELECTION/OF THESE TWO CHAMPIONS/OF DECENT GOVERNMENT/ TO/CONTROL/OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK./

Whenever and whereever the democratic method threatens to invade the inner citidels of real social power, then we may expect ~~and~~ prolonged effort to curtail democracy and limit it to such areas as will be least dangerous to the current rulers. Men have long voted for administrators, but land, labor and property have ~~long~~ been kept from the polls and protected by the judiciary. The judges have been removed from popular control by every device from appointment by the king to single bi-partisan nominations which give the voter no choice. Tyrranny then, whether by forced labor, unequal taxation , monopoly or hereditary privilege finds its last bulwark in the courts, and desperate effort is made to assure the public that a judicial decision is the voice of God.

It is right here that the free voter ~~must~~ make his protest and take his stand. If voters have the right to protest against and change a law which they regard as unjust, how much surer is their right to protest a labored and casuistic interpretation of such a law, when the ~~real~~ blurred object is clear. In the case of the conviction of the eleven communists , not for acts; not even for beliefs; but for possible interpretation of their beliefs, then every ~~honest~~ man knows that this is thought control carried to unbearable degree. And all honest men realize that here an attempt is being made to stop the world from thinking about and examining the ethical basis of property, industry and income. These are matters which touch every human being. If you and I can be compelled to stop thinking of these matters on pain of imprisonment then there is no freedom and no democracy. What can be done? We can vote.

We cannot vote as directly and decisively as we ought to have the right to. But we still have left the right to elect a mayor of New York and a member of the City Council. By electing the kind of man who we wish to exercise the powers of these offices, we can make these offices stand for what we want this first city of the world to represent. The records of Marcantonio and Ben Davis show clearly that they believe in fundamental change in our industrial system; in a welfare state to replace the anarchy of private profit and a judicial system which serves justice and not monopoly. Nothing we can do by agitation, protest, or righteous anger at ~~this~~ the judicial dictum of Judge Medina and the system which he represents can have half such the effect as the overwhelming election of these two champions of decent government to the control of the city of New York

42-6D-7

October 1949

RUSSIA

AN INTERPRETATION

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

35-3-123

I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM MY THIRD VISIT TO RUSSIA IN A GENERATION. IN 1926, THREE RUSSIANS ENTERED MY OFFICE AT 69 FIFTH AVENUE, THERE WAS A SMALL WELL-DRESSED DARK-HAIRED MAN, WHO SPOKE RUSSIAN AND FRENCH: HIS WIFE A HANDSOME WOMAN OF BREEDING AND CULTURE, SPOKE ENGLISH, FRENCH, ITALIAN AND RUSSIAN: AND A TALL VIGOROUS NORDIC BLONDE WAS WITH THEM WHO SPOKE GERMAN. THEY HAD COME TO ENLIST MY SYMPATHY AND CO-OPERATION IN THEIR EFFORT TO SECURE American RECOGNITION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS. I ASSURED THEM OF MY SYMPATHY, BUT ALSO WARNED THEM THAT THEY WERE GREATLY OVER-ESTIMATING ANY INFLUENCE I MIGHT HAVE AT WASHINGTON.

BUT BEYOND THIS MAIN ERRAND THEY WERE ALSO INTERESTED IN MY ATTITUDE AND THAT OF NEGRO-AMERICANS IN GENERAL TOWARD RUSSIA.

I TOLD THEM FRANKLY THAT MY KNOWLEDGE OF RUSSIA WAS TOO FRAGMENTARY FOR ME TO MAKE ANY JUDGMENT ~~OR GIVE ADVICE~~. THEY FINALLY ASKED, ~~AFTER SEVERAL VISITS~~ IF I WOULD NOT LIKE TO SEE RUSSIA AND JUDGE FOR MYSELF. I TOLD THEM THAT I CERTAINLY WOULD. I WENT TO RUSSIA AND THIS IS WHAT I WROTE WHILE I WAS THERE IN 1926.

35-3-124

~~I AM WRITING THIS IN RUSSIA.~~ I AM SITTING IN REVOLUTION SQUARE OPPOSITE THE SECOND HOUSE OF THE MOSCOW SOVIETS AND IN A HOTEL RUN BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT. YONDER THE SUN POURS INTO MY WINDOW OVER THE DOMES AND EAGLES AND POINTED TOWERS OF THE KREMLIN. HERE IS THE OLD CHINESE WALL OF THE INNER CITY; THERE IS THE GILDED GLORY OF THE CATHEDRAL OF CHRIST, THE SAVIOR. THRO' YONDER GATE, ON THE VAST RED SQUARE, LENIN SLEEPS HIS LAST SLEEP, WITH LONG LINES OF PEOPLE PEERING EACH DAY INTO HIS DEAD AND SPEAKING FACE. AROUND ME ROARS A CITY OF TWO MILLIONS---

~~HOLY MOSCOW!~~

35-3-125

I HAVE BEEN IN RUSSIA SOMETHING LESS THAN TWO MONTHS. I DID NOT SEE THE RUSSIA OF WAR AND BLOOD AND RAPINE. I KNOW NOTHING OF POLITICAL PRISIONERS, SECRET POLICE AND UNDERGROUND PROPAGANDA. MY KNOWLEDGE OF THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE IS SKETCHY AND OF THIS VAST LAND, THE LARGEST SINGLE COUNTRY ON EARTH, I HAVE TRAVELED OVER ONLY A SMALL, A VERY SMALL PART. But I HAVE SEEN SOMETHING ~~OF RUSSIA.~~ I HAVE TRAVELED ~~OVER~~ TWO THOUSAND MILES AND VISITED FOUR OF ITS LARGEST CITIES, MANY OF ITS TOWNS, THE NEVA, DNEIPER, MOSCOW AND VOLGA RIVERS, AND STRETCHES OF LAND AND VILLAGE. I HAVE LOOKED INTO THE FACES OF ITS RACES - JEWS, TARTARS, GYPSIES, CAUCASIANS, ARMENIANS AND CHINESE. TO HELP MY LACK OF LANGUAGE I HAVE HAD PERSONAL FRIENDS, WHOM I KNEW BEFORE I CAME TO RUSSIA AS INTERPRETERS.

I HAVE NOT DONE MY SIGHT SEEING AND INVESTIGATION IN GROUPS AND CROWDS, BUT HAVE IN NEARLY ALL CASES GONE ALONE WITH ONE RUSSIAN-SPEAKING FRIEND. IN THIS WAY I HAVE SEEN SCHOOLS, UNIVERSITIES, FACTORIES, STORES,

35-3-126

PRINTING ESTABLISHMENTS, GOVERNMENTS OFFICES, PALACES, MUSEUMS, SUMMER COLONIES OF CHILDREN, LIBRARIES, CHURCHES, MONASTERIES, BOYAR HOUSES, THEATRES, MOVING-PICTURE HOUSES, DAY NURSERIES AND CO-OPERATIVES. I HAVE SEEN SOME CELEBRATIONS - SELF-GOVERNING CHILDREN IN A SCHOOL HOUSE OF AN EVENING; AND 200,000 ~~CHILDREN AND~~ YOUTH MARCHING ON YOUTH DAY. I HAVE TALKED WITH PEASANTS AND LABORERS, COMMISSARS OF THE REPUBLIC, TEACHERS AND CHILDREN.

X I HAVE WALKED MILES OF STREETS IN LENINGRAD, MOSKOW, NIJNI NOVGOROD AND KEIV AT MORNING, NOON AND NIGHT: I HAVE TRAFFICKED ON THE CURB AND IN THE STORES: I HAVE WATCHED CROWDS AND AUDIENCES. I HAVE GATHERED SOME DOCUMENTS AND FIGURES, PLIED OFFICIALS AND TEACHERS WITH QUESTIONS AND SAT STILL AND GAZED AT THIS RUSSIA, THAT THE SPIRIT OF ITS LIFE AND PEOPLE MIGHT ENTER MY VEINS.

35-3-127

I STAND IN ASTONISHMENT AND WONDER/AT THE REVELATION OF RUSSIA/THAT HAS COME TO ME./ I MAY BE PARTIALLY DECEIVED/AND HALF-INFORMED.// BUT IF WHAT I HAVE SEEN WITH MY EYES/AND HEARD WITH MY EARS/ IN RUSSIA IS BOLSHEVISM./ I AM A BOLSHEVIK." THIS/DID NOT MEAN THAT IN 1926,/ RUSSIA WAS A PICTURE/OF HAPPINESS AND SUCCESS.// IT WAS NOT. / THERE WAS STARK POVERTY./ I REMEMBER THE HORDES/OF INCREDIBLY DIRTY, RAGGED AND WILD CHILDREN/OF WAR AND FAMINE,/ WHO WERE HIDING IN THE SEWERS/AND STEALING LIKE BEASTS/THROUGH THE STREETS AT DUSK.// I REMEMBER THE LONG LINES OF RAGGED PEOPLE/ WAITING TO BUY A LOAF OF BREAD/ I CANNOT FORGET THAT PRINTING OFFICE/WHERE WITH THE MOST MEAGER EQUIPMENT,/ SCORES OF EAGER/FOLK/WERE TRANSLATING INTO 200 VERNACULAR TONGUES,/ SOME NEVER BEFORE WRITTEN/ TEXTBOOKS FOR THE NEW SCHOOLS WHICH WERE RISING/ALL ACCROSS THE LAND.// I REMEMBER THE BOOKSTORES,/ THE READERS ON THE TRAMS,/ THE CROWDS IN MUSEUMS--A POOR LAND, BUT A LAND OF

35-3-128

ENTHUSIASM/AND ONE WHICH TO MY ASTONISHMENT/HAD NOT EMERGED FROM WAR IN 1918/ BUT WAS JUST/BEGINNING TO BREATHE/FREE FROM CIVIL WAR AND INVASION/ PROMOTED AND PARTICIPATED IN/BY MY OWN COUNTRY.

TEN YEARS LATER / IN 1936, I WAS AGAIN IN RUSSIA.// MUCH HAD HAPPENED SINCE MY LAST VISIT/AND I WAS CRITICAL.// I CAME FROM FIVE MONTHS IN GERMANY/WHERE HITLER HAD JUST SEIZED POWER//AND I CAME WITH THE PUZZLING/AND DISCONCERTING KNOWLEDGE/OF TROTSKY IN EXILE/AND 21 LEADERS OF NEW RUSSIA/ CONVICTED OF CONSPIRACY/AND/DEAD OR IN PRISON.// SOME OF THESE I HAD MET AND CONVERSED WITH.// I WAS, TOO, AFFRONTED/BY THE FACT THAT RUSSIA/WOULD NOT GRANT MY REQUEST/FOR A WEEK IN MOSCOW.// BUT/DID ALLOW ME/TO TRAVERSE THE WIDTH OF THE EMPIRE/BY A TEN DAYS TRIP/OVER THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILROAD.// I WROTE IN JANUARY, 1937:

35-3-127

P RUSSIA IS A WORLD.| FROM SAN FRANCISCO TO NEW YORK |ONE GAINS FOUR HOURS OF TIME.| FROM MOSCOW TO VLADISVOSTOK |ONE GAINS SIX HOURS:// WIDE, WILD AND WONDERFUL IS RUSSIA:/ MONOTONOUS FOR HUNDREDS OF MILES |WITH ITS

35-3-133

X

BROAD, LEVEL EMPTY ACRES.// YET VARYING INFINITELY/ IN SUCCESSION OF VILLAGE AND TOWN, SWAMP AND FOREST, NOBLE RIVERS.// AT PERM, THE NORTHERN BRANCH OF THE VOLGA/ FLOWED BLACK AND MIGHTY/ BY THE LOW-LYING ELECTRIC-LIGHTED CITY. THEN CAME THE ROLLING HILLS/ OF THE URALS, AND FINALLY THE ICE AND SNOW OF SIBERIA. WE PASSED FOREST, SWAMP AND LAKE: WE WENT OVER THE YENESEI ON A SUCCESSION OF NEW STEEL ARCHES. THE SOIL IS OF EVERY VARIETY. SOUTH OF US IN THE UKRAINE THE BLACK LOAM IS A FOOT DEEP: BUT HERE IN MID RUSSIA IT IS A YARD DEEP, WITH AN UNPLUMBED FERTILITY. WHAT WILL THE WHEAT FEILDS OF IOWA AND CANADA DO WHEN RUSSIAN AGRICULTURE REALLY EXTENDS ITSELF?

ONE SEES/ LITTLE DUN COLORED, CROUCHING VILLAGES:/ USUALLY WITH HOMES STRETCHED ALONG A MUDDY STREET. / IT IS THE SAME SORT OF DRAB VILLAGE LIFE/ THAT EXISTS IN THE WEST AND SOUTH/ OF THE UNITED STATES.// YET THERE was A DIFFERENCE/ THERE ARE FEW STORES/ NO SALOONS.// ALWAYS THERE WAS

35-3-131

A NEW SCHOOL HOUSE, OFTEN OF BRICK AND USUALLY THE BEST BUILDING IN TOWN NEXT TO THE CENTER. THE CENTER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY WAS A COMMON MEETING PLACE, A MEANS OF ADULT EDUCATION AND PROPAGANDA, A PLACE WHERE THE RADIO BRINGS NEWS AND ENTERTAINMENT.

~~WE HAD BEEN RIDING FIVE LONG DAYS THROUGH A LAND OF ESSENTIAL SAMENESS.~~ WE CAME TO IRKUTSK IN THE BLACK MIST OF EARLY MORNING. I STRUGGLED RELUCTANTLY UP FROM THE DRUG OF DREAM AND SAW THE SUNRISE ON LAKE BAIKAL. BAIKAL IS A JEWEL HUNG IN SPACE AT THAT FATEFUL SPOT WHERE EUROPE BECOMES ASIA AND WHERE THE WATERS PART TO MAKE PACIFIC AND ATLANTIC. BEHIND IS RUSSIA AND EUROPE; BEFORE IS RUSSIA AND CHINA. HERE MEET THE PAST, THE PRESENT AND WHAT WILL BE. OUR STEAM IN THE COLD BLAST FALLS AND LIES LOW LIKE LACE ACROSS THE WATERS. THE SUN CASTS ASIDE HER MORNING MANTLE OF MIST AND SHINES WHITE AND CLEAR. MORE AND MORE RECKLESSLY WE BORE INTO THE MOUNTAINS, AND THE MOUNTAINS AHEAD RISE IN RANKS, BLACK IN FRONT AND

35-3-132

IRON: SILVER AND SNOW, BEHIND. SLOWLY, PERSISTENTLY WAS THE RUSH ON, HOUR AFTER HOUR, MILE AFTER MILE THE LAKE REVEALS SOME WARNING OF ITS VAST SIZE AND GRANDEUR: ITS A SEA, A RIFT IN A CONTINENT, BORN OF SOME ANCIENT RIFT IN HEAVEN. SIX LONG HOURS WE FLY ALONG ITS SHORES AND YET WHEN WE LEAVE IT AND PLUNGE TOWARD MANCHURIA WE HAVE ONLY SKIRTED THE SMALL CURVE OF ITS LOWER BORDER. IT IS 400 MILES LONG AND TWENTY WIDE.

CONSIDER THE ENORMOUS TASKS TO WHICH RUSSIA HAS SET HERSELF. SHE PROPOSES TO MAKE A NATION WHERE THE MASSES RULE. MANY WISE MEN EARNESTLY AND HONESTLY BELIEVE THE TASK IS IMPOSSIBLE: THAT FOR ALL FORESEEABLE TIME, THE MASS OF MEN WILL SERVE SOME FORM OF ARISTOCRACY, WHILE CIVILIZATION WILL ALWAYS MEAN THE CULTURE OF THE FEW. CONSIDER THE GRANDEUR OF THE VISION WHICH MAKES THIS POSSIBLE BEST, CONSIST OF ALL MEN. FIRST OF ALL WE MUST FACE THE INEVITABLE DIFFICULTIES OF ALL BEGINNINGS. ONE

35-3-133

ONE found ~~WILL FIND~~ IN RUSSIA in 1936 ~~TODAY~~ DIRT AND BAD MANNERS. // EATING AND BATHING HABITS WERE UNPLEASANT. // EQUALITY OF STATUS, WHERE THERE IS AS YET NO REAL EQUALITY OF CULTURE AND HABIT, HAS BEEN ENDLESSLY INVEIGHED AGAINST, FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE EMANCIPATION OF AMERICAN NEGROES. THIS ~~TODAY~~ in 1936 GREATLY BOTHERED OBSERVERS OF RUSSIA. THEY WERE OBSESSED BY THE GLAMOUR OF CULTURE AND WEALTH IN A FEW, DESPITE THE DEGRADATION OF THE MASS ON WHICH THIS CULTURE WAS BUILT. WEALTHY EAST INDIANS, RICH CHINESE, RUSSIAN GRAND DUKES, BRING TO SUCH PEOPLE ONLY THE DEEPEST ADMIRATION AND ENVY. THEY MENTION THEM WITH HUSHED VOICES AND ACCEPT THEIR NOTICE WITH REVERENCE. WHAT AMERICAN, WHO ~~NOW~~ RAILS AT THE RULE OF RUSSIAN BOORS, WOULD NOT HAVE ACCEPTED A SUMMONS TO THE WINTER PALACE WITH TEARS OF GRATITUDE?

IT was here IN RUSSIA // WE WERE NEARING MONGOLIA, AND ALREADY IN THE PROVINCE OF THE BURIATS. // THE SLIM FIRS STOOD STURDILY, WITH STRAIGHT HEADS AND SHOULDERS SAGGING WITH THE SNOW. // THE LONELY SILENCE OF A SIBERIAN NIGHT WAS ABOUT US. // WE

35-3-134

CLIMBED DOWN A PASS IN THE BLACK MOUNTAINS, FOLLOWING A RIVER HALF HIDDEN IN ICE. // SUDDENLY THE TEMPO OF THE SCENE CHANGED. // A large ~~BIG~~ NEW FACTORY BLAZED UP IN THE NIGHT. GREAT PILES OF LUMBER LINED THE RIVER BANK. ~~AN ELECTRIC~~ A NEW ROAD SHOWED A BEGINNING OF MODERN ROAD MAKING. TRACKS OF RAILS STRETCHED WIDER ON EITHER SIDE, UNTIL A MODERN RAILWAY YARD WAS EVIDENT. // THEN WE SWEPT INTO VERNEUDINSK, NOW NEWLY NAMED, AND THE WORLD WAS SOLDIERS. // THEY FILLED THE DEPOT, COVERED THE PLATFORM, CROWDED A STANDING TRAIN AND MARCHED ABOUT IN OVERCOATS TO THEIR HEELS, BUTTONED CLOSELY. // SOME WITH GUNS, SOME WITH BUNDLES. // ALL WAS NOW CLEAR. THIS WAS A FRONTIER POINT OF CONCENTRATION AGAINST THE JAPANESE THREAT. // PERHAPS ~~THIS~~ there WAS AN AIRPLANE FACTORY, BACK THERE.

IP IT BROUGHT ME BACK TO THIS HORRIBLE WASTE OF WAR ~~TODAY~~ in 1936. ALL EUROPE, ALL ASIA was IN ARMS. AS IF RUSSIA DID NOT HAVE A TASK BIG ENOUGH AND WELL

35-3-135

WORTH AT LEAST THE RESPECTFUL WAITING OF THE WORLD, WITHOUT HAVING TO ARM HERSELF AGAINST MANKIND. THE ONLY HOPE OF HUMAN UNITY TODAY LIES IN THE COMMON CAUSE, THE COMMON INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASSES, IN EUROPE, AFRICA AND ASIA. THIS IS WHY IN THE CUSTOM HOUSE OF OTPOR, THE LAST OUTPOST OF RUSSIA, STOOD THAT MOTTO IN ALL LANGUAGES. "WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!" YET IN THE FACE OF WORLD MILITARISM AND NEW NATIONALISM, RUSSIA INTENT ON HER INTERNAL TASK, MUST PUT DOWN TROTZKYISM WITH RUTHLESS HAND, LEST THE ARMED WORLD SMASH IN BLOOD THE HOPEFUL BEGINNINGS OF A STATE SEEKING TO REPLACE PRIVATE PROFIT WITH PUBLIC WELFARE.

TO ME IN 1949, SITTING IN MY ~~26th STREET~~ OFFICE, CAME THE COUNCILLOR OF THE RUSSIAN EMBASSY AND SAID: WE HOLD A PEACE CONGRESS IN MOSCOW, AUGUST 25, WE ARE INVITING YOU AND A HALF-DOZEN OTHER AMERICANS TO ATTEND. I DID NOT HESITATE. IT SEEMED THE OPPORTUNITY OF A LIFETIME.

35-3-136

I LEFT NEW YORK AT NOON, AUGUST 20, HAD BREAKFAST IN SCOTLAND, SLEPT IN STOCKHOLM AND NEXT NIGHT, MONDAY the 22nd, LANDED IN MOSCOW, FEELING SLIGHTLY LIKE SOMETHING OF ~~OF~~ THE ARABIAN NIGHTS.

THE SUBSTANCE AND REALITY OF WHAT WE CALL THE SOVIET REPUBLICS / I saw ~~IS~~ BEGINNING TO TAKE DEFINITE FORM. I DO NOT YET KNOW THIS LAND IN ANY SCIENTIFIC SENSE OF THE WORD. BUT IN 23 YEARS I HAVE A SORT OF SPECTROSCOPIC roundness OF CONCEPTION AND SENSE OF TIME WHICH replaces ~~EXCEEDS~~ FIGURES ~~AND FACTS~~. BRIEFLY WHAT HAS THE SOVIET UNION TRIED TO DO since 1926 AND HOW FAR HAS IT SUCCEEDED?

1. IT HAS FREED RUSSIA FROM THE YOKE OF SUPERSTITION AND GREED IMPOSED BY THE ORTHODOX CHURCH. MANY CALL THIS ATHEISM, BUT THEY DO NOT REALIZE WHAT ~~CHURCH~~ RELIGION WAS DOING TO THE RUSSIANS UNDER THE CZARS.

35-3-137

(2.) IT HAS ATTACKED/THE QUESTION OF LAND OWNERSHIP/IN TWO ASPECTS:// IT HAS ABOLISHED PRIVATE LAND MONOPOLY/IN CITY AREAS/WHERE OWNERS COULD SEIZE/THE UNEARNED INCREMENT OF LAND/WHICH THE COMMUNITY MADE VALUABLE.// THIS LEGAL THEFT/HAS BEEN INVEIGHED AGAINST/SINCE LONG BEFORE/THE CRUSADE OF HENRY GEORGE.// FAILURE TO ABOLISH THIS MONOPOLY/STOPS THE REBUILDING OF LONDON/OR MODERNIZATION OF NEW YORK.// IT IS LIKELY TO MAKE MOSCOW ONE OF THE GREATEST CITIES OF THE WORLD/ THE 2 MILLION PEOPLE OF 1926/ ARE NOW 5 MILLION.^

IN ITS ATTEMPT/TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF THE PEASANT FARMER,/RUSSIA HAS MADE PERHAPS/ITS GREATEST CONTRIBUTION TO MODERN ECONOMY.// THE SMALL FARMER/THE WORLD OVER/HAS LONG BEEN/POOR AND IGNORANT/AND ABLE TO SURVIVE APPARENTLY/ONLY BY USE OF SERF OR LOW-PAID LABOR.// THIS WAS BECAUSE/HE COULD NOT TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE/OF MODERN MACHINERY/AND INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUE/ ON HIS SMALL LAND HOLDINGS.// YET HE REFUSED TENACIOUSLY/TO SURRENDER CONTROL OF HIS LAND.// THE SOVIETS/FIRST BY DEMONSTRATION AND PERSUASION/

35-3-138

BUT FINALLY/BY FORCE/INTRODUCED COLLECTIVE FARMS/WITH SCIENTIFIC GUIDANCE/ EXPERT MANAGEMENT/AND USE OF MACHINERY.// THE ~~TRANSFORMATION~~ change INVOLVED/MUCH INJUSTICE AND CRUELTY.// BUT IT IS TRANSFORMING/~~THE~~ FARMING in the Soviets ~~INDUSTRY~~/FROM POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND SLAVERY/TO PROGRESSIVE INDUSTRY.// IT SETS AN EXAMPLE/WHICH THE WORLD MUST FOLLOW. (3) THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEGUN/THE ABOLITION OF POVERTY./ THERE IS STILL POVERTY IN RUSSIA/ BUT IT HAS DECREASED MARKEDLY SINCE 1926/AND IT IS NO LONGER CAUSED/BY VAST PRIVATE FORTUNES/ NOR LUXURY SPENDING (WHICH CHACTERIZE RUSSIA BEFORE 1917)/THE IDLE RICH HAVE DISAPPEARED./IN MOSCOW I SAW ONLY TWO ~~BEGGARS~~ men begging.

(4.) DESPERATE EFFORT IS BEING MADE/TO MAKE LABOR RESPECTABLE.// TO ABOLISH THE CONCEPT OF "MENIAL" SERVICE/AND ~~TO~~ UTTERLY TO EXTINGUISH RACE PREJUDICE,/ AND CASTE LINES/BASED ON INCOME,/ BIRTH/OR KIND OF WORK DONE.// THIS HAS NOT YET BEEN ~~YET COMPLETELY~~ ACCOMPLISHED./ BUT MORE HAS BEEN DONE/THAN IN ~~ANY~~ MOST LANDS.// THE OBJECT OF THE RUSSIAN (LABOR UNION) IS NOT TO STRIKE./ NO STRIKE WOULD BE ALLOWED./ BUT THE UNION/CAN DISCUSS EVERY PHASE

[redacted] OF WORK AND WAGE/FACE TO FACE WITH THE MANAGER/ AND WITH EQUAL VOTE

35-3-139

(5) [redacted] PLANNED INDUSTRY,/ SO AS TO MAKE SUFFICIENT CAPITAL GOODS/ FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENT/AND AT THE SAME TIME/ENOUGH CONSUMERS GOODS/AND SERVICES/ AS TO RENDER LIFE LIVABLE/AND EVEN ENJOYABLE/ HAS BEEN VERY DIFFICULT AMID WAR/AND THE VAST EFFORT OF THE WORLD/TO DEPRIVE RUSSIA OF IMPORTS AND MARKETS.// NEVERTHELESS,/ THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE HAVE [redacted] BORNE/ DEPRIVATION OF LUXURIES/AND EVEN NECESSITIES/IN ORDER TO FURNISH MACHINES/ POWER/AND PROTECTION/WHICH ~~WILL~~ may ONE DAY/MAKE EVERY RUSSIAN COMFORTABLE, HEALTHY AND EDUCATED.

(6.) IN THE REALM/OF THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN,/ THE TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL TRAINING OF YOUTH/AND ADULT ACCULTURATION/BY ART, LITERATURE AND POPULAR SCIENCE,/ THE SOVIET UNION HAS MADE REMARKABLE ADVANCE.// IT MAY BE JUSTLY CRITICIZED/ON THE SCORE OF PROPAGANDA/ TOWARD CERTAIN IDEALS:// ON THE CHARGE OF NARROWNESS AND PEDANTRY/ IN MANY FIELDS:// BUT AS COMPARED WITH THE

CULTURAL ANARCHY AND LICENSE/OF AMERICA/AND THE IGNORANCE OF ASIA,/ RUSSIA HAS A RIGHT TO BE PROUD/OF THE WORK OF A SINGLE GENERATION.

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(7.) IN THE MATTER OF DEMOCRACY OF GOVERNMENT/ THE UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS/HAS BEEN MOST WIDELY AND BITTERLY CRITICIZED.// THIS CRITICISM HOWEVER/MUST FIRST BE EXAMINED/ IN THE LIGHT/OF WHAT THE WESTERN WORLD/HAS ACCOMPLISHED/ IN THIS SAME DEMOCRACY.

DEMOCRACY/IN THE SENSE OF THE UNCOERCED DIRECT RULE/OF THE MASSES OF PEOPLE,/ EXISTS TODAY/IN FEW/ IF ANY COUNTRIES.// AND THAT IS BECAUSE/ IN MATTERS AFFECTING THE MAIN INTERESTS OF HUMAN LIFE, DEMOCRATIC RULE IS SELDOM ALLOWED. TODAY IN THE LEADING LANDS, INDUSTRY/ CONDUCTED BY INCORPORATED WEALTH/ IS THE CHIEF ACTIVITY OF MAN AND IN INDUSTRY/ DEMOCRATIC RULE/IS ONLY BEGINNING TO BE ACKNOWLEDGED.// WE THEREFORE CALL DEMOCRACIES/THOSE COUNTRIES/WHERE THE POPULAR WILL/HAS LARGEST INFLUENCE/IN THE INDUSTRIAL STATE:/ BUT THIS WE KNOW/ IS NOT COMPLETE DEMOCRACY// AND A COUNTRY LIKE OURS/COMES NEARER/BEING RULED BY INDUSTRY/THAN INDUSTRY/TO BEING RULED/BY THE POPULAR

VOTE. // HERE NOW COMES A NEW STATE, THE UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS, WHICH SEEKS TO SUBSTITUTE THE STATE FOR PRIVATE INDUSTRY. // HOW FAR DOES DEMOCRACY RULE HERE?

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RUSSIA IS NOT AND DOES NOT PRETEND TO BE A PURE DEMOCRACY. // SHE DOES HAVE DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES AND STEADILY AND INCREASINGLY SHE IS PREPARING 200,000,000 PEOPLE TO BE ABLE TO EXERT COMPLETE DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF HER LAND THROUGH POPULAR EDUCATION, SELECTION OF TALENT AND ADULT PROPAGANDA. // IF THE THREAT OF FOREIGN INTERFERENCE WERE NOT SO CONSTANT, THE GOAL OF DEMOCRACY ~~WOULD~~ BE MORE QUICKLY REACHED.

THE SOVIETS STARTED A GENERATION AGO, WITH A POPULATION TOO IGNORANT AND INEXPERIENCED TO RUN A STATE, MUCH LESS A STATE CAPABLE OF CONDUCTING MODERN INDUSTRY. // IT STARTED WITH A DICTATORSHIP, BUT ONE UNDER A LENIN, NOT A HITLER. LENIN AND HIS FOLLOWERS FACED A

THREE-FOLD TASK: TO EDUCATE NEAR ~~200~~ 150,000,000 MILLIONS IN KNOWLEDGE AND MODERN TECHNIQUE; // TO ORGANIZE MEANTIME A GOVERNMENT ~~AND INDUSTRY~~ CAPABLE OF CONDUCTING A STATE, AND INDUSTRY WITH CAPITAL AND GOODS WHICH WOULD SUSTAIN AND ENLARGE THE LIFE OF ALL RUSSIANS; // TO DEFEND THIS STATE AGAINST AN ORGANIZED AND POWERFUL EUROPE DETERMINED TO OVERTHROW IT BY ANY AND ALL MEANS. // IT WAS A TASK MORE THAN HERCULEAN // THAT IT EVEN BEGAN ACCOMPLISHMENT IN OUR DAY IS A MIRACLE. // THAT IT SUCCEEDED SO FAR AS IT HAS GIVES ONE RENEWED FAITH IN MANKIND. // THE SOVIETS HAVE BEGUN TO PREPARE THE PEOPLE FOR DEMOCRACY BY ONE OF THE BEST EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS ON EARTH, FROM KINDERGARTEN TO ADULT EDUCATION ~~TO WIDE EXTENT~~. THEY HAVE BEGUN THE PRACTICE OF DEMOCRACY BY GIVING THE VILLAGE, THE SHOP, THE FARM AND CITY WARD, WIDE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CRITICISM AND ACTION, // AROUSING A VIVID POPULAR INTEREST IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS NOT SIMPLY POLITICAL BUT INDUSTRIAL AND CULTURAL THEY HAVE ERECTED A STATE GOVERNMENT RESTING ON DIRECT ELECTION FROM

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VILLIAGE/TO SUPREME COURT/AND ALL RUSSIAN EXECUTIVE.// BUT COMPLETE DEMOCRATIC CONTROL/AT THE TOP/DOES NOT YET EXIST.// OVER ALL THIS ORGANIZATION/RESTS AS A RESTRAINING HAND/ A CONCEPT OF SCIENTIFIC GUIDANCE/UNDER MARXISM/AS INTERPRETED BY LENIN/AND 30 YEARS OF ACTUAL EXPERIENCE.// THE INTERPRETATION/AND APPLICATION OF THIS CONCEPT/ IS IN THE HANDS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY// AN INTEGRATED AND DISCIPLINED GROUP/ WHICH HOLDS THE STATE IN STERN CONTROL.// BUT THE POWER OF THIS PARTY/ RESTS ON THE CONSENT/OF AN INCREASINGLY INTELLIGENT ELECTORATE, WHICH HAS TODAY THE CONSTITUTIONAL POWER/TO CURB IT WHEN THEY WILL.// THE MASS OF RUSSIANS/ STAND BACK OF THIS PARTY TODAY/AND ARE NOW WILLING/AS YESTERDAY/TO SACRIFICE 15,000,000 LIVES/TO DEFEND IT.//THIS IS NOT DEMOCRACY,/ BUT IT APPROACHES IT FASTER/THAN WE RETREAT FROM IT.

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I HOPE/FROM THIS SKETCH OF THE SOVIET REPUBLICS/YOU CAN UNDERSTAND WHY/ON THE 25th, 26th and 27th, OF LAST AUGUST/ IN THE HALL OF NOBLES/WHERE ONCE LEON TROTSKY/SNEERED AT LENIN AS A FAILURE// THERE MET IN MOSCOW/1000 REPRESENTATIVES/FROM ALL ENDS AND EVERY RACE IN RUSSIA;// TO SAY/THAT PEACE FOR RUSSIA/ WAS NOT A THEORY/ BUT A GRIM NECESSITY:// 14 NATIONS JOINED THEM/IN THIS DEMAND// BUT ONLY ONE AMERICAN/ REPRESENTED OUR 140 MILLIONS OF WAR-~~MONGERING~~ THIRSTING VOTERS,// IT WAS A DISTINCTION/WHICH NEITHER I/NOR THE REST OF AMERICA/ ENJOYED.

October 1949

RUSSIA

AN INTERPRETATION

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

35-3-183

I have just returned from my third visit to Russia in a generation. In 1926, Three Russians entered my office at 69 Fifth Avenue, there was a small well-dressed dark-haired man, who spoke Russian and French: His wife, a handsome woman of breeding and culture, spoke English, French, Italian and Russian: and a tall vigorous Nordic blonde was with them who spoke German. They had come to enlist my sympathy and co-operation in their effort to secure American recognition of the Union of Soviet Republics. I assured them of my sympathy, but also warned that they were greatly over-estimating any influence I might have at Washington.

But beyond this main errand they were also interested in my attitude and that of Negro-Americans in general toward Russia. I told them frankly that my knowledge of Russia was too fragmentary for me to make any judgment. They finally asked, if I would not like to see Russia and judge for myself. I told them that I certainly would. I went to Russia and this is what I wrote while I was there in 1926.

"I am sitting in Revolution square opposite the second house of the Moscow Soviets and in a hotel run by the Soviet Government. Yonder the sun pours into my window over the domes and eagles and pointed towers of the Kremlin. Here is the old Chinese wall of the Inner City; there is the gilded glory of the Cathedral of Christ, the Savior. Thro' yonder gate, on the vast Red Square, Lenin sleeps his last sleep, with long lines of people peering each day into his dead and speaking face. Around me roars a city of two millions.

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I have been in Russia something less than two months. I did not see the Russia of war and blood andrapine. I know nothing of political prisioners, secret police and underground propaganda. My knowledge of the Russain language is sketchy and of this vast land, the largest single country on earth, I have traveled over only a small part. But I have seen something. I have traveled two thousand miles and visited four of its largest cities, many of its towns, the Neva, Dneiper, Moscow and Volga Rivers, and stretches of land and village. I have looked into the faces of its races-Jews, Tartars, Gypsies, Caucasians, Armeanians and Chinese.

Ihave not done my sight seeing and investigation in groups and crodws, but have in nearly all cases gone alone with one Russian-speaking friend. In this way I have seen schools, universitys, factories, stores. printing establishments, government offices, palaces, museums, summer colonies of childern, libraries, churches monasteries, Boyar houses, theatres, moving picture houses, day nurseries and co-operatives. I have seen some celebrations-self-governing children in a school house of an evening: and 200,000 you marching on Youth Day. I have talked with peasants and laborers, commissars of the Republic, teachers and children.

I have walked miles of streets in Leningrad, Moskow, Nijni Novgorod and Keiv at morning, noon and night; I have trafficked on the curb and in the stores; I have watched crowds and audiences. I have gathered some documents and figures, plied officials and teachers with questions and sat still and gazed at this Russia, that the spirit of its life and people might enter my veins.

I stood in astonishment and wonder at the revelation of Russia that has come to me. I may be partically deceived and half-informed, but if what I have seen with my eyes and heard with my ears in Russia is Bolshevism, I am a Bolshevik." This enthusiasm did not mean that in 1926, Russia was a

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picture of happiness and success. It was not. There was stark poverty. I remember the hordes of incredibly dirty, ragged and wild children of war and famine who were hiding in the sewers and stealing like beasts through the streets at dusk. I remember the long lines of ragged people, waiting to buy a loaf of bread; I cannot forget that printing office where with the most meager equipment, scores of eager, young folk were translating into 200 vernacular tongues some never before written, textbooks for the new schools which were rising all accross the land. I remember the bookstores, the readers on the trams, the crowds in museums--a poor land, but a land of enthusiasm and one which to my astonishment had not emerged from war in 1918, but was just in 1926 beginning to breath free from Civil War and invasion promoted and participated in by my own country.

Ten years later, in 1936, I was again in Russia. Much had happened since my last visit and I was critical. I came from five months in Germany where Hitler had just seized power and I came with the puzzling and disconcerting knowledge of Trotsky in exile and 21 leaders of New Russia convicted of conspiracy and either dead or in prison. Some of these I had met in 1926 and conversed with. I was, too, affronted by the fact that Russia would not grant my request for a week in Moscow; but she did allow me to traverse the width of the Empire in a ten days trip over the trans-Siberian railroad. I wrote in January, 1937:

"Russia is a world. From San Francisco to New York one gains four hours of time. From Moscow to Vladisvostok one gains six hours! Wide, wild and wonderful is Russia: Monotonous for hundreds of miles with its broad, level empty acres, yet varying infinitely in succession of village and town, swamp and forest, noble rivers. At Perm, the northern branch of the Volga, flowed black and mighty, By the low-lying electric lighted city. Them came the rollingsHills of the Urals, and finally the ice and snow of Siberia.

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We passed forrest, swamp and lake; we went over the Yenesei on a succession of new steel arches. The soil is of every variety. South of us in the Ukraine the black loam is a foot deep: but here in mid Russia it is a yard deep, with an unplumbed fertility. What will the wheat fields of Iowa and Canada do when Russian agriculture really extends itself?

One sees little dun-colored, crouching villages; usually with homes stretched along a muddy street! It is the same sort of drab village life that exists in the West and South of the United States. Yet there was a difference; there are few stores, no saloons. Always there was a new school house, often of brick and usually the best building in town next to the Center. The Center of the Communist Party was a common meeting place, a means of adult education and propaganda; a place where the radio brought news and entertainment.

We came to Irkutsk in the Black mist of early morning. I struggled reluctantly up from the drug of dream and saw the sunrise on Lake Baikal. Baikal is a jewel hung in space at that fateful spot where Europe becomes Asia and where the waters part to make Pacific and Atlantic. Behind is Russia and Europe: Before is Russia and China. Here meet the Past, the Present and What Will be. Our steam in the cold blast falls and lies low like lace across the waters. The sun casts aside her morning mantle of mist and shines white and clear. More and more recklessly we bore into the mountains, and the mountains ahead rise in ranks, black in front and iron and silver and snow, behind. Slowly, persistently was the rush on, hour after hour, mile after mile the lake reveals some warning of its vast size and grandeur: its a sea, a rift in a continent, born of some ancient rift in Heaven. Six long hours we fly along its shores and yet when we leave it and plunge toward Manchuria we have only skirted the small curve of its lower border. It is 400 miles long and twenty wide.

Consider the enormous tasks to which Russia had set herself. She proposed to make a nation, where the masses rule. Many wise men earnestly and

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honestly beleved the task im impossible. That for all foreseeable time, the mass of men will serve some form of aristocracy, while civilization will always mean the culture of the few. Consider the grandeur of the vision which makes this possible best, consist of all men. First of all we must face the inevitable difficulties of all beginnings. One found in Russia in 1936, dirt, and bad manners. Eating and bathing habits were unpleasant. Equality of status, where there is as yet no real equality of culture and habit has been endlessly inveighed against, from the French Revolution to the Emancipation of American Negroes. This in 1936, greatly bothered observers of Russia. They were obsessed by the glamour of culture and wealth in a few, despite the degradation of the mass on which this culture was built. Wealthy East Indians, Rich Chinese, Russian Grand Dukes, bring to such people only the deepest admiration and envy. They mention them with hushed voices and accept their notice with reverence. What American, who rails at the rule of Russian Boors, would not have accepted a summons to the winter palace with tears of gratitude?

It was here in Russia we were nearing Mongolia, and already in the province of the Buriats. The slim firs stood sturdily, with straight heads and shoulders sagging with snow. The lonely silence of a Siberian night was about us. We climbed down a pass in the Black Mountains, following a river half hidden in ice. Suddenly the tempo of the scene changed. A Large new factory blazed up in the night. Great piles of lumber lined the river bank. A new road showed a beginning of modern road making. Tracks of rails stretched wider on either side, until a modern railway yard was evident. Then we swept into Verneudinsk, now newly named, and the world was soldiers. They filled the depot, covered the platform, crowded a standing train and marched about in overcoats to their heels, buttoned closely. Some with guns, some with bundles. All

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was now clear. This was a frontier point of concentration against the Japanese threat. Perhaps there was an airplane factory, back there.

It brought me back to this horrible waste of war. In 1936, all Europe, all Asia was in arms. As if Russia did not have a task big enough and well worth at least the respectful waiting of the world, without having to arm herself against mankind. The only hope of human unity today lies in the common cause, the common interests of the working classes, in Europe, Africa and Asia. This is why in the custom house of Otpor, the Last Out-Post of Russia, stood that motto in all languages. "Workers of the world Unite! " Yet in the face of world militarism and new nationalism, Russia intent on her internal task, must put down Trotzkyism with ruthless hand, lest the armed world smash in blood the hopeful beginnings of a state seeking to replace private profit with public welfare.

To me in 1949, sitting in my office, came the Councillor of the Russian Embassy and said: "We hold a Peace Congress in Moscow, August, 25, we are inviting you and a half dozen other Americans to attend. I did not hesitate. It seemed the opportunity of a lifetime. I left New York at noon, August 20, had breakfast in Scotland, slept in Stockholm and next night, Monday the 22nd, landed in Moscow, feeling slightly like something of the Arabian Nights.

The substance and reality of what we call the Soviet Republics, I saw beginning to take definite form. I do not yet know this land in any scientific sense of the word. But in 25 years I have sort of spectroscopic roundness of conception and sense of time which replaces figures. Briefly what has the Soviet Union tried to do since ~~1922~~ 1926 and how far has it succeeded?

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(1) It has freed Russia from the yoke of superstition and greed imposed by the Orthodox Church. Many call this Atheism, but they do not realize what religion was doing to the Russians under the Czars.

(2) It has attacked the question of land ownership in two aspects: it has abolished private land monopoly in city areas where owners could seize the unearned increment of land which the community made valuable. This legal thef has been inveighed against since long before the crusade of Henry George. Failure to abolish this monopoly stops the rebuilding of London or modernization of New York. It is likely to make Moscow one of the greatest cities of the world. The 2 million people of 1926 are now 5 million.

In its attempt to solve the problem of the peasant farmer, Russia has made perhaps its greatest contribution to modern economy. The small farmer the world over has long been poor and ignorant and able to survive apparently only by use of serf or low-paid labor. This was because he could not take full advantage of modern machinery and industrial technique on his small land holdings. Yet he refused tenaciously to surrender control of his land. The Soviets first by demonstration and persuasion, but finally by force introduced Collective Farms with scientific guidance, expert management and the use of machinery. The change involved much injustice and cruelty, but it is transforming farming in the Soviets from poverty, ignorance and slavery to progressive industry. It sets an example which the world must follow.

(3) The Soviet Union has begun the abolition of poverty. There is still poverty in Russia, but it has decreased markedly since 1926 and it is no longer caused by vast private fortunes nor luxury spending, which characterized Russia before 1917. The Idle Rich have disappeardd. In Moscow I saw only two men begging.

(4) Desperate effort is being made to make labor respectable, to abolish the concept of "Menial" service and utterly to extinguish Race Prejudice, and caste lines based on income, birth or kind of work done. This has not yet been accomplished, but more has been done than in most lands. The object of the Russian Labor Union is not to strike! No strike would be allowed, but the Union can discuss every phase of work and wage face to face with the manager and with equal vote.

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(5) Planned industry, so as to make sufficient capital goods for future development and at the same time enough consumers goods and services as to render life livable and even enjoyable has been very difficult amid war and the vast effort of the world to deprive Russia of imports and markets. Nevertheless, the Russian people have borne deprivation of luxuries and even necessities in order to furnish machines, power and protection which may one day make every Russian comfortable, healthy and educated.

(6) In the realm of the education of children, the technical and professional training of youth and adult acculturation by art, literature and popular science, the Soviet Union has made remarkable advance. It may be justly criticized on the score of propaganda, toward certain ideals: on the charge of narrowness and pedantry in many fields: but as compared with the cultural anarchy and license of America and the ignorance of Asia, Russia has a right to be proud of the work of a single generation.

(7) In the matter of democracy of government , the Union of Soviet Republics has been most widly and bitterly dritized. This criticism however must first be examined in the light of what the Western world has accomplished in this same democracy.

Democracy in the sense of the uncoerced direct rule of the masses of people exists today in few if any countries. And that is because in matters affecting the main interests of human life, democratic rule is seldom allowed. Today in the leading lands, industry conducted by incorporated wealth is the chief activity of man in industry. Democratic rule is only beginning to be acknowledged. We therefore call democracies those countries where the popular will has largest influence in the industrial state: but this we know is not complete democracy and a country like ours comes nearer being ruled by industry than industry to being ruled by the popular vote. Here now comes a new state, The Union of Soviet Republics which seeks to substitute the state for private industry. How far does democracy rule here?

Russia is not and does not pretend to be a pure democracy. She does have democratic processes and steadily and increasingly she is preparing 200,000,000 people to be able to exert complete democratic control of her land through popular education, selection of talent and adult

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propaganda. If the threat of foreign interference were not so constant, the goal of democracy would be more quickly reached.

The Soviets started a generation ago, with a population too ignorant and inexperienced to run a state, much less a state capable of conducting modern industry. It started with a dictatorship, but one under a Lenin, not a Hitler. Lenin and his followers faced a three -fold task: To educate near 150,000,000 millions in knowledge and modern technique: To organize meantime a government capable of conducting a state, and industry and capital and goods which would sustain and enlarge the life of all Russians To defend this state against an organized and powerful Europe determined to overthrow it by any and all means. It was a task more than herculean: That it even began accomplishment in our day is a miracle; that it succeeded so far as it has gives one renewed faith in mankind. The Soviets have begun to prepare the people for democracy by one of the best educational systems on earth. From kindergarten to adult education they have begun the practice of democracy by giving the village, the shop, the farm and city ward, wide freedom of thought, criticism and action. Arousing a vivid popular interest in public affairs not simply political but industrial and cultural. They have erected a state government resting on direct election from village to supreme court and all-Russian executive. But complete democratic control at the top does not yet exist. Over all this organization rests a restraining hand, a concept of scientific guidance under Marxism as interpreted by Lenin and by 30 years of actual experience. The interpretation and application of this concept is in the hands of the Communist party, an integrated and disciplined group which holds the state in stern control. But the power of this party rests on the consent of an increasingly intelligent electorate, which has today the constitutional power to curb it

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when they will. The mass of Russians stand back of this party today and are now willing as yesterday to sacrifice 15,000,000 lives to defend it. This is not democracy, but it approaches it faster then we retreat from it.

I hope from this sketch of the Soviet Republics you can understand why on the 25th, 26th and 27th, of last August, in the Hall of Nobles where Leon Trotsky sneered at Lenin as a failure, there met in Moscow 1000 representatives from all ends and every race in Russia: To say that Peace for Russia was not a theory but a grim necessity: 14 nations joined them in this demand, but only one American represented our 140 millions of war-thirsting voters. It was a distinction which neither I nor the rest of America enjoyed.

October 1949

RUSSIA

AN INTERPRETATION

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

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One sees little dun-colored, crouching villages: usually with homes stretched along one muddy street. It is the same sort of drab village life that exists in the West and South of the United States. Yet there is a difference: there are few stores, no saloons. Always there is a new school house, often of brick and usually the best building in town next to the Center. The Center of the Communist Party is a common meeting place, a means of adult education and propaganda: a place where the radio brings news and entertainment.

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Consider the enormous tasks to which Russia has set herself. She proposed to make a nation where the masses rule. Many wise men earnestly and honestly believe the task is impossible: that for all foreseeable time, the mass of men will serve some form of aristocracy, while civilization will always mean the culture of the few. Consider though the grandeur of the vision which makes this possible best, Consist of all men. First of all we must face the inevitable difficulties of all beginnings. One found in Russia in 1936 dirt and bad manners. Eating and bathing habits were unpleasant. Equality of status, where there is as yet no real equality of culture and habit, has been endlessly inveighed against, from the French Revolution to the Emancipation of American Negroes. This in 1936 greatly bothered observers of Russia. They were obsessed by the glamour of culture and wealth in a few, despite the degradation of the mass on which this culture was built. Wealthy East Indians, Rich Chinese, Russian Grand Dukes, bringto such people only the deepest admiration and envy. They mention them with hushed voices and accept their notice with reverence. What American, who rails at the rule of Russian Boors, would not have accepted a summons to the Winter Palace with tears of gratitude?

We were nearing Mongolia, and already in the Province of the Buriats. The slim firs stood sturdily, with straight heads and shoulders sagging with snow. The lonely silence of a Siberian night was about us. We

climbed down a pass in the Black Mountains, following a river half hidden in ice. Suddenly the tempo of the scene changed. A large new factory blazed up in the night. Great piles of lumber lined the river bank. An electric road showed a beginning of modern road making. Tracks of rails stretched wider on either side, until a modern railway yard was evident. Then we swept into Vereudinsk, now new named, and the world was soldiers. They filled the depot, covered the platform crowded a standing train and marched about in overcoast to their heels, buttoned closely: some with guns, some with bundles. All was now clear. This was a frontier point of concentration against the Japanese threat. Perhaps there was an air-plane factory, back there.

35-3-188

In 1936

It brought me back to this horrible waste of war. All Europe, all Asia was in Arms. As if Russia did not have a task big enough and well worth at least the respectful waiting of the world, without having to arm herself against mankind. The only hope of human unity today lies in the common cause, the common interests of the working classes, in Europe, Africa and Asia. This is why in the custom house of Otpor, the last out-post of Russia, stood that motto in all languages. "Workers of the World Unite!" Yet in the face of world militarism and new nationalism, Russia intent on her internal task, must put down Trotzkysim with ruthless hand, lest the armed world smash in blood the hopeful beginnings of a state seeking to replace private profit with public welfare.

To me in 1949, sitting in my 26th street office, came the Councillor of the Russian Embassy and said: We hold a Peace Congress in Moscow, August 25. We are inviting you and a half-dozen other Americans to attend. I did not hesitate. It seemed the opportunity of a lifetime. I left New York at noon, August 20, had breakfast in Scotland, slept in Stockholm and next night, Monday the 22nd, landed in Moscow, feeling slightly like

like something out of the Arabian Nights.

The substance and reality of what we call the Soviet Republics is beginning to take definite form. I do not yet know this land in any scientfic sense of the words. But in 23 years I have a sort os spectroscopic fullness of conception and sense of time which replaces figures ~~and facts~~. Briefly what has the Soviet Union tried to do since 1926 and how far has it succeeded?

35-3-189

1. It has freed Russia from the yoke of superstition and greed imposed by the Orthodox Church. Many call this Atheism, but they do not realize what state religion was doing to the Russians under the Czars.
2. It has attacked the question of land ownership in two aspects: It has abolished private land monopoly in city areas where owners could seize the unearned increment of land which the community made valuable. This legal theft has been inveighed against since long before the crusade of Henry George. Failure to abolish this monopoly stops the rebuilding of London or modernization of New York. It is likely to make Moscow the greatest city of the world.

45-3-59

In its attempt to solve the problem of the peasant farmer, Russia has made perhaps its greatest contribution to modern economy. The small farmer the world over has long been poor and ignorant and able to survive apparently only by use of serf or low-paid labor. This was because he could not take full advantage of modern machinery and industrial technique on his small land holdings. Yet he refused tenaciously to surrender control of his land. The Soviets first by demonstration and persuasion but finally by force introduced collective farms with scientific guidance, expert management and use of machinery. The ~~transformation~~ change involved much

injustice and curelty, but it is transforming farming in the Soviets from poverty, ignorance and slavery to progressive industry. It sets an example which the world must follow.

35-3-19

3. The Soviet Union has begun the abolition of poverty. There is still poverty in Russia, but it has decreased markedly since 1926 and it is no longer caused by vast private fortunes nor luxury spending. The idle rich have disappeared. In Moscow I saw two ~~beggars.~~ men-begging

4. Desperate effort is being made to make labor respectable, to abolish the concept of "Menial" service and utterly to extinguish race prejudice, and caste lines based on income, birth or kind of work done. This has not been yet completely accomplished, but more has been done than in ~~any other country.~~ most lands. The object of the Russian Union is not strife. No strikes would be allowed. But the Union can discuss end phase of work and wage fault to face with the manager and with equal vote

5. Planned industry, so as to make sufficient capital goods for future development and at the same time enough consumers goods and services so as to make life livable and even enjoyable has been very difficult amid war and the vast effort of the world to deprive Russia of imports and markets. Nevertheless, the Russian people have bravely borne deprivation of luxuries and even necessities in order to furnish machines power and protection which may one day make every Russian comfortable, healthy and educated.

25-3-20

6. In the realm of the education of children, the technical and professional training of youth and adult acculturation by art, literature and popular science, the Soviet Union has made remarkable advance. It may be critized or the score of propaganda toward certain ideals: on the charge of narrowness and pedantry in many fields: but as compared with the anarchy and license of America and the ignorance of Asia, Russia has a right to be proud of the work of a single generation.

7. In the matter of democracy in government, the Union of Soviet Republics has been most widely and bitterly critized, this criticism however must first be examined in the light of what the Western World has accomplished in this same democracy. It is nothing less than idotic for the United States to pose today as a Pattern of Democracy.

Russia is not and does not pretend to be a pure democracy. She does have democratic processes and steadily and increasingly she is preparing 200,000,000 people to be able to exert complete democratic control of her land through popular education, selection of talent and adult propaganda. If the threat of foreign interference were not so constant, the goal of democracy would be more quickly reached. As it is, and with the memory of ten years of invasion, two world wars and a third one possible, Russia controls her people sternly by a disciplined political group which has proven its efficiency during 32 years of desperate strift. There cannot be any doubt but that the overwhelming mass of Russians trust this leadership and are willing again to lay down ten millions of lives to keep the Communist Party in power.

All this may be attacked and criticized:

1. On the ground that socialism in itself is inherently wrong and should never be attempted.
2. That socialism may be possible or even desirable, but that the Soviet approach and accomplishment is not good enough to merit approval.
3. That the Soviets have accomplished much which is commendable but that the methods used for this must be condemned.

The answers are: Socialism is right, is increasing in the world and in America and ought to! That no Russian denies that much which his country

has done in the last generation is unfortunate and regretable, but the Soviets have a right to say that the fault lies not alone with Russia, but with a greedy, cruel, bloodthirsty world who gave this oppressed, degraded and exploited nation, small choice for nicities of manner or demeanor but forced them to struggle by every or any means or sink to slavery and derision.

25-3-42

25-3-42

1st draft

SPOKEN AT BEN DAVIS RALLY
NOVEMBER 6, 1949

GOVERNMENT [redacted] AND FREEDOM

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

35-3-04

My task today is simple and introductory to the main objects of this meeting. I have been occupying for a month the purely ornamental position of chairman of a committee to re-elect Ben Davis to the City Council of New York. The real work of this committee has been done by others and done effectively. I finish my nominal task therefore by opening this meeting and then turning it over to the speakers whom you came to hear.

It would not however be out of place for me to preface these talks by certain general considerations which ought not to be ignored and which nevertheless might be in the excitement of the moment. You are periodically called up, ~~hastily and~~ rather suddenly to take part in a political campaign. Once that is over apparently your political duties cease for a year or two. This of course is a dangerously wrong concept of your present activities and your continuous duty. You are ~~not~~ taking part in the great task of helping to govern one of the most powerful nations of the earth. You cannot conceive a more important function, or one more fatal for yourselves now and in the future. This is not a short interlude: it is an all time job which should ~~engage~~ demand your thought and action all the year.

Certainly for more than 5000 years the necessity of government has engaged the thought of human beings. Humanity was young, very young, when it was clear that everybody could not do as he pleased if life lasted. For defense against beasts, for supplying food and shelter , for avoiding accident men must work together and must yield freedom to government. But in whose hands should the power of government lay, to bring the best results to all? First, and naturally, in the hands of the Father by reason of his

35-3-05

strength and experience. Then logically it fell to his eldest son and afterward to the Council of Elders. As the tribe grew into the clan and nation, the power of government was taken over by the descendents of the first fathers who became privileged Nobility. Then by the rich and powerful, by the corporations, less than a century ago the conception of rule by the majority of responsible men came to be the throry of all government.

Meantime however, we are apt to forget there was a branch of human activity over which primitive government rul d with Iron Hand, and that was work--the organized effort of men to grow food, weave, cloth and build shelter, and eventually to make living safe and comfortable. All this at first was a prime function of government. But eventually although the concept of democratic rule entered into many governmental activities, it was pushed back and retarded in industry, so that freedom and democracy in the 18th century meant freedom to elect officials and make general laws; while in industry which gradually covered the chief and most important activities of the mass of men there was no democracy; restricted freedom and rule by the boss, the owner of capital goods, no matter what the origin of ownership, and finally by the corporation. Here the movement toward democracy was the labor union and the real center of the movement for democracy which you know, is the so-called labor movement, and that gradual incursion of democratic government into industry which is usually called Socialism.

But here intrudes the whole problem of work. So long as work is organized for private profit, for the power and enjoyment of the owners and directors of industry, who decide what laborers shall do and what wage they shall receive, then there grows up the singular idea that the object of life is Work, that hard and unpleasant toil for the waking life of most human beings, is what people live for. This is a fantastic distortion of fact. True it is that work, much work must be done if we eat and are clothed and

35-3-06

are sheltered. But it is just as true that with the technique we now know, with the machines we own, with the experience in our memories, it is possible today for the basic wants of mankind to be adequately satisfied, if all able-bodied laborers toil six hours a day or less. This will not mean cadillac cars and mink coats for all, but it could mean no hunger, no unnecessary sickness, no compulsory ignorance and time for all to live and learn what life really means. ~~and~~ This is the job which you are ~~here today~~ to attend to. You are selling your right to vote in a great democracy, and you have a right to sell you votes, only for God's sake don't sell it too cheap. Don't sell votes for a few dollars, or for petty jobs, either watching polls or acting as stooges on juries to convict men like Ben Davis. No! sell your votes for Democracy in industry, for Freedom to work and time to live after your work is done. And then give time thought and study to what living really means. You may discover that life means more than poison by alcohal, that gambling is not so sinful as silly, and that hiding all night in dirty foul-aired cabarets is not near so much fun as lying on the grass in God's sunshine.

Just two months ago I was sitting in the Bolshoi theatre of Moscow, I was listening to Tschaikovsky's music ~~to~~ the ballet "Swanlake", to that soft, haunting music, fading and fading and swelling, again and again, and ~~fixxexpaxxxxxx~~ with the movement of dancing so beautiful, so light and fairy-like that one was lifted above all the sordid and selfish up to the dreams of childhood and toward the yearning of fullfilled life. There is no other place on earth where such a ballet can be seen today, and yet there are few places where it is not possible.

It is the major stupidity of our day to oppose leisure for the working classes because they will not know how to use it. Small wonder if they do not, with the example which ~~the~~ leisure class ~~of our day~~ sets before them.

35-3-07

But give the mass a chance to open their eyes and look: this glorious Fall weather and the long roads which lead out into the world, which your taxes pay for, but your eyes have no time to see; the music that can be heard at leisure without noise and dirt, the drama you long to see at less than six dollars a seat, and which might portray the matchless theatre of your own lives; what would it be like if you could afford to have families and children without fear of starvation and crime; how fine it would be to have friends about you and ability to make them happy without the dead fear of debt. Above all if you had time to Sleep---Sweet Sleep "that knits up the Ravelled sleeve of Care." Sometimes I think that whan Harlem needs most is Long, Quiet, Dreamless Sleep!

~~This is what you are here for.~~ This is the object of this campaign and ~~this rally and~~ your activity today should be but prelude to continuous and unceasing effort to understand government, make Democracy work not only in election but in labor and union effort, and to use such freedom as you earn for knowing what life can be and trying to live it.

SPOKEN AT BEN DAVIS RALLY
NOVEMBER 6, 1949

35-3-08

GOVERNMENT AND FREEDOM

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

You are periodically called up, rather suddenly to take part in a political campaign. Once that is over apparently your political duties cease for a year or two. This of course is a dangerously wrong concept of your present activities and your continuous duty. You are taking part in the great task of helping to govern one of the most powerful nations of the earth. You cannot conceive a more important function, or one more fatal for yourselves now and in the future. This is not a short interlude: it is an all time job which should demand your thought and action all the year.

45-3-21

Certainly for more than 5000 years the necessity of government has engaged the thought of human beings. Humanity was young, very young, when it was clear that everybody could not do as he pleased if life lasted. For defense against beasts, for supplying food and shelter, for avoiding accident men must work together and must yield freedom to government. But in whose hands should the power of government lay, to bring the best results to all? First, and naturally, in the hands of the Father by reason of his strength and experience. Then logically it fell to his eldest son and afterward to the Council of Elders. As the tribe grew into the clan and nation, the power of government was taken over by the descendents of the first fathers who became privileged Nobility. Then by the rich and poweful, by the corporations; less than a century ago the conception of rule by the majority of responsible men came to be the theory of all government.

35-3-09

Meantime, however, we are apt to forget there was a branch of human activity over which primitive government ruled with Iron Hand, and that was work--the organized effort of man to grow food, weave, cloth and build shelter, and eventually to make living safe and comfortable. All this at first was a prime function of government. But eventually although the concept of democratic rule entered into many governmental activities, it was pushed back and retarded in industry, so that freedom and democracy in the 18th century meant freedom to elect officials and make general laws. In agriculture some democracy remained but agriculture more and more was subject to the control of growing industry. In industry which gradually covered the chief and most important activities of the mass of men there was no democracy; there was restricted freedom and rule by the boss, the owner of capital goods, no matter what the origin of ownership; and finally by the corporation. Here the movement toward democracy was the labor union and the real center of the movement for democracy which you know, is the so-called labor movement, and that gradual incursion of democratic government into industry which is usually called Socialism.

55-3-22

But here intrudes the whole problem of work. So long as work is organized for private profit, for the power and enjoyment of the owners and directors of industry, who decide what laborers shall do and what wage they shall receive, then there grows up the singular idea that the object of life is Work. That hard and unpleasant toil for the waking life of most human beings, is what people live for. This is a fantastic distortion of fact. True, it is that work, much much work must be done if we eat and are clothed and are sheltered. But is just as true that with the technique we now know, with the machines we own, with the experience in our memories, it is possible today for the basic wants of mankind to be adequately satisfied, if all ablebodied laborers toil six hours a

35-3-12

day or less. This will not mean cadillac cars and mink coats for all, but it could mean no hunger, no unnecessary sickness, no compulsory ignorance and time for all to live and learn what life really means.

This is the job which you are here to attend to. You are selling your right to vote in a great democracy; and you have a right to sell your vote, only for God's sake don't sell it too cheap. Don't sell votes for a few dollars, or for petty jobs; either watching polls or acting as stooges on juries to convict men like Ben Davis. No! Sell your votes for Democracy in industry, for Freedom to work and time to live after your work is done. And then give time, thought and study to what living means. You may discover that life means more than poison by alcohal, that gambling is not so sinful as silly, and that hiding all night in dirty foul-aired cabarets is not near so much fun as lying on the grass in God's sunshine.

45-3-23

Just two months ago I was sitting in the Bolshoi theatre of Moscow, I was lintening to Tschaikowsky's music in the ballet "Swanlake"; to that soft, haunting music, fading and fading and swelling, again and again, and with movement of dancing so beautiful, so light and fairy-like that one was lifted above all the sordid and selfish up to the dreams of childhood and toward the yearning of fulfilled life. There is no other place on earth where such a ballet can be seen today, and yet there are few places where it is not possible.

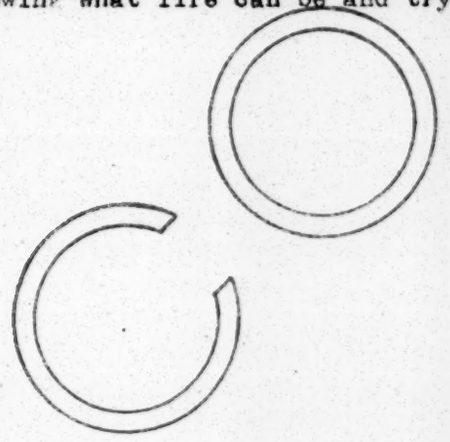
It is the major stupidity of our day to oppose leisure for the working classes because they will not know how to use it. Small wonder if they do not, with the example which leisure classes set before them.

But give the mass a chance to open their eyes and look: this glorious Fall weather and the long roads which lead out into the world, which your taxes pay for, but your eyes have no time to see; the music that can

35-3-41

be heard at leisure without noise and dirt, the drama you long to see at less than six dollars a seat, and which might portray the matchless theatre of your own lives; what w uld it be like if you could afford to have families and children without fear of starvation and crime; how fine it would be to have friends about y u and ability to make them happy without the dread fear of debt. Above all if you had time to Sleep--Sweet Sleep "that knits up the Ravelled sleeve of Care." Sometimes I think that what Harlem needsmost is Long, Quiet Dreamless Sleep!

This is the object of [redacted] all political campaigns. Your activity today should be but prelude to continuous and unceasing effort to understand government, to make Democracy work not only in elections, but in labor and union effort; and to use such freedom as you earn for knowing what life can be and trying to live it.



35-3-41

45-3-66

TRUSTEESHIP AND COLONIALISM

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

(THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION IN THE UNITED NATIONS)

36-3-42

MODERN COLONIALISM WAS THE CHILD OF SLAVERY. / BEFORE THE 18th CENTURY THE AREAS OF EUROPEAN TRADE / IN ASIA AND AFRICA / INVOLVED USUALLY NO POLITICAL CONTROL / ALTHOUGH FORCE OR THREAT OF FORCE / WAS OFTEN USED. // IN THE NEW WORLD, TREASURE-HUNT / INVOLVED POLITICAL DOMINATION / FORCED LABOR, KIDNAPPING IN EUROPE / FOR LABOR SUPPLY / AND FINALLY / A VAST SLAVE TRADE / IN BLACK AFRICAN LABOR. // THE DEMOCRATIC TREND / OF THE LATER 18th / and early 19th CENTURIES / BROUGHT CRITICISM OF SLAVERY / AND PARTIUCLARLY OF THE SLAVE TRADE / IN THE 19th CENTURY / WHICH WAS THE MORE READILY HEEDED / WHEN THE AMERICAN MARKET FOR SLAVE LABOR / BECAME OVERSTOCKED / AND SLAVE REVOLTS / MADE INVESTMENT UNCERTAIN. BRITAIN THEREFORE / SUPPRESSED THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE / AND EVENTUALLY

--2-- 45-3-67

39-3-43

WEST INDIAN SLAVERY / AND SUBSTITUTED COLONIALISM / IN THE CARIBBEAN, IN AFRICA AND ASIA.

COLONIALISM IN ESSENCE / WAS SLAVERY WITHOUT A SLAVE TRADE / BUT WITH SERFDOM / OR FORCED LABOR ACCOMPLISHED / BY DIRECT OR INDIRECT MEANS. // IT WAS BASED ON CHEAP LABOR / RAISING VALUABLE & SCARCE / RAW MATERIALS / FOR CONSUMPTION & PROCESSING IN EUROPE OR AMERICA. // AT FIRST / COLONIAL CONTROL / WAS DEEMED COMPATIBLE / WITH THE SOCIAL PROGRESS OF THE NATIVES / IN EDUCATION AND POLITICAL RIGHTS. // BUT THE IMMEDIATE PROFIT FROM IGNORANT DISFRANCHISED LABOR / PROVED TOO TEMPTING / FOR SUCH PROGRESS. MISSIONARIES STROVE FOR SCHOOLS / BUT TRADE AND COMMERCE / LIMITED THIS / UNTIL THE COLONIES / BECAME LARGELY AREAS OF SERFDOM / WHERE LABOR HAD NO VOICE / IN INDUSTRY / OR GOVERNMENT / AND WHICH EXISTED / FOR THE WEALTH AND LUXURY / OF THE COLONIAL POWERS.

CIVIL WAR AND EMANCIPATION / IN THE UNITED STATES / THEREFORE / MET LESS SYMPATHY / IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND / THAN WE EXPECTED ESPECIALLY / WHEN WE TRIED TO EN* FRANCHISE

35-3-44

THE FREEDMEN.// IT HAD BY 1876/ BECOME AXIOMATIC/THAT WHITE EUROPE WAS DESTINED/TO RULE THE WORLD/FOR EUROP'S BENEFIT/AND THAT THE COLONIAL PEOPLE/ HAD FEW RIGHTS/WHICH WHITE NATIONS/WERE BOUND TO RESPECT.//THIS RAISED CRUCIAL PROBLEMS/OF COLOR AND RACE/IN THE EARLY 20th CENTURY/WHICH CLAMORED FOR SETTLEMENT/AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR./ A WAR CAUSED/BY RIVALRY/FOR COLONIAL EMPIRE AMERICAN Negro LEADERS SUGGESTED/TO PRESIDENT WILSON IN 1918/ THAT THE FORMER COLONIES/OF GERMANY/BE PUT UNDER INTERNATIONAL CONTROL/ WITH A GOVERNING BODY/ON WHICH COLONIALS WERE REPRESENTED.// MANY OTHER PROPOSALS WERE MADE BEFORE ^ AFTER AND THE UPSHOT WAS/THAT THE MANDATES COMMISSION/WAS ESTABLISHED/BY ARTICLE 22 OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COVENANT.// UNDER THIS PROVISION/ THREE SETS OF COLONIAL MANDATES WERE SET UP/AND ASSIGNED TO COLONIAL POWERS/AS MANDATORIES:

A. FORMER TURKISH POSSESSIONS/IN THE NEAR EAST/WERE ASSIGNED TO GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE,/ WITH THE IDEA/THAT THEY WOULD SOON ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE.//THIS HAS HAPPENED IN THE CASE OF PALESTINE/ IRAQ/AND SYRIA.

35-3-45

B. AFRICAN COLONIES/WERE GIVEN TO GREAT BRITAIN,/ FRANCE, BELGIUM AND THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA:/ THEY WERE TO BE PREPARED/FOR AUTONOMY/ BUT AT NO SET TIME:/AND THE MANDATES COMMISSION/HAD NO REAL POWER/ OF INVESTIGATION/OR CONTROL.// THESE COLONIES BECAME PRACTICALLY/PART OF THE MANDATORIES/COLONIAL EMPIRE.

C. ASIATIC ISLANDS/~~WHICH~~ WERE GIVEN TO AUSTRALIA,/ NEW ZEALAND AND JAPAN/PRACTICALLY WITHOUT CONDITIONS.// ITALY WAS GIVEN NOTHING BUT HAD BEEN/PROMISED ETHIOPIA/IN THE TREATY OF LONDON.

IN ALL THESE CASES/AND IN SPITE OF LITTLE REASON/TO ANTICIPATE SUCCESS/ PHILANTHROPY CLUNG TO THE IDEA/THAT THE COLONIAL SYSTEM/WITH ITS EXPLOITATION AND SERF LABOR/ WAS DUE TO END SOON.//THE MANDATES COMMISSION/CONSISTED OF ELEVEN MEMBERS/ APPOINTED BY THE COUNCIL/ "FOR PERSONAL MERIT"/ THE MAJORITY BEING FROM NON-MANDATORY STATES.// BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND SOVIET RUSSIA/ AT FIRST/ REGARDED THE MANDATES SYSTEM/AS SIMPLY A VEIL FOR ANNEXATION/ ALTHOUGH AMERICAN OPINION/ GRADUALLY BECAME MORE FAVORABLE. to the Mandatories

45-3-70

35-3-46

Caused by the collapse of Capitalism

THE SECOND WORLD WAR/LEFT THE WORLD [redacted]/FACE TO FACE/WITH THIS COLONIAL QUESTION.// WAS COLONIAL IMPERIALISM/AND RACE SUBJECTION AT AN END?// THE QUESTION OF COLONIES/WAS PLACED TENTATIVELY ON THE AGENDA/OF THE DUMBARTON OAKS CONSULTATION/BUT IT DID NOT APPEAR IN THE FINAL PROPOSALS.//IT WAS DISCUSSED AT YALTA/AND PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL/AND PREMIER STALIN/AGREED/THAT THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE/SHOULD DISCUSS ONLY THE MACHINERY/AND PRINCIPLES OF TRUSTEESHIP/AND THAT SPECIFIC TERRITORIES TO BE PLACED/UNDER TRUSTEESHIP/SHOULD BE A MATTER/OF SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATION AND AGREEMENT.

AT SAN FRANCISCO/A COMMITTEE WAS ASSIGNED THE TASK/OF DRAFTING PROVISIONS/ON THE PRINCIPLES AND MECHANISM/OF A SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP/AND A WORKING PROPOSAL/WAS SUBMITTED MAY15. IT CAUSED LONG DELAY IN ADJOURNMENT THE PROPOSAL/OF THIS COMMISSION/APPEARS IN THE CHARTER, in final form AS FOLLOWS:

45-3-71

35-3-47

"MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS/WHICH HAVE/OR ASSUME/RESPONSIBILITIES/FOR THE ADMINISTRATION/OF TERRITORIES/WHOSE PEOPLES/HAVE NOT YET ATTAINED/A FULL MEASURE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT/RECOGNIZE THE PRINCIPLE/THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE INHABITANTS/OF THESE TERRITORIES/ARE PARAMOUNT,/AND ACCEPT AS A SACRED TRUST/THE OBLIGATION/TO PROMOTE TO THE UTMOST/WITHIN THE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY/ESTABLISHED BY THE PRESENT CHARTER,/THE WELL-BEING/OF THE INHABITANTS OF THESE TERRITORIES/AND, TO THIS END:/

A. TO ENSURE,/WITH DUE RESPECT FOR THE CULTURE OF THE PEOPLES CONCERNED,/THEIR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC,/SOCIAL, AND EDUCATIONAL/ADVANCEMENT//THEIR JUST TREATMENT,/AND THEIR PROTECTION AGAINST ABUSES:

B. TO DEVELOP SELF-GOVERNMENT,/TO TAKE DUE ACCOUNT/OF THE POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLES/AND TO ASSIST THEM/IN THE PROGRESSIVE DEVELOPMENT/OF THEIR FREE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS/ACCORDING TO THE PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES/OF EACH TERRITORY AND ITS PEOPLES/AND THEIR VARYING STAGES/OF ADVANCEMENT.

~~C. TO FURTHER/INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY;~~

THE UNITED NATIONS/SHALL ESTABLISH UNDER ITS AUTHORITY/AN INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM/FOR THE ADMINISTRATION/AND SUPERVISION OF SUCH TERRITORIES/ AS MAY BE PLACED THEREUNDER/BY SUBSEQUENT INDIVIDUAL AGREEMENTS// ~~THESE TERRITORIES/ HEREINAFTER REFERRED~~ TO/AS TRUST TERRITORIES.

ACCORDING TO THE SUBSEQUENT REPORTS/OF THE GOVERNMENTS THEMSELVES/THERE ARE IN THE WORLD/8 COLONIAL POWERS/GOVERNING 74 DIFFERENT TERRITORIES// THE FRENCH HAVE 16 TERRITORIES/IN ASIA, AFRICA AND THE WEST INDIES. WITH AT LEAST 200000000 persons

BRITAIN HAS 44COLONIES/ALL OVER THE WORLD./ THE UNITED STATES HAS SEVEN/AND THE SOVIET REPUBLIC, NONE.

THE TRUSTEE COUNCIL/WHICH HAS CHARGE/OF THE TRUSTEESHIPS?/CONSISTS/OF ~~MEMBERS XXXX

9

45-3-74

~~FRIDAY~~/THE ASSEMBLY/BY LARGE MAJORITY/EXTENDED THIS COMMITTEE/FOR THREE YEARS/AND GAVE IT POWER TO DEMAND POLITICAL INFORMATION/AND OTHER DUTIES// THE UNITED STATES VOTED AGAINST/MAKING THE COMMITTEE PERMANENT/AND AGAINST GIVING IT POWER OVER POLITICAL DATA // BRITAIN AND FRANCE/VIOLENTLY AND VOCIFEROUSLY OPPOSED IT/ and threatened/not to obey it

9

~~OF THE UNITED STATES EXTENDED THE COMMITTEE FOR THREE YEARS~~. THE SOVIETS HAVE SOUGHT/TO HAVE REPRESENTATIVES OF TRUST TERRITORITORIES/~~SEND REPRE~~ ~~SENTATIVES~~ Present at/TO COUNCIL SESSIONS./~~THIS WAS REJECTED~~ THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN OPPOSED/AND THE PROPOSAL WAS LOST.

THE FATE/OF THE ITALIAN COLONIES/HAS TAKEN MUCH TIME./ IT HAS RESULTED/IN THE FREEING/OF ~~MEARKXXAKKXTMXXKKXMXXS~~ OF LYBIA// ITALIAN TRUSTEESHIP FOR SOMALILAND//AND POSTPONEMENT/OF THE FATE OF ERITRAEA.// ~~THE REACTION OF THE SOMALI DELEGATION IS WORTH REDING~~

TRIGVE LIE SAID IN HIS 1949 REPORT

35-3-50

10 45-3-75

"The General Assembly at its third regular session did not reach an agreement on the disposition of the former Italian colonies. The question will come before the fourth regular session of the General Assembly this autumn.

"The debate on this question at the second part of the third session was significant in several ways. It reflected the growing influence of the nations of Asia and Africa. Those nations played a decisive part in preventing the adoption of a compromise proposal which they felt was unsatisfactory to a majority of the inhabitants of the territories concerned. The debate also brought forth considerable support for the concept of a direct United Nations trusteeship, a proposal originally suggested by the United States Government at the first London meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

"I recognize the political and practical difficulties involved in a direct United Nations trusteeship for the territories during the relatively brief period that may precede their independence. Nevertheless, I believe that statesmanship on the part of the governments could lead to such a solution of the problem, and that the political difficulties could be dealt with if the practical difficulties could be overcome. The best solution, in my opinion, would be a direct United Nations trusteeship with an administrator responsible solely to the trusteeship Council. It is, of course, for the member governments to decide, but I feel sure that such a bold forward step would help the peoples of the territories concerned to follow the peaceful path toward self-government or independence, and that it would strengthen the confidence of dependent peoples all over the world in the United Nations and in the member governments who would have made such a solution possible."

36-3-61

45-3-76 11

THE REACTION OF THE PEOPLE OF ONE COLONY THE BLACK SOMALIS TO THE ~~ACTION~~ PUTTING THEM UNDER ITALIAN TRUSTEESHIP DECISION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IS WORTH READING AND SYMTOMATIC OF RISING COLONIAL THOUGHT

The Somalis would have lost complete confidence and faith in the United Nations had not some disinterested and non-colonial powers defeated the malign plan of the Bevin-Sforza agreement. We are grateful to those nations which saved our people and ourselves from being condemned to perpetual slavery and servitude. The names of those nations are today dear to the heart of every Somali at home and overseas.

We consider the United Nations as a world-wide organization where all peoples, regardless of their colour, religion, language, culture, etc., are treated the same and where all matters are solved in accordance with the wishes and welfare of those most vitally concerned and in conformity with justice and equity. But it is evident that some member states intend to use this noble organization only for the selfish interests of their own governments and that of their own group. Therefore, we urge the honourable members of the Assembly to restrain anyone who seeks to use the noble aims of the world organization for purposes other than those set forth in the United Nations Charter.

36-3-62

12 45-3-77

35-3-53

If, against the wishes and welfare of our people, the General Assembly should decide to re-impose the oppressive Italian rule in Somaliland, how can you, honourable members, expect us to trust and have faith in the United Nations since we have seen from the very beginning that our wishes and welfare have been completely ignored?

Once again we appeal to you, gentlemen, not to sacrifice our people on the altar of political expediency. We appeal to you to be guided by the principle that is not merely laid down in the peace treaty with Italy but in the very cornerstone of the United Nations Charter "that the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories are paramount."//

45-3-78

IP UNTIL FULLER DOCUMENTATION/IS AVAILABLE/AFTER THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE PRESENT SESSION/ OF THE UNITED NATIONS//IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE/CLEARLY TO DISCERN THE COMPLETE ROLES OF THE UNITED STATES/ AND THE UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS/ ON THE QUESTION OF COLONIES.// HOWEVER/IN GENERAL/ CERTAIN MATTERS/STAND OUT CLEARLY// THE UNITED STATES/ ON THE WHOLE/STANDS WITH IMPERIAL COLONIALISM/; WITH GT. BRITIAN,FRANCE AND BELGIUM/REGARDING COLONIES/AS INVESTMENTS FOR PROFIT/PRIMARILY WITH BUT SECONDARY CONSIDERATION/FOR COLONIAL PEOPLES/ THEIR EDUCATION AND POLITICAL AUTONOMY./ THE SOVIETS/ON THE CONTRARY/ HAVE ~~ON THE WHOLE~~ OPPOSED COLONIALISM/AND DEMANDED GREATER NATIVE AUTONOMY/AND ESPECIALLY WIDER INVESTIGATION/ OF EFFORTS TOWARD POLITICAL PROGRESS.// THE ~~RECENT~~ VIGOROUS REFUSAL OF FRANCE/BRITAIN/TO ALLOW DEEPER STUDY/OF ~~HER~~ COLONIAL METHODS/ INDICATES THE FIGHT/AGAINST RUSSIAN INSISTENCE.// RUSSIA STANDS ALONE ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL/AS HAVING NO COLONIES// SEEKING NONE// AND RECEIVING NO INCOME/FROM COLONIAL INVESTMENT.

3-5-3-64

WITH PERHAPS A FEW CASES of HESITANCY

45-3-79 14

THE UNITED NATIONS/TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM/ HAS NOT BEEN WIDELY SUCESSFUL/AND WAS NOT PLANNED TO BE.// FROM THE FIRST/IT WAS ~~CONSTITUTED~~ PACKED IN FAVOR/OF THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES/SO THAT NO OVERRULING/OF THE ADVOCATES OF THE STATUS QUO/ COULD EVER SUCCEED.// UNTIL THE VOICES OF THE COLONIal PEOPLES CAN FREELY BE EXPRESSED/ON THIS ROSTRUM/AND UNTIL THOROUGH INVESTIGATION REVEALS COLONIAL CONDITIONS/ THEE IS LITTLE HOPE/FOR IMPROVEMENT.// ~~ON THE WHOLE THE HOPE/FOR SUCH IMPROVEMENT~~ SUCH HOPE AS EXISTS RESTS/ WITH RUSSIA AND CERTAIN SMALL NATIONS.// IT IS OPPOSED BY THE UNITED STATES/AND GREAT BRITAIN/ TOGETHER WITH FRANCE AND BELGIUM .

35-3-55

no fish — you can't blame Russia for everything

Unesco — Connolly - "brave little country"

Commons — all night if you are for Wave

SPOKEN AT AMERICAN-SOVIET CONGRESS
MANHATTAN CENTER
DECEMBER 4, 1949

35-3-18

TRUSTEESHIP AND COLONIALISM

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

(THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION IN THE UNITED NATIONS)

Modern colonialism was the child of slavery. Before the 18th century the areas of European trade in Asia and Africa involved usually no political control, although force or threat of force was often used. In the new world, treasure-hunt involved political domination, forced labor, kidnapping in Europe for labor supply, and finally a vast slave trade in black African labor. The democratic trend of the later 18th century and early 19th century brought criticism of slavery and particularly of the slave trade in the 19th century, which was the more readily heeded when the American market for slave labor became overstocked and slave revolts made investment uncertain. Britain therefore suppressed the African slave trade and eventually West Indian Slavery, and substituted Colonialism in the Caribbean, in Africa and Asia.

Colonialism in essence was slavery without a slave trade, but with serfdom or forced labor accomplished by direct or indirect means. It was based on cheap labor raising valuable and scarce raw materials, for consumption and processing in Europe and America. At first, Colonial control was deemed compatible with the social progress of the natives in education and political rights. But the immediate profit from ignorant, disfranchised labor proved too tempting for such progress. Missionaries strove for schools, but trade and commerce limited this, until the colonies became largely areas of serfdom where labor had no voice in industry or government, and which existed for the wealth and luxury of the colonial powers.

35-3-17

Civil War and emancipation in the United States, therefore, met less sympathy in France and England than we expected, especially when we tried to enfranchise the Freedmen. It had by 1876, become axiomatic that white Europe was destined to rule the world for Europe's benefit, and that the colonial people had few rights which white nations were bound to respect. This raised crucial problems of color and race in the early 20th century, which clamored for settlement after the First World War. A war caused by rivalry for colonial empire.

American Negroes suggested to President Wilson in 1918, that the former colonies of Germany be put under International control, with a government body on which colonials were represented. Many other proposals were made before and after, and the upshot was that the Mandates Commission was established by Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant. Under the provision three sets of colonial Mandates were set up and assigned to Colonial powers as Mandatories:

A. Former Turkish possessions in the Near East were assigned to Great Britain and France, with the idea that they would soon achieve independence. This has happened in the case of Palestine, Iraq and Syria.

B. African colonies were given to Great Britain, France, Belgium and the Union of South Africa: they were to be prepared for autonomy but at no set time: and the Mandates Commission had no real power of investigation or control. These colonies became practically part of the Mandatories Colonial Empire.

C. Asiatic Islands were given to Australia, New Zealand and Japan practically without conditions. Italy was given nothing but had been promised Ethiopia in the Treaty of London.

In all these cases and in spite of little reason to anticipate success Philanthropy clung to the idea that the Colonial System with its exploitation and serf labor was due to end soon. The Mandates Commission consisted of eleven members appointed by the Council "For Personal Merit," the Majority being from non-Mandatory states. Both the United States and Soviet Russia at first regarded the Mandates system as simply a veil for

annexation, although American opinion gradually became more favorable, to h the Mandatories.

The Second World War, caused by the collapse of Capitalism, left the world face to face with this colonial question. Was Colonial Imperialism and race subjection at an end? The question of colonies was placed tentatively on the agenda of the Dumbarton Oaks consultation, but it did not appear in the final proposals. It was discussed at Yalta and President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchhill and Premier Stalin agreed that the San Francisco Conference should discuss only the machinery and principles of Trusteeship, and that specific Territories to be placed under Trusteeship, should be a matter of subsequent negotiation and agreement.

35-3-20

At San Francisco a Committee was assigned the task of drafting provisions on the principles and mechanism of a system of international Trusteeship, and a working proposal was submitted May 15. It caused long delay in adjournment. The proposal of this Commission appears in the Charter in final form as follows:

"Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories, whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government, recognize the principle that the Interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount; and accept as a sacred trust the Obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of International Peace and Security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories; and, to this end:

A. To ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses:

B. To develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the Progressive development of their free political institutions, accordingto the particular circumstances of each territory, and its peoples and their varying states of advancement.

35-3-21

"The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international Trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements."

According to the subsequent reports of the governments themselves there are in the world 8 colonial powers governing 74 different territories, with at least 200,000,000 inhabitants. The French have 16 territories in Asia, Africa and the West Indies; Britain has 44 colonies all over the world; The United States has 7, and the Soviet Republic None. This enumeration does not include at least 500 million people who are in Quasi-Colonial nations, subject through economic and industrial control, to investors.

The Trustee Council which has charge of the Trusteeships consists of three sets of members: those appointed by States adminsitering trust territories; those appointed by States which are permanent members of the Security Council, but which do not administer trust territories, and of as many other members, elected by the Assembly, as will insure that the total number of members is equally divided between those which administer trust territories and those which do not.

It is thus made certain by the Charter of the United Nations, that the imperialists cannot lose. In the Secretariat there is a "Department of Trusteeship and Information from non-self-governing territories." This department is in three divisions (An Assistant Secretary-General, a division of Trusteeship and a Division of Non-self-governing territories) The Department serves the Trusteeship council, the Committee on Trusteeship of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General, with indormation and documents.

35-3-22

The Assembly has accepted Trusteship agreements for eight mandated territories; but the Union of South Africa not only refuses further information, but has annexed the Mandate of Southwest Africa to the Union. The Soviet Union tried to make a special committee for organizing colonial information permanent, and to demand from colonial powers political information concerning the colonies. The Assembly by large majority extended this committee for three years, and gave it power to demand political information and other duties. The United States voted against making the committee permanent, and against giving it power over political data. Britain and France violently and vociferously opposed it and threatened not to obey it.

The Soviets have sought to have representatives of Trust Territories presents at the Council sessions. The United States and Britain opposed and the proposal was lost. The fate of the Italian colonies has taken much time. It has resulted in the freeing of Lybia, Italian trusteeship for 10 years over Somaliland; and postponement of the fate of Eritrea.

Trigve Lie said in his 1949 report: "The General Assembly at its third regular session did not reach an agreement on the disposition of the former Italian colonies. The debate on this question at the second part of the third session was significant in several ways. It reflected the growing influence of the nations of Asia and Africa. Those nations played a decisive part in preventing the adoption of a compromise proposal which they felt was unsatisfactory to a majority of the inhabitants of the territories concerned. The debate also brought forth considerable support for the concept of a direct United Nations trusteeship, a proposal originally suggested by the United States Government at the first London meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

"I recognize the political and practical difficulties involved in a direct United Nations trusteeship for the territories during the relatively brief period that may precede their independence. Nevertheless, I believe

35-3-22

that statesmanship on the part of the governments could lead to such a ~~position~~ solution of the problem, and that the political difficulties could be dealt with if the practical difficulties could be overcome."

The reaction of the poeple of one colony, the black Somalis, to the decision of the General Assembly putting them under Italian Trusteeship is worth reading and symtomatic of rising colonial thoughts:

"We consider the United Nations as a world-wide organization where all peoples regardless of their colour, religion, language, culture, etc, are treated the same and where all matters are solved in accordance with the wishes and welfare of those most vitally concerned and in conformity with justice and equity. But it is evident that some member states intend to use this noble organization only for the selfish interests of their own governments and that of their own group. Therefore, we urge the honourable members of the Assembly to restrain anyone who se ks to use the noble aims of the world organization for purposes other than those set forth in the United Nations Charter.

"If, against the wishes and welfare of our people the General Assembly should decide to re-impose the oppressive Italian rule in Somaliland, how can you, honourable members, expect us to trust and have faith, in the United Nations since we have seen from the bery beginning that our wishes and welfare have been completely ignored. Once again we appeal to you, gentlemen, not to sacrifice our people on the altar of political expediency."

Until fuller documentation is available, after the adjournment of the present session of the United Nations, it will not be possible clearly to discern the complete roles of the United States and the Union of Soviet Republics on the question of colonies. However, in general, certain matters

35-3-24

stand out clearly. The United States on the whole stands with Imperial Colonialism; with Great Britain, France and Belgium regarding colonies primarily as investments for profit, and with but secondary consideration for colonial peoples, their education and political autonomy.

The Soviets on the contrary have opposed colonialism with perhaps a few cases of hesitancy and demanded greater native autonomy and especially wider investigation of efforts toward political progress. The vigorous refusal of France and Great Britain to allow deeper study of colonial methods indicates the fight against Russian insistence. Russia stands alone on the Security Council as having no colonies, seeking none, and receiving no income from colonial investment.

The United Nations Trusteeship system has not been widely successful and was not planned to be. From the first, it was packed in favor of the colonial countries, so that no overruling of the advocates of the status quo could ever succeed. Until the voices of the colonial peoples can freely be expressed on this rostrom, and until thorough investigation reveals colonial conditions, there is little hope for improvement. Such hope as exists rests with Russia and certain small nations. It is opposed by the United States and Great Britain together with France and Belgium.

(1) [INCOMPLETE]

TRUSTEESHIP AND COLONIALISM

(The United States and the Soviet Union in the United Nations)

Modern Colonialism was the child of slavery. Before the 18th century the areas of European trade in Asia and Africa involved usually no political control although force or threat of force was often used. In the New World, treasure hunt involved political domination, forced labor, kidnapping in Europe for labor supply and finally a vast slave trade in black African labor. The democratic trend of the later 18th and early 19th centuries, brought criticism of slavery and the slave trade in the 19th century, which was the more readily heeded when the American market for slave labor became overstocked and slave revolts began. Britain therefore suppressed the African Slave trade and eventually West Indian slavery and substituted colonialism without a slave trade, but with Africa and Asia. Colonialism in essence was slavery or serfdom or forced accomplished by direct or indirect means. It was based on cheap labor raising raw materials for processing in Europe or America. At first colonial control was deemed compatible with the social progress of the natives in education and political rights. But the immediate profit from ignorant disfranchised labor proved too great for such progress. Missionaries strove for schools, but trade and commerce limited this until the colonies became areas of serfdom where labor had no voice in industry or government.

Civil war and emancipation in the United States therefore met little sympathy in France and England when they tried to enfranchise the freedmen. It had by 1876, become axiomatic that white Europe was destined to rule the world for Europe's benefit and that the colonial peoples had no rights which white nations were bound to respect. This raised crucial problems of color and race in the early 20th century which clamored for settlement after the First World War. I suggested to President Wilson in 1918, that the former colonies of Germany be put under international control, with a governing body on which colonials were represented. Many other proposals were made and the upshot was the Mandates Commision established by Article 22 of the League of Nations covenant. Under this provision, three sets of colonial

(2) mandates were set up and assigned to colonial powers as Mandatories;

A. Former Turkish possessions in the Near East were assigned to Great Britain and France, with the idea that they would soon achieve independence. This has happened in the case of Palestine, Iraq and Syria

B. African colonies were given to Gt. Britain, France, Belgium and the Union of South Africa; they were to be prepared for autonomy, but at no set time, and the Mandates Commision had no real power of investigation or control The ~~ex~~ colonies became practically part of the Mandatories colonial empire Japan Australia, New Zealand and

C. Asiatic islands which were ~~in practice~~ given to ~~the Mandatories with-~~ practically without conditions Ethiopia Italy was given nothing but had been promised in the Treaty of London

In all these cases and in spite of little reason to anticipate success, philanthropy clung to the idea that the colonial system was due to end soon with its exploitation and serf labor, (over) still

The Second World War left the world face to face with this colonial question. Was colonial imperialism and race subjection at an end? The question of colonies was placed tentatively on the Dumbarton Oaks conversations agenda but it did not appear in the ~~Dumbarton Oaks~~ Bretton proposals. It was discussed at Yalta and ~~agred that the five permanent members of the Security Council should consult on the matter to the United nations conference~~

30-13-2

The Mnadates commission consisted of eleven members appointed by the Council for personal merit, the majority from non-mandatory states

Both the United States and Soviet Russia regarded the Mandates system at first as simply a veil for annexation, although American opinion gradually became more favorable

over

4

30-13-3

~~At Yalta~~ President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin agreed that the San Francisco Conference should discuss only the Machinery and principles of trusteeship and that specific territories to be placed under trusteeship should be a matter of subsequent negotiation and agreement.

At San Francisco a Committee was assigned the task of drafting provisions on the principles and mechanism of a system of International Trusteeship and a working proposal was submitted May 15. The proposal of this Commission appears in the Charter as follows:

"Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

A. to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;

B. to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying states of advancement:

C. to further international peace and security;

The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administrat on and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are hereinafter referred to as trust territories.

According to the subsequent reports of the governments themselves there are in the world 8 colonial powers governing 74 different territories. The French have 16 territories in Asia, Africa and the West Indies.

36-8-88

THE ROLE OF WEST AFRICA

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

WE ALL UNITE TO CONGRATULATE MR. AZIKIWE AND HIS FELLOW WORKERS, ON THE NEW ROLE THEY ARE PLAYING IN THE WORLD BY PLANNING THE EMANCIPATION AND AUTONOMY OF AFRICA. // PERHAPS MOST OF US FAIL TO APPRECIATE THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH HAVE FACED THEM. // THE PRESTIGE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE HAS BEEN AND STILL IS SUCH, THAT IT ~~HAS~~ BALKED ~~SUCCESSFUL~~ CRITICISM. // FOR BLACK MEN IN WEST AFRICA SUCCESSFULLY TO CARRY THEIR GRIEVANCES TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE, MUCH LESS TO THE LARGER WORLD, HAS LONG BEEN IMPOSSIBLE. // EVEN TODAY IT FACES TREMENDOUS HANDICAPS AND LAYS ITS LEADERS OPEN TO CALUMNY, UNEMPLOYMENT AND EVEN THE THREAT OF DEATH. // WE APPRECIATE THE COURAGE BEHIND THE CURRENT FIGHT FOR RIGHTS IN WEST AFRICA.

FOR MANY YEARS, ~~PARTICULARLY BETWEEN 1918 and 1928,~~ MY OWN THOUGHT WAS

--2--

~~THAT ON THIS ACCOUNT~~ BLACK AFRICA MUST AT LEAST TEMPORARILY FIND LEADERSHIP OUTSIDE AFRICA ITSELF. THAT WAS THE IDEA BACK OF THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES ~~WHICH I TRIED TO ESTABLISH.~~ THE MOVEMENT HAD BUT LIMITED SUCCESS, BECAUSE OF LACK OF ENTHUSIASM HERE, ~~THE~~ BITTER OPPOSITION IN EUROPE AND ~~THE~~ LACK OF FACILITIES FOR UNDERSTANDING AMONG BLACK AFRICANS.

36-8-89

TODAY THE WHOLE PICTURE HAS CHANGED. EUROPE IS COMMITTING SUICIDE BY ~~FRATRICIDAL STRIFE.~~ THE AMERICAN NEGRO HAS LOST OR RATHER NEVER GAINED WORLD VISION, BUT IS LIKE TO BECOME MORE AMERICAN THAN THE AMERICANS AND RUSHIN FOR MONEY-MAKING AND WAR. // IT IS THIS GROWING PROVINCIALISM OF AMERICAN NEGROES WHICH HAS MADE INEVITABLE INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP OF AFRICA BY AFRICANS.

THIS LEADERSHIP HAS ARISEN IN WEST AFRICA, BECAUSE THE NATIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA HAVE BEEN SO OVERWHELMED BY THE MOST RUTHLESS EXPLOITATION OF MINERALS

36-8-90

THE WORLD EVER KNEW, THAT THEY ARE TODAY WRITHING IN THE VERY DUST TO SECURE MERE BREAD AND SHELTER. // IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA, THE BLACK AND MULATTO LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN BRIBED INTO COMPLAISSANCE BY BEING GIVEN SHARE IN THE LOOT OF EXPLOITATION. // IN THE CONGO, ~~TRAINED~~ DETERMINED EFFORT OF BELGIUM HAS SUCCEEDED HITHERTO IN PREVENTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF A LEADING INTELLIGENTIA; // WHILE IN THE VALLEY OF THE NILE AND ITS CONTRIBUTORY LAKE REGIONS, BRITAIN IS CENTERING A LAST DESPERATE EFFORT TO FORTIFY AND RESTORE ITS EMPIRE, AND RETAIN ~~HIS~~ THAT DOMINATION OF CHEAP LABOR AND MATERIALS, ON WHICH IT WAXED FAT AND POWERFUL FOR THREE CENTURIES.

THIS LEAVES WEST AFRICA ~~---~~ NOT ONLY BRITISH, BUT FRENCH AND BERBER, AS THE AREA WHERE AFRICAN AUTONOMY AND FREEDOM CAN AT PRESENT BEST TAKE ROOT AND EXPAND. // IN THIS AREA, IT IS POSSIBLE TO FOUND A BLACK NATION OF 100 MILLIONS OF PEOPLE, WITH A CULTURAL PAST UNRIVALLED BY ANY PART OF THE WORLD, // WHO HAVE NEVER BEEN CONQUERED NOR ENSLAVED BY THE WHITE WORLD. BUT IN THE 19TH CENTURY

36-8-91

FELL VICTIM TO THE EXPLOITATION OF LABOR AND LAND BY CAPITAL AND TECHNIQUE WHICH EUROPE MONOPOLIZED.

HERE IT IS THAT A NEW YOUNG LEADERSHIP HAS ARISEN, ~~AND~~ MADE POSSIBLE BY THE COLLAPSE OF EUROPEAN ECONOMY WHICH TWO WORLD WARS HAS CAUSED. // THIS LEADERSHIP HAS THE ADVANTAGE OF A SOCIALIST BRITAIN AND A GROWING GROUP OF YOUNG NEGROES WITH MODERN EDUCATION. // BUT IT HAS ALSO, TWO DANGEROUS HANDICAPS, WHICH FORM THE REASON THAT I AM VENTURING TO SPEAK HERE TONIGHT:

(1) THERE IS A DETERMINED ATTEMPT IN BRITAIN TO KEEP SOCIALISM AND ITS BASIC PHILOSOPHY FROM PENETRATING AFRICA; AND SECONDLY, THE AFRICANS THEMSELVES ARE NOT WHOLLY AWARE OF THE AIMS OF THE NEW SOCIAL ECONOMY WHICH THEY CAN AND MUST ESTABLISH.

IN THE BRITISH WEST AFRICAN MOVEMENT FOR AUTONOMY AND FREEDOM THERE IS DANGEROUS DEPENDENCE UPON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE 19th CENTURY WHICH MADE

36-8-92

BRITAIN/ GREAT AND RUTHLESS;// AN EMPHASIS ON NATIONALITY,/ AND ON INVESTMENT AND PROFIT MAKING;/ WHICH IF UNCURBED AND UNCRITIZED,/ MAY LAND THIS PEOPLE/ IN THE SAME MORASS OF EXPLOITATION/ AND CAPITALIST SUBJUGATION,/ WHICH HAS RUINED THE WORLD.// AND, CONTRARY TO WISHFUL THINKING,/ IT WILL MAKE NO DIFFERENCE/ IN THE END,/ WHETHER THE MASTERS/ ARE BLACK OR WHITE.

WHAT YOUNG BLACK AFRICA/ MUST LEARN AND DEEPLY UNDERSTAND,/ IS THAT IF SOCIALISM/ IS GOOD FOR BRITAIN/ AND FOR MOST OF THE PRESENT WORLD,/ AS EVERY WISE MAN KNOWS IT IS,/ IT IS ALSO GOOD/ FOR AFRICA;/ AND THAT IS TRUE/ NO MATTER WHAT IS TAUGHT/ BY BRITISH TORIES,/ OR IN REACTIONARY AMERICAN SCHOOLS.// IN AFRICA,/ AS NOWHERE IN THE WORLD,/ LIES THE OPPORTUNITY/ TO BUILD AN AFRICAN SOCIALISM,/ WHICH CAN TEACH THE WORLD;// ON LAND HISTORICALLY HELD/ IN COMMON-OWNERSHIP;/ ON LABOR ORGANIZED IN THE PAST/ FOR SOCIAL ENDS,/ AND NOT FOR PRIVATE PROFIT;/ AND ON EDUCATION/ LONG CONDUCTED BY THE FAMILY AND CLAN,/ FOR THE PROGRESS OF THE STATE,/ AND NOT MAINLY/ FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROFITABLE

INDUSTRY.// WHAT IS NEEDED,/ AND ALL THAT IS NEEDED,/ IS SCIENCE AND TECHNIQUE/ APPLIED TO THE GROUP ECONOMY/ BY MEN OF UNSELFISH DETERMINATION/ AND CLEAR FORESIGHT.

36-8-93

IT IS THIS UNCOMPROMISING PROGRAM/ WHICH I TRUST MR. AZIKIWE/ AND HIS CO-WORKERS WILL ADOPT.// I TRUST/ THEY WILL PEER ACROSS THE BORDERS OF NIGERIA/ AND THE GOLD COAST,/ TO FRENCH WEST AFRICA/ WHERE CONSCIOUS EFFORT/ OF THIS VERY SORT,/ IS ALREADY WORKING/ AMONG FRENCH AND BERBER NEGROES.// AND THAT THEY WILL NOT ALLOW/ THE BROW-BEATING OF BRITISH COLONIAL OFFICIALS,/ NOR THE RED-BAITING HYSTERIA OF AMERICA,/ TO SWERVE THEM/ A SINGLE INCH,/ FROM THESE GREAT ENDS. REMEMBER TOO,/ THAT RELIGION IN EUROPE/ AND AMERICAN INDUSTRY/ ARE DETERMINED ON WAR. A THIRD WORLD WAR/ WILL FINISH EUROPE/ AND MAKE ASIA/ THE CENTER OF

WORLD CULTURE.// AFRICA THEN MUST KEEP HER FACE/ TURNED TOWARD ASIA.

I PRAY/ THAT MR. AZIKIWE/ WILL TELL AFRICA, THAT ALTHOUGH OUR NEGRO COLLEGES AND RACE LEADERS/ ARE MOMENTARILY/ STRICKEN BY ACUTE LOCK-JAW/ NEVERTHELESS/ WE KNOW THE TRUTH, AND DEPEND UPON IT/ FOR YOU/ TO MAKE AFRICA, FREE.

46-8-93

THE ROLE OF WEST AFRICA

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

We all unite to congratulate Mr. Azikiwe and his fellow workers on the new role they are playing in the world by planning The Emancipation and Autonomy of Africa. Perhaps most of us fail to appreciate the difficulties which have faced them. The prestige of the British Empire has been and still is such, that it balked criticism. For Black men in West Africa successfully to carry their grievances to the British people, much less to the larger world, has long been impossible. Even today it faces tremendous handicaps and lays its leaders open to calumny, unemployment and even the threat of death. We appreciate the courage behind the current fight for rights in West Africa.

For many years, particularly between 1918 and 1928, my own thought was that on this account Black Africa must at least temporarily, find leadership outside Africa itself. That was the idea back of the Pan-African congresses, which I tried to establish. The movement had limited success, because of lack of enthusiasm here, the bitter opposition in Europe and the lack of facilities for understanding among black Africans.

Today the whole picture has changed. Europe is committing suicide by fratricidal strife. The American Negro has lost--or rather never gained--world vison, but is like to become more American than the Americans and rush in for money-making and war. It is this growing provincialism of American Negroes which has made inevitable indigenous leadership of Africa by Africans.

This leadership has arisen in West Africa because the natives of South Africa have been so overwhelmed by the most ruthless exploitation of minerals the world ever knew that they are today writhing in the very dust to secure mere bread and shelter. In Portuguese Africa, the Black and Mulatto leadership has been bribed into complaissance by being given share in the loot of exploitation. In the Congo, determined effort of Belgium has succeeded hitherto in preventing the development of a leading intelligentia; while in The Valley of the Nile and its contributory lake regions, Britain is centering a last desperate effort to fortify and resotre its Empire and retain its domination of cheap labor and materials on which it waxed fat and powerful for three centuries.

This leaves West Africa--not only British, but French and Berber---as the area where African Autonomy and freedom can at present best take root and expand. In this area it is possible to found a Black Nation of 100 millions of people, with a cultural past unrivalled by any part of the world; who have never been conquered nor enslaved by the white world, but in the 19th century fell victim to the exploitation of labor and land by capital andtechnique which Europe monopolized.

Here it is that a new young leadership has arisen, made possible by the collapse of European economy which two World Wars has caused. This leadership has the advantage of a Socialist Britain and a growing group of young Negroes with modern education. But it has also two dangerous handicaps, which form the reason that I am venturing to speak here tonight. There is determined attempt in Britain to keep Socialism and its basic philosophy from penetrating Africa: and secondly, the Africans themselves are not wholly aware of the aims of The New Social Economy which they can and must establish.

In the British West African Movement for Autonomy and Freedom there is dangerous dependence upon the philosophy of the 19th century, which made Britain great and ruthless; an emphasis on Nationality, and on investment and profit making; which if uncurbed and uncritized, may land this people in the same morass of exploitation and capitalist subjugation, which has ruined the world. And, contrary to wishful thinking, it will make no difference in the end, whether the masters are Black or white.

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What young Black Africa must learn and deeply understand, is that if socialism is good for Britain, and for most of the present world, as every wise man knows it is, it is also good for Africa; and that is true no matter what is taught by British Tories, or in Reactionary American schools. In Africa, as nowhere in the world, lies the opportunity to build an African Socialism which can teach the world on land historically held in common ownership; on labor organized in the past for social ends and not for private profit; and on education long conducted by the family and clan, for the progress of the State and not mainly for the development of profitable industry. What is needed, and all that is needed, is science and technique applied to the group economy by men of unselfish determination and clear foresight.

It is this uncompromising program, which I trust Mr. Azikiwe and his co-workers will adopt. I trust they will peer across the borders of Nigeria and the Gold Coast, to French West Africa where conscious effort of this very sort, is already working among French and Berber Negroes; and that they will not allow the brow-beating of British colonial officials, nor the Red-baiting hysteria of America, to swerve them a single inch from these great ends. Remember, too, that religion in Europe and American industry are determined on war. A third World War will finish Europe and make Asia the center of world culture. Africa must keep her face turned toward Asia.

I pray that Mr. Azikiwe will tell Africa, that although our Negro college and Race leaders, are momentarily stricken by acute lock-jaw, nevertheless we know the truth, and depend upon it for you to make Africa Free.

DESPITE OUR THEORETICAL BELIEF IN DEMOCRACY, IT IS DIFFICULT REALLY TO CONVINCE MOST AMERICANS THAT ELECTIONS ARE WORTH WHILE. WE HAVE HAD TOO MANY EXPERIENCES AT SEEING AN ELECTION GO IN ONE DIRECTION AND THE COUNTRY LURCHING DIRECTLY IN ANOTHER: WE HAVE HEARD CANDIDATES PROMISE ONE POLICY AND SPEND TWO OR FOUR YEARS ADVOCATING OR YIELDING TO ANOTHER. YET WHAT EVER IS WRONG WITH ELECTIONS CAN ONLY BE CURED BY GRIM DETERMINATION DESPITE DISAPPOINTMENT TO MAKE DEMOCRACY WORK. THIS MEANS THAT THE ELECTION ITSELF IS ONLY PART OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. IT MUST BE IMPLEMENTED BY CAREFUL WATCHING AND CHECKING BETWEEN ELECTIONS, BY FOLLOWING UP ELECTION PROMISES AND CHECKING THE OFFICIAL ACTS OF EVERY CANDIDATE WHO ASKS YOUR VOTE. SIDE ISSUES MUST BE IGNORED: THAT THE MAYOR IS PHOGENIC: THAT MR. MORRIS IS RESPECTABLE: THAT SENATOR DULLES IS RELIGIOUS: AND THAT MANY OTHER CANDIDATES HAVE NEVER BEEN IN JAIL, MAY BE TRUE AND MAY OR MAY NOT BE TO THEIR CREDIT, BUT IT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THIS ELECTION.

IN THIS ELECTION, WE WANT A MAYOR WHO WILL NOT FORCE WAGE EARNERS TO PAY FOR PUBLIC SERVICES WHICH OUGHT TO BE BORNE BY RICH PROPERTY OWNERS. WE WANT TO BREAK UP THE ALL AND CONTINUING ALLIANCE BETWEEN CRIME AND COMMERCIAL PROFIT: WE WANT MORE SCHOOLS, MORE PARKS AND HOSPITALS. WHEN WE SCAN THE RECORD OF THE CANDIDATES THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT BUT MARCANTONIO IS THE ONLY CANDIDATE WHOM WE CAN TRUST TO FOLLOW THIS PROGRAM BECAUSE HIS RECORD AS A PUBLIC OFFICIAL HAS PROVED BY HIS VOTES AND ACTS EXACTLY WHAT HE STANDS FOR IN ALL OF THESE CRUCIAL ISSUES. NEW YORK HAS LONG BEEN REGARDED AND STILL IS AS EXISTING FOR THE RICH, FOR GAMBLERS, FOR PLAYBOYS AND FOR FOOLS. IT SHOULD BE AN EXAMPLE TO THE NATION AND THE WORLD OF WHAT A FINE HONEST AMERICAN CITY COULD BE IF CONDUCTED FOR PUBLIC WELFARE AND NOT FOR FLAMBOYANT GREED.

THE ONE SUFFICIENT REASON FOR DEFEATING JOHN FOSTER DULLES IS THAT GOVERNOR DEWEY SUPPORTS HIM. ANYBODY OR ANYTHING THAT DEWEY SUPPORTS IS

SUSPECT BY EVERY HONEST MAN. IF WE COULD PUT PERSONS LIKE EDWARD GUINIER AND MAUD RUSSELL IN THE SEATS OF BOROUGH PRESIDENCIES, WE COULD EXPECT THESE OFFICES TO MEAN SOMETHING.

BUT ABOVE ALL, IT IS OUR SOLEM DUTY TO RE-ELECT BEN DAVIS AS CITY COUNCILLOR: FIRST BECAUSE HE IS AN HONEST MAN, AND A HARD-WORKING PUBLIC SERVANT, AND ABOVE ALL BECAUSE HE HAS THE COURAGE OF HIS CONVICTIONS. HE HAS NO OPPOSITION WHATSOEVER EXCEPT LIFE MAGAZINE AND THE MEMBERS OF THE PEEKSKILL MOB.

45-4-60

University of Illinois
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35-4-438

SOCIAL MEDICINE

BY
W. E. B. DU BOIS

FREEDOM, THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE; PRIVATE INITIATTVE, FREE ENTERPRISE AND DEMOCRACY ARE THE SLOGANS AND CATCH WORDS WHICH ARE IN FAMILIAR AND CONSTANT USE TODAY. THEY APPEAR AXIOMATIC AND SELF INTERPRETING AT FIRST SIGHT: WE WANT TO BE FREE: WE WANT TO GO WHERE WE PLEASE, WHEN WE PLEASE AND DO WHAT WE PLEASE: WE DO NOT LIKE TO HAVE POLICEMEN ORDERING US ABOUT OR CHAIRMEN STOPPING US FROM [redacted] TALKING OR GOVERNMENTS LOADING US WITH LAWS. WE WANT THE RIGHT TO MAKE OUR OWN PLANS, PLAN OUR OWN LIVES AND SET OUR OWN GOALS. WE WANT ALL AVENUES OF ADVANCEMENT AND ACCOMPLISHMENT OPEN TO US AND KEPT OPEN. WE WANT A VOICE IN OUR OWN GOVERNMENT; WE WANT TO ELECT THE

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THE OFFICIALS WHOM WE FAVOR AND WE WANT THE WAY KEPT OPEN TO CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENCY. THIS IS THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE. THE DIFFICULTY WITH IT IS THAT IT IS NOT TRUE AND CANNOT BE TRUE AND THE SOONER WE FACE THE FACTS WE ALREADY KNOW, THE SOONER WE WILL TALK LIKE RATIONAL HUMAN BEINGS AND NOT LIKE FOOLS.

35-4-439

IT IS EASY TO SEE HOW HISTORICALLY THESE PHRASES AROSE AND BECAME IMBEDDED IN OUR CULTURAL PATTERNS. AMERICANS OF THE 19th CENTURY WERE BORN IN A VAST LAND OF UNEXAMPLED WEALTH AND VARIETY OF RESOURCE. THERE WAS RICH LAND IN ABUNDANCE FOR THE TAKING; THERE WAS REMUNERATIVE WORK FOR EVERYBODY TO DO WHO WAS NOT SICK OR LAZY; THERE WAS EVERY VARIETY OF CLIMATE AND KIND OF INDUSTRY; EVERY INDUCEMENT OF INVENTION AND TECHNIQUE; AND IF YOU DID NOT LIKE MASSACHUSETTS YOU COULD GO TO CALIFORNIA, OR MOVE WITHOUT LET OR HINDRANCE FROM CHICAGO TO NEW ORLEANS.

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YOU KNOW THE SORT OF NATIONAL CHARACTER WE EVOLVED. WE BECAME BOLD, INVENTIVE AND LAWLESS. WE EXPLORED, ~~INVENTED~~, CONTRIVED, MURDERED, STOLE AND LYNCHED. ANY MAN FREE, WHITE AND 21 WAS A LAW UNTO HIMSELF. IT BECAME AXIOMATIC THAT AMERICANS COULD NOT AND WOULD NOT BE ~~RESTRAINED~~ HELD BY ORDINARY RESTRAINTS OF LAW AND ORDER. GREAT AMERICANS CHEATED THEIR COMPETITORS, DROVE THEM TO SUICIDE AND RUINED THEIR BUSINESSES AND SO BECAME SO GREAT AND GOOD THAT THEY COULD GIVE THE UNITED NATIONS A SITE WHICH NO NATION WAS ABLE TO AFFORD. FOR THIRTY YEARS BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS I DROVE A CAR, TRAVELLING OFF AND ON IN NEARLY EVERY STATE OF THE UNION. I USED TO TELL MY FRIENDS THAT I NEVER SAW A SPACE MARKED "NO PARKING" WHERE SOME CAR WAS NOT PARKED.

OF COURSE AS A MATTER OF FACT, ALL AMERICANS WERE NOT AS FREE, NOR INITIATIVE, NOR SO DEMOCRATIC AS SOME WERE. IT WAS ONLY BY IGNORING THE SLAVES, THE POVERTY-STRICKEN AND THE FAILURES THAT WE COULD KEEP UP THE ILLUSION OF THIS FREE SUCCESSFUL LAND. AND IN THE 20th CENTURY IT BEGAN TO DAWN ON MANY

45-4-63

AMERICANS, THAT IN THIS LAND AS IN ~~MOST~~ OTHERS, THERE WERE LIMITS OF FREEDOM. INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE AND UNCONTROLLED INITIATIVE WE MUST ~~MEND~~ CURB OR PERISH. OF COURSE WE KNEW THIS BEFORE BUT SOMEHOW WE HATED TO GIVE UP THE ILLUSION: MOREOVER WE HAD AN IDEA THAT WE COULD EDUCATE LUSTIER AND MORE VIRILE CHILDREN IF WE TOLD THEM THE FALSEHOOD THAT AMERICANS WERE FREE AND HAD A RIGHT TO BE FREEER THAN OTHER HUMAN BEINGS. I REMEMBER HOW AS A BOY I RESENTED BEING EXPECTED TO SING LUSTILY ABOUT THE "LAND OF THE NOBLE, FREE." I KNEW QUITE A FEW AMERICANS WHO WERE NOT ~~FREE~~ NOBLE AND I CERTAINLY WAS NOT FREE.

THE LEARNED PROFESSIONS IN PARTICULAR CLUNG LONGEST TO THE IDEAL OF FREE AND INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE. THE LABORERS, MEETING TIME CLOCKS AND HARD-FACED MEN WHO HIRED AND FIRED, BEGAN EARLY TO TALK LESS ABOUT FREEDOM AND MORE ABOUT JUSTICE. THE WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS AND CIVIL SERVANTS LONG SINCE REALIZED THAT THE TREADMILL INTO WHICH THEIR LOT WAS CAST WAS NOT PROPERLY

DESCRIBED AS PRIVATE INITIATIVE OR FREE ENTERPRISE. AND THEY BEGAN TO ACT ACCORDINGLY. BUT LAWYERS, PHYSICIANS, DENTISTS, AND CLERGYMEN, LONG CLUNG TO THE IDEAL OF INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM AS THE GREAT ATTRACTION IN THESE LINES OF OCCUPATION. I DO NOT DOUBT BUT THAT CONCEALED MORE OR LESS SUCESSFULLY IN BACK OF THE HEADS OF MOST MEDICAL STUDENTS IS AN ALLURING VISION OF A SUITE OF OFFICES ON PARK AVENUE OR MICHIGAN, WHERE SELECTED PATRONS ARE RECEIVED BY TRIM MAIDS FOR QUIET AND INTERESTING CONSULTATION: THEN AFTER AN HOUR OR SO IN ADVICE AT THE HOSPITAL WITH SUBSERVIENT INTERNES, A LONG SLEEK CAR WHISKS YOU TO YOUR BOOKS AND CONSERVATORY. IT IS AN ALLURING PROSPECT, BUT NOT QUITE CHARACTERISTIC OF MOST AMERICAN PHYSICIANS.

WHEN I WAS IN LONDON IN 1945, I STOPPED WITH A PHYSICIAN. DR. CLARKE WAS A CHARMING MAN, BORN IN THE WEST INDIES, EDUCATED AT CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND, WITH AN EXCELLENT AND SELECT PRACTICE IN HIS OFFICE NEAR THE ELEPHANT AND CASTLE. HE DROVE FROM THERE OUT TO HIS PLEASANT NEW COTTAGE IN HIGH BARNET

WHERE HE HAD FLOWERS, A LITTLE SURGERY, A WELL-TRAINED BUTLER AND OPEN FIRES. HE ENJOYED A LEISURELY BUT FULL LIFE AND LIKED ENTERTAINING FRIENDS FROM ABROAD. THIS WINTER RATHER UNEXPECTEDLY HE APPEARED IN NEW YORK, ON HIS WAY TO BARBADOES WHICH HE HAD NOT VISITED FOR 30 YEARS. HE WAS NOT EXACTLY UNHAPPY, BUT DECIDEDLY DISCONCERTED. THE BRITISH LABOR GOVERNMENT HAD QUITE UPSET THE NORMAL COMPLACENCY OF HIS LIFE. THEY TOOK OVER HIS OFFICE AND NEAT LITTLE SURGERY: THEY FILLED HIS OFFICE WITH A SURGING CROWD OF PATIENTS OF ALL SORTS AND KINDS AND THEY PAID HIM A SALARY INSTEAD OF FEES. OF COURSE THEY DID GIVE HIM A SIX MONTHS VACATION WITH PAY WHICH HE WOULD NEVER HAVE GIVEN HIMSELF AND HE DID NOT HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT HIS FUTURE. IT WAS NOT THAT HE WAS EXACTLY WORSE OFF, BUT IT WAS THAT HE WAS CERTAINLY NOT FREE: HE WAS NOT INDEPENDENT: HE WAS A SERVANT OF THE STATE AND NO LONGER A PRIVATE PRACTICIANER. HE DID NOT EXACTLY OPPOSE THE NEW SOCIALIZED MEDICINE OF BRITAIN BUT

IT CERTAINLY COULD BE IMPROVED.// BUT HIS REAL DISMAY/LAY IN THE PLAIN FACT/THAT THIS REVOLUTION/IN THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE/IN GREAT BRITAIN/HAD COME TO STAY. NOT EVEN THE REDOUBTABLE/AND FEARLESS CHURCHILL/ WOULD DARE ABOLISH IT/AND GO BACK TO THE DAYS OF MEDICAL FREEDOM.

WHY IS THIS?/ THE REASON IS QUITE PLAIN:/ ONE MAN CAN BE FREE: TWO MEN CANNOT.// JUST AS SOON AS SOCIETY GROWS IN NUMBERS/AND INTRICACY OF ORGANIZATION // JUST SO SOON/INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM OF ACTION/MUST BE CURTAILED// THE CURTAILMENT NEED NOT BE SLAVERY:/IT CAN AND WILL LEAD/TO MANY COMPULSIONS/. BUT IN THE END/ IT CAN AND MUST MEAN/THAT INDIVIDUAL EFFORT/WILL BE CURBED AND CONDITIONED/FOR THE COMMON GOOD./ THE INDIVIDUAL MUST BOW/TO THE INTERESTS OF SOCIETY.

IN NO AREA/OF HUMAN ACTIVITY/IS THIS NECESSITY MORE EVIDENT/THAN IN THE FIELD OF HEALTH.//THE ADVANCE OF MEDICAL AND SURGICAL SCIENCE/DURING THE 19th CENTURY/HAS BEEN PHENOMENAL/AS YOU KNOW MUCH BETTER THAN I.// I KNOW IN MY

OWN CASE/THAT HAD IT NOT BEEN/FOR A CERTAIN ~~INVENTION~~ TECHNIK BECOMING COMMON/ABOUT 1918/ I SHOULD HAVE LONG BEEN DEAD// AS A RESULT OF THAT EXPERIENCE,/ I TRIED PREVENTIVE MEDICINE./ I WENT TO AN INSTITUTE/WHERE THEY PROFESSED TO LAY STRESS/UPON INVESTIGATION AND ADVICE.// BUT ~~WHEN~~ I NOTICED/THAT THEY STILL HAD THE OLDER POINT OF VIEW./ EACH YEAR I CAME,/ THEY ASKED SOLITICIOUSLY/"WHAT IS WRONG? WHAT ARE YOU SUFFERING FROM?"/ AND WHEN I SAID THAT THERE WAS NOT ANYTHING WRONG/SO FAR AS I KNEW/AND THAT I WAS NOT SUFFERING,/ THERE WAS A CERTAIN LACK OF INTEREST./ AFTER ALL, WHY SHOULD ONE COME/TO A PHYSICIAN/UNLESS SOMETHING WAS WRONG.// IF INSTEAD OF GOING TO THE INSTITUTE,/ I WENT TO ANY OF MY NUMBERLESS FRIENDS/WHO ARE PHYSICIANS,/ THEY WERE ALL TERRIBLY BUSY:/ THEY HAD TIME ONLY/FOR ACUTE CASES/AND NOT FOR GENERAL ADVICE.// MOREOVER, INCIDENTIALLY/THEY COULD NOT CHARGE ADEQUATELY FOR ADVICE,/ AND THEY COULD CHARGE FOR OPERATIONS.

THAT MEANS THAT THERE IS A TREMENDOUS DEMAND IN THIS COUNTRY FOR PREVENTING DISEASE, WHICH WOULD NOT ONLY SAVE MONEY, BUT SAVE SUFFERING. // AGAIN THE YOUNG PHYSICIANS, WHO ARE BEING TRAINED IN ALTOGETHER TOO FEW NUMBERS, NATURALLY GO TO PLACES LIKE NEW YORK AND CHICAGO, WHERE LIFE IS EASIER AND MORE INTERESTING. // AS A RESULT OF THIS, YOU HAVE OUR FEW PHYSICIANS HERDED INTO THE GREAT CENTERS, WHILE THE MASS OF PEOPLE LIVING IN COUNTRY DISTRICTS AND SPARSELY POPULATED PARTS OF THE ~~COUNTRY~~ NATION, FIND IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO GET MEDICAL ATTENTION EVEN IN SERIOUS CASES, MUCH MORE TO GET REGULAR ADVICE.

I JUST HAD VISITING ME A FRIEND FROM THE WEST INDIES WHO IS YOUNGER THAN I AM. BUT HE LIVES ON A FAR OUT-LYING ISLAND. THE RESULT IS THAT HE IS COMING TO NEW YORK TO HAVE ATTENTION GIVEN TO HIS HEARING, LONG NEGLECTED, AND TO HAVE SOMETHING DONE FOR HIS DECAYING TEETH, WHICH TOGETHER WITH OTHER DIFFICULTIES, MAKE HIM IN APPEARANCE, MUCH OLDER THAN I. // IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE WHERE HE LIVES AND WHERE HE HAS BEEN DOING EXCELLENT SOCIAL WORK FOR 25 YEARS

TO GET THE PROFESSIONAL ATTENTION WHICH HE OUGHT TO HAVE.

IN THE ABSENCE OF ADVICE AS TO HEALTH HABITS AND FOR THE PREVENTION OF DISEASE, YOU HAVE THE TREMENDOUS AND STILL GROWING SALE OF PATENT MEDICINES AND NOSTRUMS, INCREASED NOW BY ADVERTISEMENTS OVER THE RADIO ~~AND IN THE NEWSPAPERS~~, SO THAT THE MAJORITY OF U.S. CITIZENS ARE NOT ONLY NOT GIVEN CORRECT MEDICAL ADVICE: BUT THEY ARE HAVING DANGEROUS ADVICE LITERALLY FORCED UPON THEM. // THERE IS THEREFORE, CLEARLY IN THE UNITED STATES A WIDE AND INCREASING DEMAND FOR HEALTH SERVICES, FOR ADVICE AS TO HEALTHFUL HABITS, FOR PREVENTION OF DISEASE, FOR HOSPITALIZATION. AND THIS DEMAND MUST BE FILLED.

WE CANNOT DEPEND UPON THE INDIVIDUAL DESIRES OF MEDICAL STUDENTS FOR THE FILLING OF THIS DEMAND. HERE IS A SOCIAL NEED AND ORGANIZATION MUST SEE THAT THE NEED IS FILLED. MEDICAL STUDENTS MUST NOT ONLY BE TRAINED FOR HEALTH WORK, BUT THEY MUST BE ASSIGNED TO DISTRICTS WHERE THIS HEALTH WORK IS TO

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BE DONE.// THAT INTERFERES UNDOUBTEDLY WITH INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE.// IT INTERFERES WITH SO-CALLED FREEDOM, BUT WE HAVE COME TO THE TIME IN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WORLD WHEN NEED AND NOT WISH MUST PREVAIL IN LARGER AND LARGER AREAS OF LIFE.

THIS IS THE RESULT NOT SIMPLY OF ~~THE~~ A SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: IT IS BECAUSE WE MUST BOW TO NATURAL AND BIOLOGICAL LAW.// IT DOES NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE HOW FREE AMERICAN CITIZENS WANT TO BE, THEY HAVE GOT TO OBEY THE LAW OF GRAVATATION.// THERE ARE PHYSICAL AND CHEMICAL LAWS WHICH MUST BE OBEYED AND THEN IN ADDITION THE ENORMOUS TECHNIQUE THAT HAS GROWN UP, AND THE INVOLVED CULTURAL PATTERNS MAKE OUR CIVILIZATION SO COMPLICATED, THAT INDIVIDUAL WISH OR WHIM MUST BE SUBORDINATED TO THE COMMON GOOD.

ONE THINKS OF COURSE OF SOCIAL WELFARE AS BEING LOGICALLY IN THE HANDS OF THE STATE;// BUT HERE IN AMERICA WE HAVE BEEN PREJUDICED AGAINST THE STATE,// BECAUSE IN THE 18th CENTURY WHEN THE UNITED STATES BEGAN AS A NATION WE WERE

45-4-71

IN THE MIDST OF DAYS WHEN CURTAILMENT OF INDIVIDUAL EFFORT WAS MOST ARBITRARY AND FREEDOM IN INDUSTRIAL LIFE WAS LOOKED UPON AS THE ONE PANACEA FOR ALL ILL. THAT FREEDOM CRY OF THE 18th CENTURY HAS GOT TO SUCCUMB TO THE TECHNIQUE OF THE 19TH CENTURY, AND TO THE SOCIAL WELFARE OF THE 20th CENTURY.

THERE ARE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE CARE OF THE SICK, FOR INSURANCE AGAINST ILLNESS AND OPERATIONS.// SO FAR AS THEY GO, THEY ARE EXCELLENT, BUT THEY DO NOT GO FAR. THEY COVER ONLY A SMALL PART OF THE FIELD. AND WHATEVER THEY DO, SHOULD BE DONE MORE COMPLETELY BY THE STATE, IF WE HAVE THE SORT OF STATE WHICH WE OUGHT TO HAVE.// THERE IS NO REASON FOR THE PREJUDICE IN THE UNITED STATES AGAINST THE STATE AND ITS SERVANTS.// A MAN DOES NOT BECOME A SCOUNDREL SIMPLY BECAUSE HE WORKS FOR THE UNITED STATES INSTEAD OF WORKING FOR THE BLUE CROSS, OR THE STEEL TRUST.// AND THE PERSON WORKING FOR SEARS ROEBUCK COULD WORK JUST AS EFFICIENTLY AND HONESTLY FOR THE STATE OF ILLINOIS, IF HE

GOT AS GOOD WAGES, WORKING CONDITIONS AND SECURITY. // THERE IS NO REASON WHY THE AVERAGE OF EFFICIENCY AND CHARACTER IN THE STATE EMPLOYEE SHOULD BE LOWER THAN THAT AMONG THE EMPLOYEES OF PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS, EXCEPT THAT THOSE WHO WORK FOR PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS ARE SELECTED WITH GREATER CARE, ARE PAID BETTER WAGES, AND GET MORE SECURITY.

BUT IF THE PRIVATE ORGANIZATION CAN GET THAT KIND OF SERVICE, THE STATE ORGANIZATION CAN DO THE SAME THING. // THIS MEANS THAT THE STATE HAS GOT TO BE TAKEN MUCH MORE SERIOUSLY THAN WE HAVE TAKEN IT. // IT CANNOT BE THAT DEMOCRACY IS MAINLY A WAY OF SELECTING OFFICIALS AND MAKING IT POSSIBLE FOR PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS TO INCREASE THEIR PROFIT. // IF WE BEGIN TO LOOK UPON THE STATE AS AN ORGANIZATION FOR SOCIAL WELFARE, THEN THERE IS NO REASON IN THE WORLD WHY THE AVAILABLE ABILITY OF THE COUNTRY SHOULD NOT BE HIRED AND PAID FOR BY THE STATE MADE AS SECURE IN ITS TENURE AND AS DIGNIFIED IN ITS WORK AS IS POSSIBLE WITH THE PRIVATE ORGANIZATION.

IN OTHER WORDS, WHAT WE HAVE GOT TO ACCOMPLISH THROUGH DEMOCRACY IS A BETTER STATE AND THAT STATE HAS GOT TO ORGANIZE THE DEMAND FOR PUBLIC SERVICE, NOT ONLY IN HEALTH, BUT IN THE PROCURING OF JUSTICE, IN THE TEACHING IN OUR SCHOOLS, IN PLANNING AND CONDUCTING CERTAIN INDUSTRIAL UNDERTAKINGS, IN OUR LITERATURE AND ART. // THIS MEANS THAT WE MUST REVISE IN MANY WAYS OUR CONCEPTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC METHOD. // WE HAVE LOOKED UPON IT FOR THE CENTURY OR MORE AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL PRIVILEGE, WHEN IN TRUTH IT IS A MATTER OF SERVICES AND KNOWLEDGE. // DEMOCRACY IS NOT SO MUCH A WAY OF PORTECTING OURSELVES FROM AGGRESSION AS A WAY OF GETTING THE WORLDS' WORK DONE, AND DONE IN THE BEST AND MOST SCIENTIFIC WAY.

THE EXPERIENCES OF THE MASS OF MEN FORM A RESERVOIR ~~OF EXPERIENCE~~ WHICH IS AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE STATE, IF WE KNOW HOW TO USE IT. // THE DEMOCRATIC METHOD, THROUGH DISCUSSION AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE TAPS THAT RESERVOIR:

45-4-74

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IT ASERTAINS THROUGH THE EXPERIENCE OF ALL WHAT THE NEEDS OF EACH ARE: AND THEN PROCEEDS WITH THE BEST METHODS KNOWN, TO SECURE FOR THE STATE THE SERVICES OF PEOPLE WHO ARE GOING TO PUT THIS KNOWLEDGE INTO PRACTICE.

IT IS UNFORTUNATE THAT JUST NOW WE IN THE UNITED STATES ARE IN A PERIOD WHEN MEN OF SCIENCE, EXPERIENCE AND KNOWLEDGE HESITATE TO ACCEPT SERVICE IN THE GOVERNMENT. // WE HAVE HAD INSULT AND PERSECUTION OF UNEXAMPLED AND INEXCUSABLE VARIETY VISITED UPON PERSONS IN GOVERNMENT EMPLOY. WE ARE SLOW IN REWARDING WORK OF THAT KIND AND CONSEQUENTLY AT JUST THE TIME IN THE HOSTORY OF THE WORLD WHEN THE WORK OF GOVERNMENT EVERYWHERE IS EXPANDING, WHEN THERE ARE AREAS OF SERVICE WHICH NO AGENCY EXCEPT GOVERNMENT CAN UNDERTAKE, WE ARE PERSUADING FAR FEWER TRAINED MEN TO UNDERTAKE THIS WORK THAN WE MUST HAVE.

WHEN THEREFORE, IN THE FUTURE WE REPEAT THESE SLOGANS OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY, WE HAVE GOT TO REMEMBER, AS I HAVE SAID BEFORE, THAT FIRST OF ALL, OUR INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM MUST BE CURTAILED FOR THE COMMON WELFARE. AND SECONDLY

45-4-75

THAT DEMOCRACY IS NOT SIMPLY A MATTER OF ELECTION TO OFFICE: IT IS A WAY OF GETTING THE WORLDS' WORK DONE BY THE VERY BEST METHODS.

WE ARE ALWAYS TEMPTED TO SEEK BY-PATHS: TO SEE IF WE CANNOT BUILT UP VAST PRIVATE AGENCIES IN INSURANCE, IN BUILDING, IN THE PROCESSING OF NECESSARY MATERIALS, IN THE TRANSPORTATION OF GOODS, WHICH WILL DO THE WORK WHICH OUGHT TO BE DONE BY THE STATE MUCH BETTER AND MORE COMPLETELY THAN ANY GOVERNMENT IS AT PRESENT READY TO DO. // BUT THAT MEANS SIMPLY THAT GOVERNMENTS MUST BE MADE READY TO DO THIS WORK. THAT THEY MUST BE ORGANIZED FOR IT, THAT THE TECHNIQUE OF THE STATE MUST BE SO PERFECTED THAT MATTERS WHICH ARE OF NATIONAL APPLICATION AND UNIVERSAL IMPORTANCE, AND WHICH CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED ONLY BY AN OVER-ALL ORGANIZATION, SHALL BE DONE BY SUCH AN ORGANIZATION, AND THAT ORGANIZATION WILL BE THE STATE.

35-4-453

WE NEED SCARCELY PILE UP ARGUMENTS HERE. PRACTICALLY ALL WILL ADMIT THAT THE NECESSARY DEMAND FOR MEDICAL SERVICE IS NOT NEARLY MET BY PRESENT PROVISIONS: THAT THE TRAINING AND PLACEMENT OF PRACTICINERS CANNOT BE LEFT ENTIRELY TO INDIVIDUAL CHOICE: THAT THE SOCIAL DEMAND FOR HUMAN WELFARE IN A WORLD FULL NOT ONLY OF HARSH NATURAL FORCES, BUT WITH INCREASINGLY COMPLICATED TECHNIQUES FOR PROCESSING AND DISTRIBUTING GOODS AND IN ADDITION HUMAN THOUGHT AND ACTION SET IN INTRICATE CULTURAL PATTERNS--THAT ALL THIS CALLS FOR OVER-HEAD COORDINATING SOCIAL MECHANISM TO SUPPLY SKILLS, DISTRIBUTE FACILITIES AND APPORTION HUMAN INSTRUMENTS ON A SCALE WHICH CHANCE AND INDIVIDUAL CHOICE CAN NEVER PROVIDE.

35-4-454

THE CRUCIAL QUESTION IS WHAT ORGAN OF SOCIAL SERVICE CAN BEST DO THIS? WE CAN THINK OF THREE SORTS OF ORGANS:

1. VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

2. PHILANTHROPY

3. BUSINESS ENTERPRIZE

4. THE CITY, STATE OR NATION VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION CAN DO MUCH AND IN THE FUTURE MIGHT DO EVEN MORE THAN NOW: BUT THE TOTAL JOB IS TOO BIG AND CALLS FOR TOO MUCH PLANNING AND EXECUTIVE ACTION TO BE LEFT TO VOLUNTEERS. IF IT IS, IT WILL TEND TO SERVE GROUPS OF SELECTED PERSONS RATHAN THAN THE MASS OF MEN. ABOVE ALL IT WILL LACK THE INCOME NECESSARY FOR A COMPLETE JOB.

35-4-455

PHILANTHROPY CAN BE DEPENDED ON FOR EMERGENCIES AND AT TIMES OF EMOTIONAL STRAIN BUT IT IS NEITHER SUFFICIENTLY SUSTAINED NOR POWERFUL ENOUGH TO CONDUCT A SOCIAL SERVICE LIKE THIS. AND IN ADDITION SO LONG AS PHILANTHROPY IS A FUNCTION OF BIG BUSINESS IT WILL SERVE INDUSTRY FIRST AND HUMANITY LAST. LARGE NUMBERS OF AMERICANS TURN NATURALLY TO BUSINESS ENTERPRISE FOR ANY

35-4-48

SERVICE OR ORGANIZATION ~~THIS~~ of MAGNITUDE. THIS IS BECAUSE WE ARE CHILDREN OF THE 19th CENTURY WITH ITS INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND FREE ENTERPRISE. THE UNITED STATES WAS BORN WITH THE "WEALTH OF NATIONS", AND HAS NEVER PASSED OUT OF THE LAISSE-FAIRE ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY. WE ASSUME BUSINESS ORGANIZATION AND BUSINESS METHODS ARE NOT ONLY THE BEST BUT THE ONLY WAY TO CARRY ON PUBLIC SERVICE OF ANY AND ALL KINDS. ON THE OTHER HAND AND COMPLEMENTARY TO THIS IDEA IS THE WIDE-SPREAD BELIEF THAT THE STATE IS INCAPABLE OF ANYTHING BUT THE SIMPLIST AND ROUGHEST AND LEAST AVOIDABLE PUBLIC SERVICE.

MOST PERSONS DO NOT SEEM TO REALIZE WHAT A CONTRADICTION THESE BELIEFS ARE TO DEMOCRACY. MOST AMERICANS ARE QUITE COMPLACENT OVER THE ADMITTED FAILURE OF DEMOCRACY IN THIS LAND AND IN MOST LANDS. UPON THIS BASIC DISBELIEEF MUSSOLINI AND HITLER BUILT THEIR TOTALITARIAN STATES: AND BECAUSE OF THIS BELIEF THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES TODAY SUBMIT WITHOUT MURMUR TO THE CONTROL

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OF THIS LAND BY INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE NOT ONLY IN BUSINESS BUT IN GOVERNMENT NEWS GATHERING, MAGAZINE AND BOOK WIRTING, ART AND PHILANTHROPY. LET US NOT FORGET THAT UNLESS DEMOCRACY CAN COPE WITH THE BROADER SERVICES OF PUBLIC WELFARE IT IS IDLE TO BELIEVE IT CAN BE TRUSTED TO GOVERN THE POLITICAL STATE.

ON THE OTHER HAND, UNLESS BUSINESS ENTERPRISE IS ABLE TO GOVERN BETTER IN THE FUTURE THAN IT HAS IN THE PAST, THEN WE MUST UNFORTUNATELY CONCLUDE THAT HUMAN BEINGS DO NOT HAVE SENSE ENOUGH TO ENSURE THEIR ULTIMATE SURVIVAL FOR REMEMBER THAT BUSINESS RULED THE WORLD DURING THE 19th CENTURY. IT WAS BUSINESS METHODS WHICH BUILT THE POWERFUL BRITISH EMPIRE UPON WHICH THE SUN IS RAPIDLY SETTING: IT WAS BUSINESS WHICH BUILT AND SUPPORTED THE DOMINANCE OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE AND CANONS OF TASTE OVER MOST OF THE WORLD. THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE, DUTCH AND BELGAIN DOMINIONS WERE BUILT ON SUCCESSFUL BUSINESS AND THESE INSUTRIAL POWERS REDUCED TWO THIRDS OF HUMANITY TO SLAVE

LABOR IN ORDER TO SUPPORT IN LUXURY A GROUP OF WHITE SUPER-MEN WHO OWNED AND RULED THE EARTH. // INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE, BUSINESS METHODS, WORLD COMMERCE ALL MARCHED INTO THE 20TH CENTURY "WITH COLORS GAILY FLYING, WITH TRUMPET AND WITH DRUM."

IT WAS IN 1900 THE CONSIDERED OPINION OF THE LEADERS OF WHITE MANKIND THAT EUROPEAN TECHNIQUE, ADMINISTERED BY WHITE CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY, IN ACCORD WITH THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF FREE ENTERPRISE AND INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE AND RECOGNIZING THE UNALTERABLE INFERIORITY OF THE VAST MAJORITY OF MANKIND, WERE DESTINED TO RULE ASIA, AFRICA, THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA AND IN ADDITION THE ALBORING CLASSES OF WHITE NATIONS FOR BENEFIT OF BRITISH NOBILITY AND GENTRY, FRENCH ARTISTS IN LETTERS AND GOWNS AND AMERICAN MILLIONAIRES.

WHAT HAS BEEN THE RESULT OF THIS RULE OF BUSINESS? // WE STAND TODAY IN THE MIDST OF THIS CENTURY, WITH EVERY GREAT IDEAL FOR WHICH THE WORLD EVER STOOD IN UNEXAMPLED RUIN. // WITH "PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TO MEN." SO UNPOPULAR

AND IN SUCH DISREPUTE THAT WE ARE PREPARED AND EAGER TO SPEND THREE-FOURTHS OF EVERY DOLLAR OF OUR IMMENSE TREASURE TO MURDER HUMAN BEINGS, AND NOT SIMPLY KILL SOLDIERS, BUT WOMEN, CHILDREN, CRIPPLES AND THE OLD. // WE HAVE FOUGHT TWO WARS OF SUCH UNEXAMPLED CRUELTY AND DESTRUCTION THAT THEY DESTROYED THE VERY CIVILIZATION THEY WERE DECLARED TO DEFEND. // HAVE YOU EVER HEARD OF THE WAR FOR DEMOCRACY? WELL, IT KILLED THE DEMOCRACY IT DEFENDED.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR WAS A WAR OF BIG BUSINESS AGAINST BIG BUSINESS: OF INTRENCHED COLONIAL IMPERIALISM IN BRITAIN AND FRANCE AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST APPETITE OF NEW GERMANY. THIS WAR OVERTHREW BIG BUSINESS THE WORLD OVER, KILLED THE WORLD MARKET, SMASHED THE GOLD STANDARD AND LANDED THE WORLD IN UNIVERSAL BANKRUPCY. NOT SATISFIED WITH THIS TRIUMPH OF FREE ENTERPRISE BIG BUSINESS DETERMINED TO STOP SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM AND COLONIAL REVOLT AND SUCCEEDED IN A SECOND WORLD WAR IN STARTING A WORLD UPHEAVAL, WHICH MAY END ANYWHERE EXCEPT

45-4-82

IN THE RESTORATION OF THE WORSHIP OF PRIVATE PROFIT AS THE WAY OF SALVATION. EITHER WE PUT DOWN THE ANARCHY OF FREE FOR ALL ENTERPRISE AND MAKE ORGANIZED SOCIAL STRIVING THE END OF PROGRESS, OR WE PERISH.

BUSINESS HAS NO ALIBI. IT EXERCISED PRACTICALLY UNIVERSAL RULE FROM 1815 to 1915// IF IN THAT CENTURY, IT COULD NOT ESTABLISH PEACE AND FREEDOM: HEALTH AND PROSPERITY: EDUCATION AND FAITH, IT CANNOT DO SO TOMORROW AMID THE RUINS WHICH ITS OVERPOWERING GREED BROUGHT ON THE WORLD TO DRAG IT DOWN TO HELL.// WE HAVE TRIED THE CONTRADICTION OF UNIVERSAL SELFISHNESS: OF GAINING WEALTH BY LETTING EVERYBODY CHEAT EVERYBODY ELSE: BY TESTING ALL HUMAN VALUE THROUGH THE PROFIT WHICH CAN BE DRAGGED OUT OF MEN BY FORCE OR FRAUD.// WE HAVE TRIED THAT METHOD IN EVERY VARIATION. NOW EITHER THE PUBLIC WEAL, WORKING THROUGH ITS HIGHEST EXPRESSION, THE STATE, WILL SAVE CIVILIZATION OR IT NEVER CAN BE SAVED. AND THAT STATE WILL BE A DEMOCRATIC STATE OR IT WILL BE NO STATE.// BELIEVE ME,

35-4-480

45-4-83

GENTLEMEN AND LADIES, YOU ARE NOT ENTERING A WORLD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND SOME OTHER WAY// THERE IS NO OTHER WAY: YOU ARE NOT GOING TO CHOOSE BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND SOME OTHER WAY: THERE IS NO OTHER WAY.

YOU WILL WITH JUSTICE NOW TURN TO ME AND SAY: LOOK AT THE STATE: LOOK AT WASHINGTON. GLANCE AT SPRINGFIELD. AND IF YOUR EYES ARE PARTICULARLY STRONG PEER AT CITY HALL.// AND I ANSWER, YOU ARE IN NONE OF THESE CASES LOOKING AT DEMOCRACY. YOU ARE NOT EVEN LOOKING AT A GOOD IMITATION. YOU ARE LOOKING AT WHAT YOU AND YOUR FATHERS BEFORE YOU EXCHANGED FOR DEMOCRACY: YOU ARE DOING EXACTLY THE SAME KIND OF THING WHICH THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF THIS UNITED STATES DID WHEN KNOWING THAT EVERY FIFTH AMERICAN WHOM THEY LOOKED ~~IN THE FACE~~ at WAS A SLAVE NEVERTHELESS DECLARED WITH PERFECTLY STRAIGHT FACES: " WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT: THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL: THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS: THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS." //

35-4-481

IN THE SAME WAY WE TODAY ARE SAYING, WE HAVE IN THE UNITED STATES A DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT IN WHICH THE PEOPLE RULE, EXPRESSING THEIR WILL IN OPEN HONEST ELECTIONS IN WHICH EVERY CITIZEN IS FREE TO EXPRESS HIS WILL.

35-4-463

THE RESULT OF THIS FREE DEMOCRACY IS THAT WE DARE NOT TRUST THE PLANNING AND CONDUCT OF PUBLIC HEALTH TO THIS GOVERNMENT BECAUSE IT IS NEITHER HONEST NOR INTELLIGENT ENOUGH TO CONDUCT IT. INSTEAD WE PREFER TO LEAVE THIS WORK TO THE METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

THE REASON WE HAVE NOT GOT A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN THIS LAND CAPABLE OF SUCCESSFULLY DEALING WITH HEALTH, EDUCATION, TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS, MINING, MANUFACTURING AND HEAVY INDUSTRY - THE REASON WE HAVE NO SUCH GOVERNMENT IS BECAUSE WE DO NOT WANT IT. WE HAVE FOR THREE GENERATIONS TAUGHT OURSELVES AND OUR CHILDREN THAT POLITICS ARE NASTY: THAT POLITICIANS ARE THIEVES: THAT DEMOCRACY WITHOUT CORRUPTION AND MANIPULATION IS IMPOSSIBLE AND THAT OUR GOVERNMENT, BAD AS IT IS, IS THE BEST ON EARTH. HAVING MADE TOO TRUE WHAT WE HAVE

DECLARED IS TRUE, WE ARE TODAY FITTING THE CAPSTONE. WE ARE ASSERTING THE RIGHT TO ACCUSE EVERY PUBLIC SERVANT OF BEING EITHER A PROVEN OR A POTENTIAL SPY. WE ARE KEEPING OUT OR KICKING OUT OF GOVERNMENT SERVICE NEARLY EVERY HONEST MAN OF INDEPENDENT THOUGHT WHOM WE CAN SCARE. AND THEN WE ARE SAYING: CAN A SYSTEM OF PUBLIC HEALTH CONSERVATION AND TRAINING, PAYING, AND DISTRIBUTION OF PHYSICIANS BE ENTRUSTED INTO SUCH GOVERNMENT HANDS.

35-4-463

WE OF COURSE ANSWER THE QUESTION WHEN WE ASK IT AND THE ANSWER IS NO. BUT THAT DOES NOT END THE QUESTIONING. IS THARE ANY REASON ON GOD'S EARTH WHY AN INTELLIGENT NATION OF DECENT PEOPLE CANNOT HAVE A GOVERNMENT CAPABLE OF CONDUCTING SOCIALIZED MEDICINE, PUBLIC EDUCATION AND SUCH GREAT INDUSTRIES AS CAN ONLY BE RUN BY MONOPOLY AND POLICE FORCE-- IS THERE ANY DECENT REASON WHY THAT CANNOT BE DONE? THE ANSWER AGAIN IS NO.

I KNOW HOW EASY IT IS TO LAUD DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM BY ROUNDED PERIODS WHICH IN THEMSELVES PROVE LITTLE: BUT I INSIST THAT IF WE CAN RUN THIS WORLD WITH ITS INTRICATE MACHINERY OF MATTER, FORCE AND MIND FOR PROFIT THEN WE CAN DO IT BETTER FOR HUMAN WELFARE AND AVOID THE DISASTER OF UNIVERSAL SELFISHNESS AND THE CONTRADICTIONS OF THE PRESENT INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.

35-44604

AND THE PROOF OF THIS IS THAT EVERY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD WITH AN OUNCE OF VISION, IS TRYING TO MAKE JUST THIS CHANGE. LET NO ONE TELL YOU THAT THE PENDING ELECTION IN BRITAIN IS BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND FREE ENTERPRISE: IT IS NOT: IT TURNS ENTIRELY ON THE QUESTION OF HOW QUICKLY AND BY WHAT STEPS INEVITABLE SOCIALISM CAN BE REALIZED. FRANCE IS A LARGELY SOCIALISTIC STATE: SCANDINAVIA IS MARKEDLY SOCIALISTIC. GERMANY HAS BEEN SOCIALISTIC SINCE BISMARK, ITALY IS SOCIALISTIC DESPITE THE BIG LANDHOLDERS. RUSSIA AND CHINA ARE SOCIALISTIC AND INDIA AND THE REST OF ASIA HAVE THEIR EYES SET TOWARD THIS ULTIMATE GOAL.

ONLY AMERICA, GORGED WITH ITS BILLIONS AND GEARED FOR WAR TO A DEGREE

UNEXAMPLED IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, IS STUBBORNLY TRYING TO RESIST THIS WORLD TIDE, EVEN IN THE FACE OF THE FACTS:

35-44605

I REMEMBER THE COLLAPSE OF 1928: I REMEMBER BRINGING MY MEAGER PAY CHECK UP FROM GEORGIA TO DEPOSIT IT IN THE SAFE PRIVATE COFFERS OF THE BANKS OF NEW YORK. TO FIND TO MY AMAZEMENT THESE SAME BANKS OF NEW YORK ON THEIR KNEES BEGGING TO GOVERNMENT TO SPARE THE POOR BUSINESS MAN A DIME. I SAW THIS COUNTRY RAISED FROM POVERTY, DISTRESS AND BANKRUPTCY BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN A SERIES OF SOCIALIST MEASURES WHICH INCLUDED MADE WORK, STATE EMPLOYMENT, FLOOD CONTROL, WAGE FLOORS, BANK DEPOSIT INSURANCE, CONTROL OF PROFITS AND OF BIG INDUSTRY. IT WAS SOCIALISM PURE AND SIMPLE NO MATTER WHAT WE NOW CALL IT, NOR HOW EAGER WE ARE TO REPUDIATE ITS AUTHORS AND LEADERS.

THIS ARGUMENT OF COURSE IS ALL UNNECESSARY AND BESIDE THE POINT. THERE IS ONLY ONE MATTER WHICH AMERICANS AND PARTICULAR CHICAGOANS ARE WILLING TO ~~DISCUSS, & that is RUSSIA~~.

ARGUE ABOUT AND THAT IS RUSSIA. THIS NATION IS STRAINING EVERY NERVE AND GATHERING EVERY RESOURSE TO SEE THAT RUSSIA DOES NOT MAKE COMMUNISM SUCCEED. THIS IS A STRANGE CRUSADE. I REMEMBER WHEN GEORGE KENNAN FIRST REVEALED THE TYRANNY OF THE CZARS IN THE LATE 19thCENTURY: IT DID NOT CAUSE A RIPPLE IN OUR COMPLACENCY: I CAN REMEMBER WHEN THE MISERY AND SQUALOR OF THE BALKANS WERE REPEATEDLY REVEALED: BUT RICH AMERICANS WERE JUST AS EAGER AS EVER TO BE APPOINTED MINISTERS TO THE SQUALID SPLENDOR OF THESE TAWDRY COURTS. I REMEMBER WHEN RUSSIAN PEASANTS WERE COUPLED WITH AMERICAN NEGROES AS THE LAZIEST AND STUPIDEST AND MOST INEFFICIENT LABOR ON EARTH. AND I AND A HOST OF OTHER AMERICANS WERE UP LIFTED WHEN RUSSIA THREW OFF THE SHAKLES OF THE CZARS AND THE BALKANS KICKED OUT THEIR LAZY PRINCELINGS AND STAGGERED TO THEIR FEET. WHAT DID WE EXPECT? MAGNIFICENT SUCCESS? QUICK AND EASY SUCCESS? THE WIPING OUT IN YEARS OF THE OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION OF CENTURIES IN WHICH WE WERE JUST AS EAGER TO DABBLE AS BRITAIN, FRANCE AND GERMANY? SURELY WE DID NOT

NOT AWAIT THIS: BUT WE DID EXPECT THAT WE COULD MAKE A NEAT PROFIT OUT OF RUSSIA'S NEW POVERTY AND THAT WAS WHY A MAN WHO BECAME PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES INVESTED IN ELEVEN RUSSIAN OIL WELLS AND THREE TIMBER CONCESSIONS, WHICH THE LEADERS OF THE SOVIET REVOLUTION PROMPTLY REPUDIATED. "BOLSHEVISM" SAID HERBERT HOOVER "IS WORSE THAN WAR."

IF EVER A REVOLUTION WAS JUSITFIED THE RUSSIAN REVOLT OF 1917, CERTAINLY WAS. AND HOW DID WESTERN EUROPE MEET IT? WITHIN TWO YEARS FOURTEEN NATIONS INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES INVADED RUSSIA WITHOUT DECLARATION OF WAR AND HELPED BY MEN, ARMS AND EQUIPMENT TO SET LOOSE ON THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE SOME OF THE WORST BURCHERING BEASTS OF HISTORY. NO SOONER HAD CIVIL AND FOREIGN WAR CEASED THAN HITLER GAVE TROTSKY TWO MILLION GOLD MARKS TO BETRAY THE REVOLUTION ALL OVER THE WORLD AND AN INTERNATIONAL EUROPEAN ATTACK ON RUSSIA FINANCED BY SUCH MILLIONAIRES AS THE FOUNDER OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WAS READY TO

45-4-90

OVERTHROW RUSSIA WHEN THE BOTTOM FELL OUT OF THE INDUSTRIAL EDIFICE OF THE EUROPEAN WORLD IN 1928 to 1931.

35-4-468

I AM NOT DEFENDING RUSSIA. I AM EXPLAINING HER ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD AND INSISTING THAT SHE HAS THE RIGHT TO WORK OUT HER DESTINY IN HER OWN WAY AND THAT THE ONE FACT IN HER CONDITION WHICH MAKES HER TO ME THE MOST HOPEFUL COUNTRY ON EARTH IS THAT TODAY AFTER SUFFERING MORE FROM ONE WAR THAN WE HAVE SUFFERED FROM SEVEN, IS THAT SHE IS SPENDING MORE MONEY ON FREE, UNIVERSAL EDUCATION OF CHILDREN TODAY THAN ANY COUNTRY ON EARTH. SHE HAS 600,000 COLLEGE STUDENTS AND LAST YEAR PUBLISHED 800,000,000 COPIES OF BOOKS. IF INTELLIGENCE DOES NOT SOLVE HER PROBLEMS AND OURS, NOTHING WILL.

OF COURSE RUSSIA LIES. SO DO WE. ONCE I LANDED IN CRONSTADT IN 1926 IT WAS A DEAD QUIET AND PEACEFUL TOWN. I WENT TO MOSCOW AND THERE WITH ASTONISHMENT READ IN THE NEW YORK TIMES THAT ON THE DAY I LANDED "REVOLUTION

45-4-91

HAD BROKEN OUT IN CRONSTADT AND THE STREETS WERE RUNNING WITH BLOOD."

BUT I MENTION RUSSIA NOT TO DEFEND HER OR JUSTIFY HER EVERY ACT, BUT only TO INSIST THAT THE USE OF THE BOGEY ~~OF RUSSIA~~ THAT TO HALT THE SOCIALISM IN THE WELFARE STATE IN THIS LAND--TO HOLD UP A NATIONAL HEALTH PROGRAM, A DECENT SYSTEM OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS, THE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY IN THE INTERESTS OF A WELFARE STATE INSTEAD OF FOR THE AMASSING OF COLLOSSAL FORTUNES TO BUY OUR NEWSPAPERS MAGAZINES AND BOOKS--INSTEAD OF SUCH TACTICS COUPLED WITH THE INSANE NOTION OF WORLD CONQUEST, WE SHOULD RETURN TO NORMALCY AND COMMON-SENSE. NO MATTER WHAT RUSSIA, CHINA, ASIA AND AFRICA DO, WE CANNOT STOP THEM. WE ARE A POWERFUL PEOPLE AND PERHAPS IN THE WORDS OF THAT GREAT BRAIN WHICH NOW PRESIDES OVER COLUMBIA, "WE CAN LICK THE WORLD." BUT WE WOULD BETTER REMEMBER, THAT WHAT WE ARE DOING NOW IS LICKING OURSELVES INTO POVERTY, DISEASE AND IGNORANCE BY

35-4-469

TRYING TO MIND EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS EXCEPT OUR OWN.

OUR PROBLEM IS OUR DEMOCRACY: THE EFFICIENCY OF OUR OWN GOVERNMENT; LAW AND ORDER IN OUR OWN LAND; AND PARTICULARLY THE USE OF OUR UNDOUBTED ABILITY AND KNOWLEDGE IN MAKING THIS A LAND WHERE THE AVERAGE CITIZEN CAN GET DECENT MEDICAL ATTENTION, WHETHER HE LIVES ON THE SOUTH OR NORTH SIDE OF CHICAGO, IN NEW YORK OR MISSISSIPPI, AND EARNS A MILLION A YEAR OR $1000. THERE IS NO QUESTION BUT WHAT WE CAN DO THIS, OF THE METHOD BY WHICH IT CAN BEST BE DONE, I AM NOT INSISTING, ALTHOUGH PERSONALLY I BELIEVE SOCIALISM IS THE ONLY POSSIBLE SOLUTION. BUT THE MEANS ARE LESS, FAR LESS IMPORTANT, THAN THE FACT: AND WHEN WE SIT AND LET THE PATIENT DIE WHILE WE DISCUSS THE BEST MEANS OF SAVING HIM AND DAMN OUR NEIGHBORS FOR THEIR DIAGNOSIS AND TECHNIQUE. WE HAVE MORE STUDENTS EAGER TO HEAL MEN THAN WE HAVE FACILITIES TO TRAIN THEM. WE ARE THE RICHEST NATION ON EARTH IF WE BUILD INSTEAD OF FIGHT. IF WE MISS THIS GREAT OPPORTUNITY WE ARE JUST PLAIN STUPID, IF NOT CRIMINAL.

Complete copy

University of Illinois
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Chicago, Illinois
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SOCIAL MEDICINE

BY

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Freedom, the American way of life; private initiative, free enterprise and democracy are the slogans and catch words which are in familiar and constant use today. They appear axiomatic and self interpreting at first sight: we want to be free: we want to go where we please, when we please and do what we please: we do not like to have policemen ordering us about or chairmen stopping us from talking or governments loading us with laws. We want the right to make our plans, plan our own lives and set our own goals. We want avenues of advancement and accomplishment open to us and kept open. We want a voice in our own government: we want to elect the officials whom we favor and we want the way kept open to congress and the presidency. This is the American Way of Life. The difficulty with it is that it is not true and cannot be true and the sooner we face the facts we already know, the sooner we will talk like rational human beings and not like fools.

It is easy to see how historically these phrases arose and became imbedded in our cultural patterns. Americans of the 19th century were born in a vast land of unexampled wealth and variety of resource. There was rich land in abundance for the taking: there was remunerative work for everybody to do who was not sick or lazy: there was every variety of climate and kind of industry; every inducement of invention and technique; and if you did not like Massachusetts you could go to California, or move without let or hinderance from Chicago to New Orleans.

You know the sort of national character we evolved. We became bold, inventive and lawless. We explored, contrived, murdered, stole and lynched. Any man free, white and 21, was a law unto himself. It became axiomatic that

American could not and w uld not be held by ordinary restraints of law and order. Great Americans cheated their competitiors, drove them to suicide and ruined their businesses and so became great and good {that they could give the United Nations a site which not nation was able to afford.} For thirty years between the Two World Wars, I drove a car, travelling off and on in nearly every state of the union. I used to tell my friends that I never saw a space marked "No Parking" where some car was not parked.

35-4-423

Of course, as a matter of fact all Americans were not as Free, nor initiative, nor so democratic as some were. It was only by ignoring the slaves, the poverty-stricken and the failures that we could keep up the illusion of this free successful land. And in the 20th century it began to dawn on many Americans, that in this land as in others, there were limits of freedom, individual enterprise and uncontrolled initiative, which we must curb or perish. Of course we knew this before but somehow we hated to give up the illusion; moreover we had an idea that we could educate lustier and more virile children if we told them the falsehood that Americans were free and had a right to be freerer than other human beings. I remember how as a boy I resented being expected to sing lustily about the "Land of the Noble, Free." I knew quite a few American who were not noble and I certainly was not free.

45-4-94

The learned professions in particular clung longest to the ideal of free and independent existence. The laborers, meeting time clocks and hard-faced men who hired and fired, began early to talk less about freedom and more about justice. The white-collar workers and civil servants long since realized that [redacted] the treadmill into which their lot was cast was not properly described as private initiative or free enterprise: and they began to act accordingly. But lawyers, physicians, dentists, and clergymen, long clung to the ideal of independence and freedom as the great attraction in these lines of occupation. I do not doubt but that concealed more or less

successfully in back of the heads of most medical students is an alluring vision of a suite of offices on Park avenue or Michigan, where selected patrons are received by trim maids for quiet and interesting consultation: then after an hour or so in advice at the hospital with subservient interns a long sleek car whisks you to your books and conservatory. It is an alluring prospect, but not quite characteristic of most American physicians.

35-4-424

When I was in London in 1945, I stopped with a physician. Dr. Clarke was a charming man, born in the West Indies, educated at Cambridge, England with an excellent and select practice in his office near the Elephant and Castle. He drove from there out to his pleasant new cottage in High Barnett where he had flowers, a little surgery, a well-trained butler and open fires. He enjoyed a leisurely but full life and liked entertaining friends from abroad. This winter rather unexpectedly he appeared in New York, on his way to Barbadoes which he had not visited for 30 years. He was not exactly unhappy, but decidedly disconcerted. The British Labor Government had quite upset the normal complacency of his life. They took over his office and neat little surgery: they filled his office with a surging crowd of patients of all sorts and kinds and paid him a slaary instead of fees. Of course they did give him a six months vacation with pay which he would never have given himself and he did not have to worry about his future. It was not that he was exactly worse off, but it was that he was certainly not free: he was not independent; he was a servant of the state and no longer a private practitioner. He did not exactly oppose the new socialised medicine of Britain, but it certainly could be improved: his real dismay lay in the plain fact that this revolution in the practice of medicine in Great Britain had come to stay. Not even the redoubtable and fearless Churchill would dare abolish it and go back to the days of Medical Freedom.

45-4-95

Why is this? The reason is quite plain: one man can be free: two men cannot. Just as soon as society grows in numbers and intricacy of organization

just so soon individual freedom of action must be curtailed. The Curtailment need not be slavery: it can and will lead to many compulsions. But in the end it can and must mean that individual effort will be curbed and conditioned for the common good. The individual must bow to the interests of society.

In no area of human activity is this necessity more evident than in the field of health. The advance of medical and surgical science during the 19th century has been phenomenal as you know much better than I. I know in my own case that had it not been for a certain technique becoming common about 1918, I should have long b en dead. As a result of that experience, I tried preventive medicine. I went to an institute where they professed to lay stress upon investigation and advice. But I noticed that they still had the older point of view. Each year as I came, they asked soliticiously "What is wrong?" "What are you suffering from?" And when I said that there was not anything wrong, so far as I knew and that I was not suffering, there was a certain lack of interest. After all, why should one come to a physician unless something was wrong. If instead of going to the institute, I went to any of my numberless friends who are physicians, they were all terribly busy: they had time only for acute cases and not for general advice. Moreover, incidentially they could not charge adequately for advice, and they could charge for operations.

That means that there is a tremendous demand in this country for preventing disease, which would not only save money, but save suffering. Again the young physicians, who are being trained in altogether too few numbers, naturally go to places like New York and Chicago, where life is easier and more interesting. As a result of this, you have our few physicians herded into the great centers while the mass of people living in country districts and sparsely populated parts of the nation, find it extremely difficult to get

medical attention even in serious cases, much more to get regular advice.

I just had visiting me a friend from the West Indies who is younger then I am. But he lives on a far out-lying island. The result is that he is coming to New York to have attention given to his hearing, long neglected, and to have something done for his decaying teeth, which together with other difficulties, make him in appearance, much older than I. It was impossible where he lives and where he has been doing excellent social work for 25 years to get the professional attention which he ought to have.

In the absence of advice as to health habits and for the prevention of disease, you have the tremendous and still growing sale of patent medicines and nostrums, increased now by advertisments over the Radio, so that the majority of United States citizens are not only not given correct medical advice: but they are having dangerous advice literally forced upon them. There is therefore, clearly in the United States a wide and increasing demand for health service, for advice as to healthful habits, for prevention of disease, for hospitalization. And this demand must be filled.

We cannot depend upon the individual desires of medical students for the filling of this demand. Here is a social need and organization must see that the need is filled. Medical students must not only be trained for health work, but they must assigned to districts where this health work is to be done. That interferes undoubtedly with individual initiative, it interferes with so-called freedom, but we have come to the time in the social organization of the world when need and not wish must prevail in larger and larger areas of life.

This is the result not simply of social organization: it is because we must bow to natural and biological law. It does not make any difference how free American citizens want to be, they have got to obey the law of gravitation. There are physical and chemical laws which must be obeyed and then in addition

the enormous technique that has grown up, and the involved cultural patterns make our civilization so complicated, that individual wish or whim must be subordinated to the common good.

One thinks of course of social welfare as being logically in the hands of the state: but here in America we have be n prejudiced against the state, because in the 18th century when the United States began as a nation, we were in the midst of days when curtailment of individual effort was most arbitrary and freedom in industrial life was looked upon as the one panacea for all ill. That freedom cry of the 18th century has got to succumb to the technique of the 19th century, and to the social welfare of the 20th century.

There are voluntary organizations for the care of the sick, for insurance against illness and operations. So far as they go, they are excellent, but they do not go far. They cover only a small part of the field. And whatever they do, should be done more completely by the state, if we have the sort of state which we ought to have. There is no reason for the prejudice in the United States against the state and its servants. A man does not become a scoundrel simply because he works for the United States instead of working for the Blue Cross or the Steel Trust: and the person wokking for Sears Roebuck could work just as efficiently and honestly for the state of Illinois, if he got as good wages, working conditions and security. There is no reason why the average of efficiency and character in the state empl yee should be lower than that among the employees of private organizations, except that those who work for private organizations are selected with greater care, are paid better wages and get more security.

But if the private organizat on can get that kind of service, the state organization can do the same thing. This means that the state has got to be taken much more seriously than we have taken it. It cannot be that democracy is mainly a way of selecting officials and making it possible for private organizations to increase their profit. If we begin to look upon the

state as an organization for social welfare, then there is no reason in the world why the abailable ability of the country should not be hired and paid for by the state, made as secure in its tenure and as dignified in its work, as is possible with the private organization.

In other words, what we have to accomplish through democracy is a better state and that state has got to organize the demand for public service, not only in health, but in the procuring of justice, in the teaching in our schools, in plann ng and conducting certain industrial undertakings, in our literature and art. This means that we must revise in many ways our conception of the democratic method. We have looked upon it for a century or more as a matter of personal privilege, when in truth it is a matter of service and knowledge. Democracy is not so much a way of protecting ourselves from aggression as a way of getting the worlds' work done, and done in the best and most scientific way.

35-4-428

The experiences of the mass of men form a reservoir which is at the disposal of the state, if we know how to use it. The democratic method, through discussiona and universal suffrage taps that reservoir: it ascertains through the experience of all what the needs of each are: and then proceeds with the best methods known, to secure for the State, the services of people who are going to put this knowledge into practice.

66-4-96

It is unfortunate that just now ewe in the United States are in a period when men of science, experience and knowledge hesitate to accept service in the government. We have had insult and persecution of unsampled and inexcusable variety visited upon persons in Government employ. We are slow in rewarding work of that kind and consequently at just the time in the history of the world when the work of government everywhere is expanding, when there are areas of service which no agency except government can undertake, we are persuading far fewer trained men to undertake theis work then we must have

When therefore, in the future we repeat these slogans of freedom and democracy, we have got to remember, as I have said before, that first of all, our individual freedom must be curtailed for the common welfare. And secondly that democracy is not simply a matter of election to office: it is a way of getting the worlds' work done by the very best methods.

We are alwayy tempted to seek by-paths: to see if we cannot build up vast private agencies in insurance, in building, in the processing of necessary materials, in the transportation of goods, which will do the work which ought to be done by the State much better and more completely than any government is at present ready to do. But that means simply that governments must be made ready to do this work. That they must be organized for it, that the technique of the state must be so perfected that matters which are of national application and universal importance, and which can be accomplished only by an over-all organization, shall be done by such an organization: and that organization will be the State.

35-4-429

We need scarcely pile up arguments here. Practically all will admit that the necessary demand for medical service is not nearly met by present provisions: that the training and placement of practicioners cannot be left entirely to individual choice: that the social demand for human welfare in a world full not only of harsh natural forces, but with increasingly complicated techniques for processing and distributing goods and in addition, human thought and action set in intricate cultural patterns, that all this calls for over-head coordinating social mechanism to supply skills, distribute facilities and apportion human instruments on a scale which chance and individual choice can never profide.

The crucial question is what organ of social service can best do this? We can think of three sorts of organs:

1. Voluntary Organizations

2. Philanthropy

3. Business Enterprise

4. The city, state or nation, Voluntary organization can do much and in the future might do even more than now: but the total job is too big and calls for too much planning and executive action to be left to volunteers. If it is, it will tend to serve groups of selected persons rather than the mass of men. And above all it will lack the income necessary for a complete job. Philanthropy can be depended on for emergencies and at times of emotional strain, but it is neither sufficiently sustained nor powerful enough to conduct a social service like this. And in addition so long as philanthropy is a function of big business, it will serve industry first and humanity last. Large numbers of Americans turn naturally to business enterprise for any service or organization of magnitude. This is because we are children of the 19th century with its industrial revolution and free enterprise. The United States was born with the "Wealth of Nations," and has never passed out of the Laisse-Faire economic philosophy. We assume business organization and business methods are not only the best but the only way to carry on public service of any and all kinds. On the other hand and complementary to this idea is the wide-spread belief that the state is incapable of anything but the simplest and roughest and least avoidable public service.

35-4-430

Most persons do not seem to realize what a contradiction these beliefs are to democracy. Most Americans are quite complacent over the admitted failure of Democracy in this land and in most lands. Upon this basic disbelief Mussolini and Hitler built their totalitarian states: and because of this belief the citizens of the United States today submit without murmur to the control of this land by industrial enterpise not only in business but in government news gathering, magazine and book writing, art and philanthropy. Let us not forget that unless democracy can cope with the broader services of public welfare it is idle to believe it can be trusted to govern the political state.

41-7-54

On the other hand, unless business enterprise is able to govern better in the future than it has in the past, then we must unfortunately conclude that human beings do not have sense enough to ensure their ultimate survival. For remember that business ruled the world during the 19th century. It was business methods which built the powerful British Empire, upon which the sun is rapidly setting; it was business which built and supported the dominance of the French language and canons of taste over most of the world. The Spanish and Portuguese, Dutch and Belgian dominions were built on successful business and these industrial powers reduced two thirds of humanity to slave labor in order to support in luxury a group of white Super-men who owned and ruled the earth. Industrial enterprise, business methods, world commerce all marched into the 20th century "with colors gaily flying, with trumpet and with drum."

It was in 1900, the considered opinion of the leaders of white mankind that European technique, administered by white captains of industry, in accord with the basic principles of free enterprise and individual initiative and recongizing the unalterable inferiority of the vast majority of mankind, were destined to rule Asia, Africa, the islands of the Sea and in addition the laboring class of white nations for benefit of British Nobility and Gentry, French artists in letters and gowns, and American millionaires.

What has been the result of this rule of business? We stand today in the midst of this century, with every great ideal for which the world ever stood in unexampled ruin. With "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men." so unpopular and in such disrepute that we are prepared and eager to spend three-fourths of every dollar of our immense treasure to murder human beings, and not simply kill soldiers, but women, childred, cripples and the old. We have fought two wars of such unexampled cruelty and destruction that they destroyed the very civilization they were declared to defend. Have you ever heard of the war for democracy? Well, it killed the democracy it defended.

The First World War was a war of big business against big business: of intrenched colonial imperialism in Britain and France against the imperialist appetite of New Germany. This war overthrew big business the world over, killed the world market, smashed the gold standard and landed the world in universal bankruptcy. Not satisfied with this triumph of free enterprise, big business determined to stop socialism, communism and colonial revolt and succeeded in a Second World War in starting a world upheaval, which may end anywhere, except in the restoration of the worship of private profit as the way of salvation. Either we put down the anarchy of free for all enterprise and make organized social striving the end od progress, or we perish.

35-4-432

Business has no alibi. It exercised practically universal rule from 1815 to 1915. If in that century, it could not establish peace and freedom; health and prosperity; education and faith, it cannot do so tomorrow amid the ruins which its overpowering greed brought on the world to drag it down to hell. We have tried the contradiction of universal selfishness: of gaining Wealth by letting everybody cheat everybody else: by testing all human value through the profit which can be dragged of men by force or fraud. We have tried that method in every variation: now either the public weal, working through its highest expression, the State, will save civilization or it never can be saved. And that state will be a democratic state or it will be no state. Believe me, gentlemen and ladies, you are not entering a world to choose between socialism and some other way; there is no other way: you are not going to choose between democracy and some other way: there is no other way.

45-4-103

You will with justice now turn to me and say: look at the state; look at Washington. Glance at Springfield. And if your eyes are particularly strong peer at City Hall. And I answer, you are in none of these cases looking at democracy. You are not even looking at a good imitation. You are looking at what you and your fathers before you exchanged for democracy: you are doing exactly the same kind of thing which the founding fathers of this

United States did when knowing that every fifth American whom they looked at was a slave, nevertheless declared with perfectly straight faces: We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal: that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

In the same way, we today are saying; we have in the United States a democratic form of government in which the people rule, expressing their will in open honest elections in which every citizen is free to express his will.

The result of this free democracy is that we dare not trust the planning and conduct of public health to this government because it is neither honest nor intelligent enough to conduct it. Instead we prefer to leave this work to the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

The reason we have not got a democratic government in this land capable of successfully dealing with health, education, transportation, communications, mining, manufacturing and heavy industry--the reason we have no such government is because we do not want it: we have for three generations taught ourselves and our children that politics are nasty; that politicians are thieves: that democracy without corruption and manipulation is impossible and that our government, bad as it is, is the best on earth. Having made too true what we have declared is true, we are today fitting the capstone: we are asserting the right to accuse every public servant of being either a proven or a potential spy. We are keeping out or kicking out of government service nearly every honest man of independent thought whom we can scare. And then we are saying: can a system of public health conservation and training, paying and distribution of physicians be entrusted into such government hands.

We of course answer the question when we ask it and the answer is, no! But that does not end the questioning: is there any reason on God's earth why an intelligent nation of decent people cannot have a government capable

of conducting socialized medicine, public education and such great industries as can only be run by monopoly and police force-- is there any decent reason why that cannot be done? The answer again is no.

I know how easy it is to laud democracy and socialism by rounded periods in which themselves prove little: but I insist that if we can run this world with its intricate machinery of matter, force and mind for profit, then we cando it better for human welfare and avoid the disaster of universal selfishness and the contradictions of the present industrial system.

And the proof of this is that every country in the world with an ounce of vision, is trying to make just this change. Let no one tell you that the pending election in Britain is between Socialism and Free Enterprise: it is not: it turns entirely on the question of how quickly and by what steps inevitable socialism can be realized. France is a largely socialistic state: Scandinavia is markedly socialistic. Germany has been socialistic since Bismark; Itlay is socialistic despite the big landholder. Russia and China are socialistic and India and the rest of Asia have their eyes set toward this ultimate goal.

Only America, gorged with its billions and geared for war to a degree unexampled in the history of the world, is stubbornly trying to resist this world tide, even in the face of the facts.

I remember the collapse of 1929: I remember bringing my meager pay check up from Georgia to deposit it in the safe private coffers of the banks of New York, to find to my amazement these same banks of New York on their knees begging to government to spare the poor business man a dime. I saw this country raised from poverty, distress and bankruptcy by the United States government in a series of socialist measures which included made work, state employment, flood control, wage floors, bank deposit insurance, control of profits and of big industry. It was socialism pure and simple no matter what we now call it, nor how eager we are to repudiate its authors and leaders.

This argument of course is all u/necessary and beside the point. There is only one matter which Americans and particul ar Chicagoans are willing to ~~discuss, and that is~~ Russia and that is Russia. This nation is straining every nerve and gathering every resourse to see that Russia does not make Commu ism succeed. This is a strange crusade. I remember when George Kennan first revealed the tyranny of the Czars in the late 19th century: it did not cause a ripple in our complacency; I can remember when the misery and squalor of the Balkans were repeatedly revealed: but Rich Americans were just as eager as ever to be appointed ministers to the squalid splendor of these tawdry courts. I remember when Russian peasants were coupled with American Negroes as the laziest and stupidest and most inefficient labor on earth. And I and a host of other Americans were uplifted when Russia threw off the shackles of the Czars and the Balkans kicked out their lazy princelings and staggered to their feet. What did we expect? Magnificent success? quick and easy success? The wiping out in years of the oppression and exploitation of centuries in which we were just as eager to dabble as Britain, France, and Germany? Surely we did not await this; but we did expect that we could make a neat profit out of Russia's new poverty and that was why a man who became president of the United States invested in eleven Russian oil wells and three timber concessions, which the leaders of the Soviet Revolution promptly repudiated. "Bolshevism", said Herbert Hoover "is worse than war."

If ever a revolution was justified the Russian Revolt of 1917, certainly was. And how did Western Europe meet it? Within two years fourteen nations including the United States, invaded Russia without declaration of war and helped by men, arms and equipment to set loose on the Russian people some of the worst butchering beasts of history. No sooner had Civil and Foreign war ceased than Hitler gave Trotsky two million gold marks to betray the Revolution

All over the world and international European attack on Russia financed by such millionaires as the founder of the Nobel Peace Prize was ready to overthrow Russia, when the bottom fell out of the industrial edifice of the European world in 1928 to 1931.

I am not defending Russia. I am explaining her attitude toward the United States and the world, and insisting that she has the right to work out her destiny in her own way, and that the one fact in her condition which makes her to me the most hopeful country on earth, is that today after suffering more from one war than we have suffered from seven, ~~is that~~ she is spending more money on free, universal education of children ~~today~~ than any country on Earth. She has 600,000 college students and last year published 800,000,000 copies of books. If intelligence does not solve her problems and ours, nothing will.

[redacted] So do we. Once I landed in Cronstadt in 1926, it was a dead quiet and peaceful town. I went to Moscow and there with astonishment read in the New York Times that on the day I landed "Revolution has broken out in Cronstadt and the streets were running with blood."

~~I~~ I mention Russia (Not to defent her or justify her every act) but only to insist that the use of that [redacted] Bogey to halt the social ism and the welfare state in this land, -to hold up a national health program a decent system of public schools, the control of industry in the interest of a welfare state instead of for the amassing of collossal fortunes to buy our newspapers magazines and books, -instead of such tactics coupled with the insane notion of world conquest, we should return to normalcy and common-sense No matter what Russia, China , Asia and Africa do, we cannot stop them. We are a powerful people and perhaps in the words of that Great Brain which now presides over Columbia, "We can lick the world." But we would better remember, that what we are doing now is licking ourselves into poverty, disease and ignorance by

trying to mind everybody's business except our own.

Our problem is our democracy; the efficiency of our own government: Law and order in our own land and particularly the use of our undoubted ability and knowledge in making this a land where the average citizen can get decent medical attention, whether he lives on the South or North side of Chicago, in New York or Mississippi, and earns a million a year of $1000. There if no question but what we can do this. Of the method by which it can best be done, I am not insisting, although personally I believe socialism is the only possible solution. But the means are less, far less important, than the Fact: and we sit and let the patient die while we discuss the best means of saving him and damn our neighbors for their diagnosis and technique. We have more students eager to heal men than we have facilities to train them: We are the richest nation on earth, if we build instead of fight. If we miss this great opportu ity we are just plain stupid, if not criminal.

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45-4-108

SOCIAL MEDICINE

Freedom, the American way of life; private initiative, free enterprise and democracy are the slogans and catch words wich are in familiar and constant use today. They appear axiomatic and self interpreting at first sight: We want to be free; we want to go where we please, when we please and do what we please; we do not like to have policemen ordering us about or chairmen stopping us from talking or governments loading us with laws. We want the right to make our own plans, plan our own lives and set our own goals. We want all avenues of advancement an accomplishment oepen to us and kept open. We want a voice in our own go government; we want to elect the officials whom we favor and we want the way kept open to Congress and the Presidency. This is th e American way of life. The difficulty with it is that it is not true and cannot be true and the sooner we face the facts we already know, the sooner we will talk like rational human beings and not like fools.

It is easy to see how historically these phrases arose and became imbedded in our cultural patterns. Americans of the I9th century were born in a vast land of unexampled wealth and variety of resource. There was rich land in abundance for the taking; there was remuner ative work for everybody to do who was not sick or lazy; there was every variety of climate and kind of industry; every inducement of invention and technique; and if you did not like Massachusetts you could go to California, or move without let or hindrance from Chicago to New Orleans.

You know the sort of national character we evolved. We became bold, inventive and lawless. We explored, invented, contrived, murdered, stole and lynched. Any man free, white and 2I, was a law unto himself. It became axiomatic that Americans could and would not be restrained by ordinary restraints of law and order. Great Americans stole railroads, murdered train crews and ended in the Social Register; equally great Americans cheated their competitors, drove them to suicide and ruined their businesses and became so great and good gthat they could give the United Nations a site which no nation was able to afford. For thirty years between the two world wars I drove a car, travelling off and on in nearly every state of the Union. I used to tell my friends that I never saw a space marked "no parking" where some car was not parked.

Of coures as a matter of fact, all Americans were not as free, not initiative, nor so democratic as some were. It was only by ignoring the slaves, the poverty-stricken and the failures that we could keep up the illusion of this free, succesful land. And in the 20th it began to dawn on many Americans, that in this land as in most other, there were limits to freedom

41-3-123

individual
enterprise and uncontrolled initiative we ~~are~~ must heed or perish. Of course we knew this bef fore but somehow we hated to give up the illusion; moreover we had an idea that we could educ cate lustier and more virile children if we told them the falsehood that Americans were fee free and had a right to be freeer than other human beings. I remember how as a boy I resen ted being expected to sing lustily about the "Land of the Noble, Free." I knew quite a fwe Americans who were not noble and I certianly were not free.

The learned professi ns in particular clung longest to the ideal of free and inde pendent existence. The laborers, meeting time clocks and hard-faced men who hired and fired began early to talk less about freedom and more about justice. The white-collar workers and civil servants long since realized that the treadmill into which theri lot was cast was not properky described as private initiative or free enterprise; and they began to act accordingly. But Lawyers, Physicians, Dentists and Clergymen, long clung to the ideal of independence and freedom as the great attraction in these lines of occupation. I do not doubt but that concealed more or less sucessfully in the back of the heads of most medical students is an alluring vision of a suite of office s on Park Avenue or Michigan, where selected patrons are received by trim maids for quiet and interesting consultation; then after an hour or so in advice at the Hospital with subservient internes, a long sleek car whisks you to your books and conservatory. It is an alluring prospect, but not quite charactristic of most American physicians.

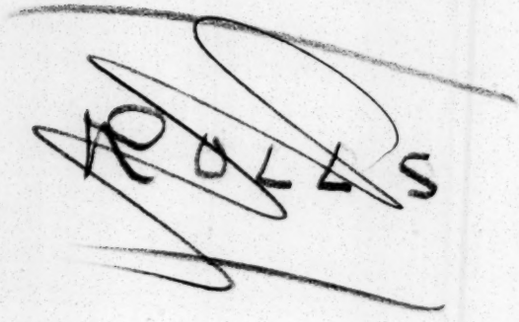
41-3-124

When I was in London in 1945, I stopped with a physician. Dr Clake was a charming man, born in the West Indies, educated at Cambridge, England, with an excellent and select practice in his office near the Elephant and Castle. He drove from there out to his pleas- new cottage at Hight Barnell where he had flowers, a little surgery, a well trained butler and open fires. He enjoyed a leisurely but full life and liked entertaining friends from abroad. This Winter rather unexpectedly he appeared in New York, on his way to Barbadoes which he had nor visited for 30 years. He was not exactly unhappy, but decidedly disconcerted. The British Labor Government had quite upset the normal complacency of his life. They took over his office and neat little surgery; they filled his office with a surging crowd of patients of all sorts and knids and they paid him a salary instead of fees. Of course they din give him a six months vacation with pay which he woudl never have given himself and he did not have to worry about his future. It was not that he was exactly worse off, but it was that he was certainly not free; he was not independent; he was a servant of the State and no longer a private practicianer. He did not exactly oppose the new Socialized medicine of Britain, but

it certainly could be improved; but his real dismay lay in the plain fact that this revolution in the practice of medicine in Gfreat Britain had come to stay. Not even the redoubtable and fearless Churchill woud dare abolish it and go back to the days of medical freedom.

Why is this? The reason is quite plain: one man can be free; two men cannot. Just as soon as society grows in numbers and intricacy of organization, just so soon individual freedom of action must be curtailed. The curtailment need not be slavery; it can and will lead to many . But in the end it can and must mean that indivual effort will be curbed and conditioned for the common good. The indivual msut bow to the interests of society.

In no area of human activity is this necessity more evident than in the field of health. The advance of medical and suggical sciene



41-3-125

The advance of medical and surgical science during the 19th century has been phenomenal as you know much better than I. I know in my own case that had it not been for a certain invention becoming common about 1918, I should have long been dead. As a result of that experience, I tried preventive medicine , I went to an Institute where they professed to lay stress upon investigation and advice ~~for current difficulties.~~ When I noticed that ~~that~~ they still had the older point of view, ~~whenever~~ each year I came, they asked soliticiously "What is wrong? What are you suffering from?" And when I said that there was not anything wrong so far as I knew, and that I was not suffering ~~from anything,~~ there was a certain evident lack of interest. After all, why should one come to a ~~medical practicioner~~ physician unless something was wrong. ~~And~~ If instead of going to ~~an~~ the Institute, I went to any of my numberless friends who are physicians, they were all terribly busy ; they only had time for acute cases and not for general advice. Moreover, incidentally they could not charge adequately for ~~general~~ advice, and they could charge for ~~an~~ operations

That means that there is a tremendous demand in this country for preventing ~~d~~disese, which would not only save money, but save suffering. ~~On the~~ Again ~~other hand~~, the young physicians who are being trained in altogether too few numbers, naturally go to places like New York and Chicago, where life is easier and more interesting. As a result of this, you have our few physicians herded into the great centers while the mass of people living in country districts and sparsely populated parts of the country, find it extremely difficult to get medical attention even in serious cases, much more to get regular advice.

I just had visiting me a friend from the West Indies who is younger than I am. But he lives on a far out-lying island. The result is that he is coming to New York to have attention given to his hearing, to have some-thing done for his very neglected teeth, which together with other difficulties make him in appearance much older than I. It was impossible where he lives and where

41-3-126

he has been doing excellent social work ~~for him~~ for 25 years to get professional attention which he ought to have. ¶ In the absence of advice as to health habits and for the prevention of disease, you have the tremendous and still growing sale of patent medicines and nostrums, increased now by advertisements over the radio and in the newspapers, so that the majority of U.S. citizens ~~in the United States~~ are not only not given correct medical advice; but they are having dangerous advice literally forced upon them. There is therefore, clearly in the United States a wide and increasing demand for health services, for advice as to healthful habits , for prevention of disease , for hospitalization. And this demand must be filled.

We cannot depend upon the individual desires of medical students for the filling of this demand. Here is a social need and organization must see that that need is filled. Medical students must not only be trained for health work, but they must be assigned to districts where this health work is to be done. That interferes undoubtedly with individual initiative, it interferes with so-called freedom, but we have come to the time in the social organization of the world when ~~that sort of thing has got to be done~~ need and not whim must prevail in larger and larger ~~ways~~ areas of life

41-3-127

This is the result of not simply social organization, it is because ~~of the fact that~~ we must bow to natural and biological law. It does not make any difference how free American citizens want to be , they have got to obey the law of gravitation. There ~~other~~ are physical and chemical laws ~~that~~ which must be obeyed and then in addition ~~to that~~, the enormous technique that has grown up, and the resultant cultural patterns makes our civilization so complicated, that the individual wish or whim must be subordinated to the common good, ~~to the social welfare~~.

One thinks of course of the social welfare as being logically in the hands of the State, but here in America we have been prejudiced against the state, ~~prejudiced~~ because, in the 18th century when the United States began as a nation, we were in the midst of ~~those~~ days when the curtailment of

individual effort was ~~greatest~~ most arbitrary and freedom in industrial life was looked upon as the one panacea for all ills. That freedom cry of the 18th century has got to succumb to the technique of the 19th century, and to the social welfare of the 20th century.

There are voluntary organizations for the care of the sick, for the insurance against illness and ~~payment for~~ operations. So far as they go, they are excellent, but they do not go far. They cover only a small part of the field. And whatever they do, should can be done ~~better~~ and more completely by the state, if we have the sort of state we ought to have. There is not reason for the prejudice in the United States against the state and its servants ~~of the state~~. A man does not become a scoundrel simply because he works for the United States instead of working for the Blue Cross. There is no reason why the average of efficiency and character in the State employee should be lower than that among the employees of private organizations, except that those who work for private organizations are selected with greater care, are paid better wages and get more security. But if the private organization can get that kind of service, the State Organization can do the same thing. This means that the state has got to be taken much more seriously than we have taken it. It cannot be that democracy is ~~simply~~ merely a way of ~~paying debts and securing income~~ selecting officials and making it possible for private organizations to increase their profit. If we begin to look upon the state as an organization for social welfare, then there is no reason in the world why the ~~availability~~ available ability of the country should not be hired and paid for the state and made secure in its tenure and dignified in its work, ~~much more so than~~ as is possible with the private organization.

In other words, what we have got to accomplish through democracy is a better state and ~~then~~ that state has got to organize the demand for public service, not only in health, but in the procuring of justice, in the teaching in our schools, in planning & conducting certain industrial undertakings, in our literature and art. This means ~~of course~~ that we must revise in many ways our conception of the democratic method. We have

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on the Steel Trust;
and the person working for Sears Roebuck, could work just as efficiently and honestly for the State of Illinois, if he got as good wages, working conditions and security

looked upon it for the century or more as a matter of personal privilege, when in truth it is a matter of service and ~~information~~ knowledge. Democracy is ~~not~~ as much a way of protecting ourselves from aggression ~~today~~ as ~~it should be~~ a way of getting the worlds' work done, and done in the best and most scientific way.

The experiences of the mass of men form a reservoir of ~~information~~ experience which is at the disposal of the state, if ~~they~~ we know how to use it. The democratic method taps that reservoir; it ~~knows~~ ascertains through the experience of all what the needs of each are; and then it proceeds with the best methods known to secure for the state the services of people who are going to put this knowledge into practice.

It is unfortunate that just now we ~~are~~ are in the United States, in a period when ~~most men~~, men of science, experience and knowledge hesitate to accept service in the government. We have had persecution of unexampled and inexcusable variety visited upon ~~the people who have worked for this~~ persons in employ government. We are slow in rewarding work of that kind and consequently at just the time in the history of the world when the work of government is expanding everywhere, when there are areas of service which no agency except government can undertake, we are ~~getting~~ procuring far fewer trained men to undertake this work than we must ~~ought to~~ have.

When therefore, in the future we repeat these slogans of freedom and democracy, we have got to remember, as I have said before, that first of all, our individual freedom must be curtailed for the common welfare. And secondly, that democracy is not simply a matter of elections to office, it is a way of getting the worlds' work done by the very best methods. We are always tempted to seek by-paths to see if we cannot build up vast private agencies in insurance, in building, in the processes ~~making~~ of necessary materials, in the transportation of goods, ~~with~~ which will do the work which ought to be done by the state much better and more completely than any government is at present ready to do. But that means simply that governments must be made ready to do this work. That they must be organized for it, that the technique of the state must be so perfected that matters which are of universal national application and importance, and which can ~~only~~ be accomplished only by an over-all organization, shall be done by such an organization, and that organization will be the state.

Through discussion and universal suffrage

11-3-19

I am not by any means minimizing the difficulties of this program. If it is hard to organize a voluntary agency to do needed work, it is even harder to organize the state for the work. But this does not mean that the state is going to succumb to ~~the~~ allergic at voluntary effort in cases where no amount of voluntary effort can cover the need and supply the remedy. This is particularly true in medicine.

41-3-136

Health is a public matter, not a private ~~matter~~ money concern. It is a matter that no private organization can properly attend to. In a hundred different ~~ways~~ fields agencies must be used, must be brought together, must be cordinated. The water supply, communications, transportation, ~~the~~ sewerage, the harnassing of rivers, reports and measurements of ~~an~~ epidemics, hospitalization and the supply of nurses & physicians, all this cannot depend upon provate organizations and be ~~furnished~~ cannot by the profit motive.

~~We are beginning to see that in many ways,~~ We are giving up the idea that hospitals can make money. We are giving up the idea that nurses can be put upon ~~what we call~~ a paying basis. Nor can we depend upon uncertain and spasmodic philanthropy. It is neither fair to the sufferers nor efficient in action. If it is the business of the United States government to spend billions for war, it is even more imperative that the government should spend even more billions for health, and ~~that it~~ these sums should be spent by the government and through the government for the benefit of ~~individual~~ the people. ~~And too, this~~ Organization for the individual independence of ~~action on the part of~~ Nurses, Medical students and practicioners must ~~succumb. They must be~~ more and more become the officials of the state for doing the sort of work that only the state can do completely, . If this is done, there is going to come, as in the case of my English medical friend, various compensations, including greater security of tenure, ~~and fair~~ opportunities for further studies equitable income, vacations and necessary leisure, and above all, less of the horror of suffering and unnecessary death, which is so wide-spread because today we lack the facilities and the organization.

We cannot make men rich by methods which are not honest and then let them pay their way out of hell by methods which are inadequate

We need scarcely pile up arguments here. Practically all will admit that the necessary demand for medical service is not nearly met by pres ent provisions; that the training and placement of practitioners cannot be left entirely to individual choice; that the social demand for human welfare in a world full ~~furnished~~ not only ~~with~~ of harsh natural forces, but with increasingly complicated techniques for processing and distributing goods and in addition human thought and action ~~coordination~~ set in intricate cultural patterns -- that all this calls for an overhead coordinating social mechanism to supply skills, distribute facilities and apportion human instruments on a scale which chance and individual choice ~~could~~ can never provide.

The crucial question is What Organ of social service can best do this? We can think of three sorts of organs I Voluntary organizations 2. Philanthropy 3. Business enterprize 4. The City, State or Nation

11-3-130

Voluntary organization can do much and in the future might do ~~much~~ even more than now; but the load ~~this~~ job is too big, ~~too costly~~ and calls for too much planning and executive action to be left to volunteers. If it is, it will tend to serve ~~a select~~ groups of selected persons rather than the mass of men. Above all it will lack the ~~net~~ income necessary for a complete job. Philanthropy can be depended on for emergencies and at times of ~~under~~ emotional strain; but it is neither sufficiently sustained nor powerful enough to conduct a social service like this. Large numbers of Americans turn na

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this magnitude. This is because

its industrial revolution and free enterprise. We assume business organization and business methods are not only the best but the only way to carry on public service of any and all kinds. On the other hand and complementary to this idea is the wide-spread belief that the state is incapable of anything but the simplist and roughest + least available public service.

Most persons do not seem to realize what a contradictory ~~blow~~ these beliefs are to democracy. Most Americans are quite complacent over the admitted failure of democracy in this land and in most lands. Upon this basic disbelief Mussolini and Hitler built their totalitarian states and because of this belief the citizens of the United States today submit with out murmur to the control of this land by industrial enterprise not only in business but but in government, art and ~~literature and~~ philanthropy. Let us not forget thatunless ~~it~~ democracy can cope with the broader services of public welfare it is idle to believe it can be trusted to govern the political State

news-gatherers, magazine + book writers

We need scarcely pile up arguments here. Practically all will admit that the necessary demand for medical service is not nearly met by pres ent provisions; that the training and placement of practitioners cannot be left entirely to individual choice; that the social demand for human welfare in a world full ~~furnished~~ not only ~~with~~ of harsh natural forces, but with increasingly complicated techniques for processing and distributing goods and in addition human thought and action ~~coordination~~ set in intricate cultural patterns -- that all this calls for an overhead coordinating social mechanism to supply skills, distribute facilities and apportion human instruments on a scale which chance and individual choice ~~could~~ can never provide.

The crucial question is What Organ of social service can best do this? We can think of three sorts of organs I Voluntary organizations 2. Philanthropy 3. Business enterprize 4. The City, State or Nation

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Voluntary organization can do much and in the future might do ~~much~~ even more than now; but ~~this~~ the total job is too big, ~~too costly~~ and calls for too much planning and executive action to be left to volunteers. If it is, it will tend to serve ~~a select~~ groups of selected persons rather than the mass of men. Above all it will lack the ~~not~~ income necessary for a complete job. Philanthropy can be depended on for em ergencies and ~~under~~ at times of emotional strain; but it is neither sufficiently sustained nor powerful enough to conduct a social service like this. Large numbe s of Americans turn naturally to business enterprise for any servise or organization of this magnitude. This is because we are children of the I9th century with its industrial revolution and free enterprise. We assume business organization and business methods are not only the best but the only way to carry on public service of any and all kinds. On the other hand and complementary to this idea is the wide-spread belief that the state is incapable of anything but the simplist and roughest + least available public service.

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and in addition so long as philanthropy is a function of Big Business it will serve industry first and humanity last

And on the other hand, unless business enterprise is able to govern better in the future than it has in the past, then we must unfortunately conclude that human beings do not have sense enough to ensure their ultimate survival Remember that Business ruled the world during the 19th century. It was Business methods which built the powerful British Empire, upon which the sun is rapidly setting; it was business which built and supported the dominance of the French language and canons of taste over most of the world; the Dutch, Belgian, Spanish and Portuguese dominions were built on sucessful b Business and these industrial orders reduced two-thirds of the world to slave labor in order to support in luxury a group of white super-men who owned and ruled the earth. Industrial enterprise, business methods, world commerce all marched into the 20th century "with colors gaily flying, with trumpet and with drum".

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What has been the result of this rule of business? We stand tonight in the midst of this century, with every great ideal for which the world ever stood in unexampled ruin. With "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men" so unpopular and in such disrepute that we are prepared to spend ¾ of every dollar of our immense treasure to murder human beings, and not simply soldiers but women children, cripples and the old. We have fought two wars of such unexampled cruelty and destruction that they distroyed the very civilization they were declared to defend. Have you ever heard of the War for Democracy? Well, it killed the democracy it defended.

Business has no alibi. It exercised practically universal rule for from 1815 to 1915. If in that century, it could not establish Peace and Freedom; Health and prosperity; Education and Faith, it cannot do so tomorrow amid the ruins which its overpowering greed brought on the world and to drag it down to hell. We have tried the contradiction of universal selfishness; of gaining wealth by letting everybody cheat every body else; by testing all human value through the profit which can be dragged out of them by force or fraud. We have tried that method in every variation; now either the public weal, working through its highest expression, the State, will save civilization or it never can be saved. And that State will be a democratic state or it will be no state. Believe me, Gentlemen and ladies - you are not entering a world to choose between Socialism and some other way; there is no other way; you are not going to choose between democracy

(1)

It was in 1900 the considered opinion of the leaders of white mankind that European technique, administered by white captains of industry, in accord with the basic principles of free enterprise and individual and recognizing the unalterable inferiority of the vast majority of mankind, were destined to rule Asia , Africa, the islalands of the sea and in addition the laboring classes of white nations for benefit of British nobility and gentry, French artists in letters and gowns and American millionaires

(2)

The First World War was a war of big Business against Big Business; of intrenched colonial Imperialism in Britain and France against the imperialist appetite of new Gremany. This war overthrew Big Busines the world over, killed the world market, smashed the gold standard and landed the world in universal bankrupcy. Not satisfied with this triumph of free enterprise Big Business determined to stop socialism and colonial revolt and succeeded in a second world war in loosening a world upheaval, which may end anywhere except in the restoration of the worship of private profit as the way of salvation. Either we put down the anarchy of free for all enterprise and make organized social striving the end of progress, or we perish.

and some other way: there is no other way.

You will with justice now turn to me and say: look at the State: look at Washington. Glance at Springfield. And if your eyes are particularly str strong, ~~look~~ peer at city Hall. And I answer you are in none of these cases, looking at democracy. You are not looking even at a good imitation. You are looking at what you and your fathers before you exchanged for democracy; You are doing exactly the same thing which the founding fathers of this United States did when ~~they looked a full third of their fellow citizens straight in the eye and declare to the 750,000 slaves "We declare that all men are equal"~~ kind of

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The reason we have not got a democratic government in this land capable of sucessfully dealing with Health, Education, Transportation, Communications, Mining, Manufacturing and Heavy industry -- the reason we have no such goverrmment is because we do not want it; we have for three generations taught ourselves and our children that politics are nasty; that politicians are thieves; that democracy without corruption and manipulation is impossible and that our government bad as it is, is the best on earth. Having made too true what we have declared is true, we are today fitting the capstone: we are assuring the right of every public servant to be either a proven or a potential spy. We are keeping out or kicking out of govermemnt service, every honest man of independent thought we can scare. And then we are saying: can a system of Public Health Conservation and and training paying and distribution of physicians be entrusted into such government hands We of course answer this question when we ask it and the ansawer is no. But that does not end the questioning: Is there any reason on God's earth why an intelligent nation of decent people cannot have a government capable of conducting Socialized Medicine, Public education and the great industries ~~which~~ as can only be run by monopoly and police force- is there any decent ~~reason~~ reason why that cannot be done? The answer again is No.

when knowing that every fifth American whom they looked in the face was a slave they nevertheless declared with perfectly straight faces: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of happines."

In the same way we today are saying, we have in the United States a democratic form of government in which the people rule, expressing their will in open honest elections in which every citizen is free to express his will.

~~That~~ the result of this free democracy is that we dare not trust the planning and conduct of public health to this government because it neither honest nor intelligent enough to conduct it. Instead we prefer to leave this work to ~~the Blue Cross or~~ the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company

I know how easy it is to laud democracy and socialism by rounded periods ~~and eloquence~~ which, unfortunately, proves little; but I insist that if we can run this world with its intricate machinery of ~~stone~~ wealth, force and mind for profit then we can do it better for human welfare and avoid the disaster of universal selfishness and the contradictions of the present industrial system.

And the proof of this is that every country in the world with an ounce of vision, is trying to make just this change. Let noone tell you that the pending election in Britain is between Socialism and Free Enterprise; it is not; it never was. it turns entirely on the question of how quickly, by what steps, inevitable socialism can be realized. France ~~controls railroads and communications and curbs commerce and mining;~~ is a largely socialistic state. Scandinavia is socialistic. Germany has been socialistic, Italy is socialistic, Russia and China are socialistic and India and the rest of Asia ~~are only hindered~~ have their faces set toward this ultimate goal.

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Only America, gorged with its billions and geared for war to a degree unexampled in the history of the world, is stubbornly trying to resist this world tide, even in the face of facts:

I remember the collapse of 1929; I remember bringing my meager pay check up from Georgia to deposit in the safe private coffers of the banks of New York, and finding to my amazement these same banks of New York on their knees begging to government to spare the poor busines nan a dime. I saw this country raised from poverty, distress and bankrucy by the United States government in a series of socialist measures which included made work, state employment, flood controll, wage ~~control~~ floors, bank deposit insurance, control of profits and of big industry. It was socialism pure and simple no matter what we now call it, nor how eager we are to repudiate it authors and leaders.

This argument of course is all unnecessary and beside the point. There is only one matter which Americans and particularly Chicagoans are willing to argue about and that is Russia. This nation is straining every nerve and gathering every resourse to see that Russia does not make communism succeed. This is a strange crusade. I remember when George Kennan first revealed the tyrrany of the czars in the late 19th century; it did not cause a ripple in our complacency; I can rember when the misery and squalor of the Balkans were repeatedly revealed; but rich Americans were just as eager as ever to be appointed ministers to the squalid splendor of these tawdry courts. I knew

I remember when Russian peasants were coupled with American Negroes as the laziest and stupidest and most inefficient labor on earth. And I and a host of other Americans were up lifted when Russia threw off the shakles of the czars and the Balkans kicked out their lazy princelings and staggered to their feet. What did we expect? Magnificent sucess? quick and easy success? the wiping out in years of the oppression and exploitation of centuries in which we were just as eager to dabble as Britain, France and Germany? Surely we did not await this; but we did expect that we could make a neat profit out of Russia's new poverty and that was why a man who became president of the United States invested in II Russian oil wells and three timber concessions , which the leaders of the Soviet Revolution promptly repudiated. "Bolshevism" said Herbert Hoover "is worse than war."

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If ever a revolution was justified the Russian revolt of 1917, certainly was. And how did western Europe meet it? Within two years 14 nations, including the United States invaded Russia without declarartion of war and helped by men, arms and equipment to set lo loose on the Russian people some of the worst butchering beasts of history. No sooner had civil and foreign war ceased than Hitler gave Trotsky, 2 million gold marks to betray the revolution all over the world and an international European attack on Russia financed by such millionaires as the founder of the Nobel peace prize was ready to overthrow Russia when the bottom fell out of the Industrial edifice of the European world in 1928 to 1931.

I am not defendinding Russia. I am explaining her attitude toward the United States and the world and insisting that she has the right to work out her destiny in her own way and that the one fact in her condition which makes her to me the msot hopeful country on earth is that today after suffering more from one war than we have suffered from seven other, she is spending more money on free, universal education of children today than any country on earth. If intelligence does not solve her problems and ours, nothing will.

(she has 6 000 000 College student & Post graduates & 80,000,000 reading books)

But I mention Russia not to defend her or justify her every act, but to insis that the use of the bogey of Russia to halt the socialism in the welfare state in this land -- to hol up a national health program, a decent system of public schools; the control of indus in the interests of a welfare state instead for the amassing of collossal fortunes to control our newspapers, magazines and books -- instead of such tactics coupled with the insane notion of world conquest, we should return to normalcy and common-sense. No matter what Russia, China , Asia and Africa do, we cannot stop them. We are a powerful people and heritage and, in the world of that great brain which now presides over Columbia, "We can lick lick the world" we would better remember, that what we are doing now is licking ourseles

I remember when Russian peasants were coupled with ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ as the laziest and stupidest and most inefficient labor on earth. And I and a host of other Americans were up lifted when Russia threw off the shackles of the czars and the Balkans kicked out their lazy princelings and staggered to their feet. What did we expect? Magnificent success? quick and easy success? the wiping out in years of the oppression and exploitation of centu ries in which we were just as eager to dabble as Britain, France and Germany? Surely we did not await this; but we did expect that we could make a neat profit out of Russia's new poverty and that was why a man who became president of the United States invested in II Russian oil wells and three timber concessions , which the leaders of the Soviet Revolution promptly repudiated. "Bolshevism" said Herbert Hoover "is worse than war."

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into poverty, disease and ignora nce by trying to mind everybody's business except our own. Our problem is our democracy; the efficiency of our own government; law and order in our own land and particularly the use of our undoubted ability and knowledge in making this a land where the average citizen can get decent medical attention, wheter he lives on the South or North side of Chicago, in New York or Mississippi, and earns a million a year or $1000. There is no question but what we can do this. Of the method by which it can best be done, I am not insisting, although personally I believe socialism is the only possible solution. But the means is less, far less important, than the fact; and when we sit and let the patient die while we discuss the best means of saving him and damn our neighbors for their diagnosis and technique, I confess to impatience if not incipient profanity. We have the ability; we have the technique; we have more students eager to heal men than we have facilities to train them; we are the richest nation on earth if we build instesd of fight~~, and maneufre~~. If we ~~muff~~ miss this great opportunity, we are just plain stupid, & not criminal

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THE AMERICAN NEGRO 1901 TO 1950

BY

W.E.B. DU BOIS

WE ARE JUST FINISHING THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. I REMEMBER ITS BIRTH IN 1900 or 1901; BUT, OF COURSE, 1901 WAS CORRECT. WE EXPECTED GREAT THINGS... PEACE: THE SEASON OF WAR AMONG NATIONS HAD PASSED: PROGRESS WAS THE ORDER...EVERYTHING GOING FORWARD TO BIGGER AND BETTER THINGS. AND THEN, NO SO OPENLY EXPRESSED, BUT EVEN MORE FIRMLY BELIEVED, THE RULE OF WHITE EUROPE AND AMERICA OVER BLACK, BROWN AND YELLOW PEOPLES.

I WAS 32 YEARS OF AGE IN 1901, MARRIED, AND A FATHER, AND TEACHING AT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY: WITH A PROGRAM COVERNING A HUNDRED YEARS OF STUDY AND INVESTIGATION INTO THE CONDITION OF AMERICAN NEGROES. OUR SUBJECT OF STUDY AT THE TURN WAS EDUCATION: THE COLLEGE-BRED NEGRO IN 1900, THE NEGRO COMMON

SCHOOL IN 1901. MY OWN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE TWENTIETH CENTURY WAS EXPRESSED IN AN ARTICLE WHICH I WROTE IN THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY IN 1901. IT SAID:

"THE PROBLEM OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IS THE PROBLEM OF THE COLOR LINE... I HAVE SEEN A LAND RIGHT MERRY WITH THE SUN, WHERE CHILDREN SING, AND ROLLING HILLS LIE LIKE PASSIONED WOMEN WANTON WITH HARVEST. AND THERE IN THE KING'S HIGHWAY SAT, AND SITS, A FIGURE VEILED AND BOWED, BY WHICH THE TRAVELER'S FOOTSTEPS HASTEN AS THEY GO. ON THE TAINTED AIR BROODS FAIR. THREE CENTURIES THOUGHT HAVE BEEN THE RAISING AND UNVEILING OF THAT BOWED HUMAN SOUL: AND NOW BEHOLD, MY FELLOWS, A CENTURY NEW FOR THE DUTY AND THE DEED! THE PROBLEM OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IS THE PROBLEM OF THE COLOR-LINE."

THIS IS WHAT WE HOPED, TO THIS WE NEGROES LOOKED FORWARD: PEACE, PROGRESS AND THE BREAKING OF THE COLOR LINE. WHAT HAS BEEN THE RESULT? WE KNOW IT

ALL TOO WELL... WAR, HATE, THE REVOLT OF THE COLORED PEOPLES AND THE FEAR OF MORE WAR.

IN THE MEANTIME, WHERE ARE WE: THOSE 15,000,000 CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES WHO ARE DESCENDED FROM THE SLAVES, BROUGHT HERE BETWEEN 1600 AND1900? WE FORMED IN 1901, A SEPARATE GROUP BECAUSE OF LEGAL ENSLAVEMENT AND EMANCIPATION INTO CASTE CONDITIONS, WITH THE ATTENDANT POVERTY, IGNORANCE, DISEASE AND CRIME. WE WERE AN INNER GROUP AND NOT AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE AMERICAN NATION: BUT WE WERE EXERTING OURSELVES TO FIGHT FOR INTEGRATION.

THE BURDEN OF OUR FIGHT WAS IN SEVEN DIFFERENT LINES. WE WANTED EDUCATION: WE WANTED PARTICULARLY THE RIGHT TO VOTE AND CIVIL RIGHTS: WE WANTED WORK WITH ADEQUATE WAGE: HOUSING, WITHOUT SEGREGATION OR SLUMS: A FREE PRESS TO FIGHT OUR BATTLES, AND (ALTHOUGH IN THOSE DAYS WE DARE NOT SAY IT) SOCIAL EQUALITY.

IN 1901 OUR EDUCATION WAS IN PERILOUS CONDITION, DESPITE WHAT WE AND OUR WHITE FRIENDS HAD DONE FOR THIRTY YEARS. THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE SAID IN ITS RESOLUTIONS OF 1901: "WE CALL THE ATTENTION OF THE NATION TO THE FACT THAT LESS THAN ONE MILLION OF THE THREE MILLION NEGRO CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE ARE AT PRESENT REGULARLY ATTENDING SCHOOL, AND THESE ATTEND A SESSION WHICH LASTS ONLY A FEW MONTHS. WE ARE TODAY DELIBERATELY REARING MILLIONS OF OUR CITIZENS IN IGNORANCE AND AT THE SAME TIME LIMITING THE RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP BY EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS. THIS IS UNJUST."

MORE PARTICULARLY IN CIVIL RIGHTS, WE WERE OPPRESSED. WE NOT ONLY DID NOT GET JUSTICE IN THE COURTS, BUT WE WERE SU JECT TO PECULIAR AND GALLING SORTS OF INJUSTICE IN DAILY LIFE. IN THE LATTER PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, WHERE WE FIRST GET SOMETHING LIKE STATISTICS, NO LESS THAN 3,000 NEGROES WERE LYNCHED WITH UT TRIAL. AND IN ADDITION TO THAT WE WERE SUBJECT

CONTINUOUSLY TO MOB VIOLENCE AND JUDICIAL LYNCHING.

IN POLITICAL LIFE WE HAD, FOR TWENTY-FIVE YEARS, BEEN DISFRANCHISED BY VIOLENCE, LAW AND PUBLIC OPINION. THE 14th and 15th AMENDMENTS WERE DELIBERATELY VIOLATED AND THE LITERATURE OF THE DAY IN BOOK, PAMPHLET AND DAILY PRESS, WAS WIDELY OF OPINION THAT THE NEGRO WAS NOT READY FOR THE BALLOT, COULD NOT USE IT INTELLIGENTLY, AND THAT NO ACTION WAS CALLED FOR TO STOP HIS POLITICAL POWER FROM BEING EXERCISED BY SOUTHERN WHITES LIKE TILLMAN AND VARDAMAN.

WE DID NOT HAVE THE RIGHT OR OPPORTUNITY TO WORK AT AN INCOME WHICH WOULD SUSTAIN A DECENT AND MODERN STANDARD OF LIFE. BECAUSE OF A PAST OF CHATTEL SLAVERY, WE WERE FOR THE MOST PART COMMON LABORERS AND SERVANTS, AND A VERY CONSIDERABLE PROPORTION WERE STILL UNABLE TO LEAVE THE PLANTATIONS WHERE THEY WORKED ALL THEIR LIVES FOR NEXT TO NOTHING.

THERE WERE A FEW WHO WERE EDUCATED FOR THE PROFESSIONS AND WE HAD MANY

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ARTISANS: THAT NUMBER WAS NOT INCREASING AS IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN, NOR WERE NEW ARTISANS BEING ADEQUATELY TRAINED. INDUSTRIAL TRAINING WAS POPULAR, BUT FUNDS TO IMPLEMENT IT WERE TOO LIMITED, AND WE WERE EXCLUDED FROM UNIONS AND THE NEW MASS INDUSTRY.

WE WERE HOUSED IN SLUMS AND SEGREGATED DISTRICTS WHERE CRIME AND DISEASE MULTIPLIED, AND WHEN WE TRIED TO MOVE TO BETTER AND HEALTHIER QUARTERS WE WERE MET BY SEGRETATION ORDINANCE IF NOT BY MOBS. WE NOT ONLY HAD NO SOCIAL EQUALITY, BUT WE DID NOT OPENLY ASK FOR IT. IT SEEMED A SHAMEFUL THING TO BEG PEOPLE TO RECEIVE US AS EQUALS AND AS HUMAN BEINGS: THAT WAS SOMETHING WE ARGUED "THAT CAME AND COULD NOT BE FETCHED." AND THAT MEANT NOT SIMPLY THAT WE COULD NOT MARRY WHITE WOMEN OR LEGITIMIZE MULATTO BASTARDS, BUT WE COULD NOT STOP IN A DECENT HOTEL, NOR EAT IN A PUBLIC RESTAURANT NOR ATTEND

THE THEATRE, NOR ACCEPT AN INVITATION TO A PRIVATE WHITE HOME, NOR TRAVEL IN A DECENT RAILWAY COACH. WHEN THE "PUBLIC" WAS INVITED, THIS DID NOT INCLUDE US AND ADMISSION TO COLLEGES OFTEN INVOLVED SPECIAL CONSIDERATION IF NOT BLUNT REFUSAL.

FINALLY WE HAD POOR PRESS...A FEW STRUGGLING PAPERS WITH LITTLE NEWS AND INADEQUATELY EXPRESSED OPINION, WITH SMALL CIRCULATION OR INFLUENCE AND ALMOST NO ADVERTISING.

THIS WAS OUR PLIGHT IN 1901. IT WAS DISCOURAGING, BUT NOT HOPELESS. THERE IS NO QUESTION BUT THAT WE HAD MADE PROGRESS, AND THERE ALSO WAS NO DOUBT BUT WHAT THAT PROGRESS WAS NOT ENOUGH TO SATISFY US OR TO SETTLE OUR PROBLEMS.

WE COULD LOOK BACK ON A QUARTER CENTURY OF STRUGGLE WHICH HAD ITS RESULTS. WE HAD SCHOOLS; WE HAD TEACHERS, A FEW HAD FORCED THEMSELVES INTO THE LEADING COLLEGES AND WERE TOLERATED IF NOT WELCOMED. WE VOTED IN NORTHERN CITIES, OWNED MANY DECENT HOMES AND WERE FIGHTING FOR FURTHER PROGRESS.

LEADERS LIKE BOOKER WASHINGTON HAD RECEIVED WIDE POPULAR APPROVAL AND A NEGRO LITERATURE HAD BEGUN TO APPEAR.

BUT WHAT WE NEEDED WAS ORGANIZED EFFORT ALONG THE WHOLE FRONT, BASED ON BROAD LINES OF COMPLETE EMANCIPATION. THIS CAME WITH THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT IN 1906 AND THE NAACP IN 1909. IN 1910 CAME THE CRISIS MAGAZINE AND THE REAL BATTLE WAS ON.

WHAT HAVE WE GAINED AND ACCOMPLISHED? THE ADVANCE HAS NOT BEEN EQUAL ON ALL FRONTS, NOR COMPLETE ON ANY. WE HAVE NOT PROGRESSED WITH CLOSED RANKS LIKE A TRAINED ARMY, BUT RATHER WITH SERRIED AND BROKEN RANKS, WITH WIDE GAPS AND EVEN TEMPORARY RETREATS. BUT WE HAVE ADVANCED. OF THAT THERE CAN BE NO ATOM OF DOUBT.

FIRST OF ALL IN EDUCATION: MOST NEGRO CHILDREN TODAY ARE IN SCHOOL AND MOST ADULTS CAN READ AND WRITE. UNFORTUNATELY THIS LITERACY IS NOT AS GREAT AS THE CENSUS SAYS. THE DRAFT SHOWED THAT AT LEAST A THIRD OF OUR YOUTH ARE ILLITERATE. BUT EDUCATION IS STEADILY RISING. SIX THOUSAND BACHELOR DEGREES ARE AWARDED TO NEGROES EACH YEAR AND DOCTORATES IN PHILOSOPHY AND MEDICINE ARE NOT UNCOMMON. NEVERTHELESS AS A GROUP, AMERICAN NEGROES ARE STILL IN THE LOWER RANKS OF LEARNING AND ADAPTABILITY TO MODERN CONDITIONS. THEY DO NOT READ WIDELY, THEIR TRAVEL IS LIMITED AND THEIR EXPERIENCE THROUGH CONTACT WITH THE MODERN WORLD IS CURTAILED BY LAW AND CUSTOM.

SECONDLY, IN CIVIL RIGHTS, THE NEGRO HAS PERHAPS MADE HIS GREATEST ADVANCE. MOB VIOLENCE AND LYNCHING HAVE MARKEDLY DECREASED. THREE THOUSAND NEGROES WERE LYNCHED IN THE LAST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND FIVE HUNDRED IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH. TODAY LYNCHING IS COMPARATIVELY RARE. MOB VIOLENCE ALSO HAS DECREASED, BUT IS STILL IN EVIDENCE, AND

SUMMARY AND UNJUST COURT PROCEEDINGS HAVE TAKEN THEPLACE OF OPEN AND ILLEGAL ACTS. BUT THE NEGRO HAS ESTABLISHED, IN THE COURTS, HIS LEGAL CITIZENSHIP AND HIS RIGHT TO BE INCLUDED IN THE BILL OF RIGHTS. THE QUESTION STILL REMAINS OF "EQUAL BUT SEPARATE" PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS, AND THAT IS BEING ATTACKED. EVEN THE INSTITUTION OF THE "JOM-CROW" IN TRAVEL IS TOTTERING. THE INFRACTION OF THE MARRIAGE SITUATION BY LAW AND CUSTOM IS YET TO BE BROUGHT BEFORE THE COURTS AND PUBLIC OPINION IN A FORCIBLE WAY.

THIRD, THE RIGHT TO VOTE ON THE PART OF THE NEGRO IS BEING GRADUALLY ESTABLIHED UNDER THE 14th and 15th AMENDMENTS. IT WAS NOT REALLY UNTIL 1915 THAT THE SUPREME COURT UPHELD THIS RIGHT OF NEGRO CITIZENS AND EVEN TODAY THE PENALTIES OF THE 14TH AMENDMENT HAVE NEVER BEEN ENFORCED. THERE ARE 7,000,000 POSSIBLE VOTERS AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES AND OF THESE IT IS A

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QUESTION IF MORE THAN 2,000,000 ACTUALLY CAST THEIR VOTES. THIS IS PARTLY FROM THE NATIONAL INERTIA, WHICH KEEPS HALF OF ALL AMERICAN VOTERS AWAY FROM THE POLLS: BUT EVEN MORE FROM THE QUESTION AS TO WHAT PRACTICAL ENDS THE NEGRO SHALL CAST HIS VOTE.

HE IS THINKING USUALLY IN TERMS OF WHAT HE CAN DO BY VOTING TO BETTER HIS CONDITION AND HE SELDOM GETS A CHANCE TO VOTE ON THIS MATTER. ON THE WIDER IMPLICATIONS OF POLITICAL DEMOCRACY HE HAS NOT YET ENTERED: PARTICULARLY HE DOES NOT SEE THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF PRESENT CIVILIZATION AND THE NECCESSITY OF HIS ATTACKING THE RULE OF CORPORATE WEALTH IN ORDER TO FREE THE LABOR GROUP TO WHICH HE BELONGS.

FOURTH, THERE IS THE QUESTION OF OCCUPATION. THERE ARE OUR SUBMERGED CLASSES OF FARM LABOR AND TENANTS: OUR CITY LABORERS, WASHERWOMEN AND SCRUBWOMEN AND THE MASS OF LOWER-PAID SERVANTS. THESE CLASSES STILL FORM A MAJORITY OF AMERICAN NEGROES AND THEY ARE ON THE EDGE OF POVERTY, WITH THE

IGNORANCE, DISEASE AND CRIME THAT ALWAYS ACCOMPANY SUCH POVERTY.

IF WE MEASURE THE MEDIAN INCOME OF AMERICANS, IT IS $3,000 FOR WHITES AND $2,000 FOR NEGROES. IN SOUTHERN CITIES, 7 PER CENT OF THE WHITE FAMILIES AND 30 PER CENT OF THE COLORED FAMILIES RECEIVE LESS THAN $1,000 A YEAR. ON THE OTHER HAND THE CLASS DIFFERENTIATION BY INCOME AMONG NEGROES IS NOTABLE: THE NUMBER OF SEMI-SKILLED AND SKILLED ARTISANS HAS INCREASED OR WILL AS MEMBERSHIP IN LABOR UNIONS. PROFESSIONAL MEN HAVE INCREASED, ESPECIALLY TEACHERS AND LESS NOTABLY, PHYSICIANS, DENTISTS AND LAWYERS.

THE NUMBER OF NEGROES IN BUSINESS HAS INCREASED: MOSTLY IN SMALL RETAIL BUSINESSES, BUT TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT IN ENTERPRISES LIKE INSURANCE, REAL ESTATE AND SMALL BANKING, WHERE THE COLOR LINE GIVES NEGROES CERTAIN ADVANTAGES AND WHERE, TOO, THERE IS A CERTAIN ELEMENT OF GAMBLING. ALSO BEYOND THE LINE OF GAMBLING NUMBERS OF NEGROES HAVE MADE SMALL FORTUNES IN

ANTI-SOCIAL ENTERPRISES. ALL THIS MEANS THAT THERE HAS ARISEN IN THE NEGRO GROUP A DISTINCT STRATIFICATION FROM POOR TO RICH. RECENTLY I POLLED 450 NEGRO FAMILIES BELONGING TO A SELECT ORGANIZATION FORTY-FIVE YEARS OLD. OF THESE FAMILIES 127 RECEIVED OVER $10,000 A YEAR AND A SCORE OF THESE OVER $25,000; 200 FAMILIES RECEIVED FROM $5,000 to $10,000 A YEAR AND EIGHTY-SIX LESS THAN $5,000.

THIS IS THE START OF A TENDENCY WHICH WILL GROW: WE ARE BEGINNING TO FOLLOW THE AMERICAN PATTERN OF ACCUMULATING INDIVIDUAL WEALTH AND OF CONSIDERING THAT THIS WILL EVENTUALLY SETTLE THE RACE PROBLEM. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE WHOLE TREND OF THE THOUGHT OF OUR AGE IS TOWARD SOCIAL WELFARE: THE PREVENTION OF POVERTY BY MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH, AND BUSINESS FOR GENERAL WELFARE RATHER THAN PRIVATE PROFIT. THERE ARE A FEW SIGNS THAT THESE IDEALS ARE GUIDING NEGRO DEVELOPMENT TODAY. WE SEEM TO BE ADOPTING INCREASINGLY THE IDEAL OF AMERICAN CULTURE.

HOUSING, HAS, OF COURSE, BEEN A POINT OF BITTER PRESSURE AMONG NEGROES, BECAUSE THE ATTEMPT TO SEGREGATE THE RACE IN ITS LIVING CONDITIONS HAS NOT ONLY KEPT THE MORE FORTUNATE ONES FROM PROGRESS BUT IT HAS CONFINED VAST NUMBERS OF NEGRO PEOPLE TO THE VERY PARTS OF CITIES AND COUNTRY DISTRICTS WHERE THEY HAVE FEWEST OPPORTUNITIES AND LEAST SOCIAL CONTACTS. THEY MUST LIVE LARGELY IN SLUMS, IN CONTACT WITH CRIMINALS AND WITH FEWEST OF THE SOCIAL ADVANTAGES OF GOVERNMENT AND HUMAN CONTACT. THE FIGHT AGAINST SEGREGATION HAS BEEN CARRIED ON IN THE COURTS AND SHOWS MUCH PROGRESS AGAINST CITY ORDINANCES, AGAINST COVENANTS WHICH MAKE SEGREGATION HEREDITARY.

LITERATURE AND ART HAVE MADE PROGRESS AMONG NEGROES, BUT WITH CURIOUS HANDICAPS. AN ART EXPRESSION IS NORMALLY EVOKED BY THE CONSCIOUS AND UNCONSCIOUS DEMAND OF PEOPLE FOR PORTRAYAL OF THEIR OWN EMOTION AND EXPERIENCE. BUT IN THE CASE OF THE AMERICAN NEGROES, THE AUDIENCE, WHICH EMBODIES THE

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DEMAND AND WHICH PAYS SOMETIMES ENORMOUS PRICE FOR SATISFACTION, IS NOT THE NEGRO GROUP, BUT THE WHITE GROUP. AND THE PATTERN OF WHAT THE WHITE GROUP WANTS DOES NOT NECESSARILY AGREE WITH THE NATURAL DESIRE OF NEGROES.

THE WHOLE OF NEGRO LITERATURE IS THEREFORE CURIOUSLY DIVIDED. WE HAVE WRITERS WHO HAVE WRITTEN, NOT REALLY ABOUT NEGROES, BUT ABOUT THE THINGS WHICH WHITE PEOPLE, AND NOT THE HIGHEST CLASS OF WHITES, LIKE TO HEAR ABOUT NEGROES. AND THOSE WHO HAVE EXPRESSED WHAT THE NEGRO HIMSELF THINKS AND FEELS, ARE THOSE WHOSE BOOK SELL TO FEW, EVEN OF THEIR OWN PWOPLE: AND WHOM MOST FOLK DO NOT KNOW. THIS HAS NOT MADE FOR THE AUTHENTIC LITERATURE WHICH THE EARLY PART OF THIS CENTURY SEEMED TO PROMISE. TO BE SURE, IT CAN BE SAID THAT AMERICAN LITERATURE TODAY HAS A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF NEGRO EXPRESSION AND INFLUENCE, ALTHOUGH NOT AS MUCH AS ONCE WE HOPED.

DESPITE ALL THIS WE HAVE AN INCREASING NUMBER OF EXCELLENT NEGRO WRITERS WHO MAKE THE PROMIST FOR THE FUTURE GREAT BY THEIR REAL ACCOMPLISHMENT. WE HAVE DONE SOMETHING IN SCULPTURE AND PAINTING, BUT IN DRAMA AND MUSIC WE

HAVE MARKEDLY ADVANCED. ALL THE WORLD LISTENS TO OUR SINGERS, SINGS OUR MUSIC AND DANCES TO OUR RHYTHMS.

IN SCIENCE, OUR HANDICAPS ARE STILL GREAT. TURNER A GREAT ENTOMOLOGIST, WAS WORKED TO DEATH FOR LACK OF LABORATORY: JUST NEVER HAD THE RECOGNITION HE RICHLY DESERVED, AND CARVER WAS PRISONER OF HIS INFERIORITY COMPLEX. NOTWITHSTANDING THIS, OUR REAL ACCOMPLISHMENT IN BIOLOGY AND MEDICINE, IN HISTORY AND LAW: AND IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES HAS BEEN NOTABLE AND WIDELY ACCLAIMED. TO THIS IN NO LITTLE DEGREE IS DUE OUR PHYSICAL SURVIVAL, OUR FALLING DEATH RATE AND OUR INCREASED CONFIDENCE IN OUR SELVES AND IN OUR DESTINY.

THE EXPRESSION OF NEGRO WISH AND DESIRE THROUGH A FREE PRESS HAS GREATLY IMPROVED AS COMPARED WITH 1900. WE HAVE A HALF DOZEN LARGE WEEKLY PAPERS

WITH CIRCULATION OF A HUNDRED THOUSAND OR MORE. THEIR NEWS COVERAGE IS IMMENSE, EVEN IF NOT DISCRIMINATING. BUT HERE AGAIN, THE INFLUENCE OF THE AMERICAN PRESS ON US HAS BEEN DEVASTATING. THE PREDOMINANCE OF ADVERTISING OVER OPINION, THE DESIRE FOR INCOME RATHER THAN LITERARY EXCELLENCE AND THE USE OF DELIBERATE PROPAGANDA, HAD MADE OUR PRESS LESS OF A POWER THAN IT COULD B , AND LEAVES WIDE CHANCE FOR IMPROVEMENT IN THE FUTURE.

IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER INSTITUTIONS, THE NEGRO CHURCH DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY HAS LOST GROUND. IT IS NO LONGER THE DOMINATING INFLUENCE THAT IT USED TO BE, THE CENTER OF SOCIAL ACTIVITY AND OF ECONOMIC EXPERIMENT. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS STILL A POWERFUL INSTITUTION IN THE LIVES OF NUMERICAL MAJORITY OF AMERICAN NEGROES IF NOT UPON THE DOMINANT INTELLECTUAL CLASSES. THERE HAS BEEN A CONSIDERABLE INCREASE IN ORGANIZED WORK FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS THROUGH THE CHURCH, BUT THERE HAS ALSO BEEN A LARGE INCREASE OF EXPENDITURE FOR BUILDING, FURNISHINGS, AND SALARIES: AND IT IS NOT EASY TO

FIND ANY INCREASE IN MORAL STAMINA OR CONSCIENTIOUS DISCRIMINATION WITHIN CHURCH CIRCLES.

THE SCANDAL OF DELIBERATE BRIBERY IN ELECTION OF BISHOPS AND IN THE HOLDING OF POSITIONS IN THE CHURCHES WITHOUT A HIERACHY HAS BEEN WIDESPREAD. IT IS A CRITICAL PROBLEM NOW AS TO JUST WHAT PART IN THE FUTURE THE CHURCH AMONG NEGROES IS GOING TO HOLD.

FINALLY THERE COMES THE QUESTION OF SOCIAL EQUALITY, WHICH, DESPITE EFFORTS ON THE PART OF THINKERS, WHITE AND BLACK, IS AFTER ALL THE MAIN AND FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM OF RACE IN THE UNITED STATES. UNLESS A HUMAN BEING IS GOING TO HAVE ALL HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING NOT ONLY WORK, BUT FRIENDSHIP, AND IF MUTUALLY DESIRED, MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN, UNLESS THESE AVENUES ARE OPEN AND FREE, THERE CAN BE NO REAL EQUALITY AND NO CULTURED INTEGRATION.

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IT HAS HITHERTO SEEMED UTTERLY IMPOSSIBLE THAT ANY SUCH SOLUTION OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN AMERICA COULD TAKE PLACE. THE SITUATION WAS QUITE SIMILAR TO THE PROBLEM OF THE LOWER CLASSES OF LABORERS, SERFS AND SERVANTS IN EUROPEAN NATIONS DURING THE SIXTEENTH, SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. ALL NATIONS HAD TO CONSIST OF TWO SEPARATE PARTS AND THE ONLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THEM WAS EMPLOYMENT AND PHILANTHROPY.

THAT PROBLEM HAS BEEN PARTLY SOLVED BY MODERN DEMOCRACY, BUT MODERN DEMOCRACY CANNOT SUCCEED UNLESS THE PEOPLES OF DIFFERENT RACES AND RELIGIONS R ARE ALSO INTEGRATED INTO THE DEMOCRATIC WHOLE. AGAINST THIS LARGE NUMBERS OF AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS FOUGHT AND ARE STILL FIGHTING, BUT THE PROGRESS DESPITE THIS HAS BEEN NOTABLE. THERE ARE PLACES IN THE UNITED STATES, ~~EX~~ ESPECIALLY IN LARGE CITIES LIKE NEW YORK AND CHICAGO, WHERE THE SOCIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RACES HAS, TO A LARGE EXTENT, BEEN NULLIFIED AND THERE IS A MEETING ON TERMS OF EQUALITY WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN THOUGHT IMPOSSIBLE

A HALF CENTURY AGO.

ON THE OTHER HAND, IN THE SOUTH, DESPITE RELIGION, EDUCATION AND REASON, THE COLOR LINE, ALTHOUGH PERHAPS SHAKEN, STILL STANDS, STARK AND UNBENDING AND TO THE MINDS OF MOST GOOD PEOPLE, ETERNAL. HERE LIES THE AREA OF THE LAST BATTLE FOR THE COMPLETE RIGHTS OF AMERICAN NEGROES.

WITHIN THE RACE ITSELF TODAY THERE ARE DISQUIETING SIGNS. THE EFFORT OF NEGROES TO BECOME AMERICANS OF EQUAL STATUS WITH OTHER AMERICANS IS LEADING THEM TO A STATE OF MIND BY WHICH THEY NOT ONLY ACCEPT WHAT IS GOOD IN AMERICA, BUT WHAT IS BAD AND THREATENING SO LONG AS THE NEGRO CAN SHARE EQUALLY. THIS IS PECULIARLY DANGEROUS AT THIS EPOCH IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORLD CULTURE.

AFTER TWO WORLD WARS OF UNPRECEDENTED LOSS OF LIFE, CRUELTY AND DESTRUCTION, WE ARE FACED BY THE FACT THAT THE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION OF OUR PRESENT

CIVILIZATION HAS IN IT SOMETHING FUNDAMENTALLY WRONG. IT WENT TO PIECES IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR BECAUSE OF THE DETERM NATION OF CERTAIN GREAT POWERS EXCLUDED FROM WORLD RULE TO SHARE IN THAT RULE, BY ACQUISITION OF THE LABOR AND MATERIALS OF COLONIAL PEOPLES. THE ATTEMPT TO RECOVER FROM THE CATACLYSM RESULTED IN THE COLLAPSE OF OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM, AND A SECOND WORLD WAR.

IN SPITE OF THE PROPAGANDA WHICH HAS GONE ON, WHICH REPRESENTS AMERICA AS THE LEADING DEMOCRATIC STATE, WE NEGROES KNOW PERFECTLY WELL, AND OUGHT TO KNOW EVEN BETTER THAN MOST, THAT AMERICA IS NOT A SUCCESSFUL DEMOCRACY AND THAT UNTIL IT IS, IT IS GOING TO DRAG DOWN THE WORLD. THIS NATION IS RULED BY CORPORATE WEALTH TO A DEGREE WHICH IS FRIGHTENING. ONE THOUSAND PERSONS OWN THE UNITED STATES AND THEIR POWER OUTWEIGHS THE VOICE OF THE MASS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS. THIS MUST BE CURED, NOT BY REVOLUTION , NOT BY WAR AND VIOLENCE, BUT BY REASON AND KNOWLEDGE.

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MOST OF THE WORLD IS TODAY TURNING TOWARD THE WELFARE STATE: TURNING AGAINST THE IDEA OF PRODUCTION FOR INDIVIDUAL PROFIT TOWARD THE IDEA OF PRODUCTION FOR USE AND FOR THE WELFARE OF THE MASS OF CITIZENS. NO MATTER HOW DIFFICULT SUCH A COURSE IS, IT IS THE ONLY COURSE THAT IS GOING TO SAVE THE WORLD AND THIS WE AMERICAN NEGROES HAVE GOT TO REALIZE.

WE MAY FIND IT EASY NOW TO GET PUBLICITY, REWARD, AND ATTENTION BY GOING ALONG WITH THE REACTIONARY PROPAGANDA AND WAR HYSTERIA WHICH IS CONVULSING THIS NATION, BUT IN THE LONG RUN AMERICA WILL NOT THANK ITS BLACK CHILDREN IF THEY HELP IT GO THE WRONG WAY, OR RETARD ITS PROGRESS.

FIFTY YEARS---THE AMERICAN NEGRO FROM 1901 to 1950

By

W. E. B. DU BOIS

We are just finishing the first half of the 20th century. I remember its birth in 1901. I was 32 years of age, married and a father, and teaching at Atlanta University, with a program covering a hundred years of study and investigation into the condition of American Negroes. Our subject of study at the turn of the century was Education. The college-bred Negro in 1900, the Negro common school in 1901. There was the usual discussion as to whether the century began in 1900 or 1901; but of course 1901 was the beginning of the 20th century. We expected great things- --peace, the season of war among nations had passed, progress--everything going forward to ~~greater~~ bigger and better things. And then not so openly expressed but even more firmly believed, the rule of white Europe and America over black, brown and yellow peoples.

My own attitude toward the 20th century was expressed in an article which I wrote in the "Atlantic Monthly" in 1901. It said: (Insert) (1)

This is what we hoped, to this we looked forward - peace, progress and the breaking of the Color Line. What was the result? We know it all too well--War, Hate, the Revolt of the colored peoples and the fear of more War. In the meantime, where are we? Those fifteen million citizens of the United States who are descended from the slaves, brought here between 1600 and 1900? We formed a separate group by legal enslavement, ~~and later~~ emancipation ~~by class~~ into conditions with their attendent poverty, ignorance, disease and crime. We were ~~then~~ an inner group ~~in~~ not integral part of the American nation, but we were exerting ourselves ~~despite~~ to fight for integration. The burden of our fight was in seven different lines. ~~First~~ We wanted education; we wanted civil rights; we wanted work with adequate wage; housing, ~~particularly the~~

right to vote and (although in those days we did not say it) dare -social equality.

To get these things we wanted a free and effective press. In 1901 our education was in powerless condition. The Atlanta University Conference said in its resolutions of that year: (Insert) (2)

More particularly in civil rights, we were wanting. We not only did not get justice in the courts but we were subject to peculiar and galling sorts of injustice. In the later half of the 19th century, where we first get something like statistics, no less than three thousand Negroes were lynched without trial. And in addition to that we were subject to continuously to mob violence and judicial lynching. We did not have the right or opportunity to work at an income which would sustain a decent and modern standard of life. For the most part, we were laborers and servants, and a very considerable porprotion were skilled in serfdom peonage and slavery. There were comparatively few who were educated for the professions and while we had a number of artisans; the number was not increasing as it should, nor were new artisans being adequately trained.

We were housed in slums and segregated districts where crime and disease multiplied. And above all, to our own minds, we were disfranchised, except the few who lived in the North, the great mass of the Negro by violence and by judicial decision were deprived of the right to vote. We not only had no social equality but we did not openly ask for it. It seemed a shameful thing to ask people to receive us as equals and as human beings. That was something we argued that came and could not be fetched. Finally we had poor press. A few struggling papers with little news and inadequately expressed opinion, with small circulation or influence and almost no advertising. Here we started in 1901. How far have we gone? There is no question but that we have made progress, and there also is no doubt but what that progress is not enough to satisfy us or to settle our problems.

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1

last for 25 years Ken

In polital life we ~~were~~ disfranchised by violence, law and public opinion
The I4th amendment ~~and the I5th~~ (→ 15th) were deliberately violated and the literature of the day in book, pamphlet and daily press, were widely of opinion that the Negro was (still) not ready for the ballot, could not use it intelligently and that no action was ~~needed~~ (called for) to stop his political power from being exercis d by ~~his enemies in the~~ Southern whites like Tillman and Vardaman

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And that meant not simply that we could not marry white women, or legitimize mulatto bastards, but we could not (stop in a hotel) eat in a public r staurant or attend the theatre, or accept an invitation to a private white home , or travel in a decent railway coach. When the "Public" was invited, this did not include us and admission to colleges involved special consideration if not blunt refusal

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(3)

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This was our plight in I90I. It was discouraging but not hopeless. We could look back on a quarter century of struggle which had its results We had schools; we had teachers; a few had forced themselves into the leading colleges and were tolerated if not welcomed. We voted in northern cities, owned many decent homes and were fighting for further progress ~~Some~~ leaders like Booker Washington had received wide popular approval ~~among whites~~ and a Negro literature had begun to appear.

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But what we needed was organized effort along the whole front, based on broad lines of complete emancipation. This came with the Niagara Movement in I906 and the NAACP in I~~xxx~~ I909. In I9I0 came the Crisis Magazine and the real battle was on.

What have we gained and accomplished? The advance has not been equal on all fronts, or complete on any. We have not progressed with closed ranks like a trained army, but rather with serried and broken ranks, with wide gaps and even temporary retreats. But we have advanced. Of that there can be no atom of doubt

First of all in education; most Negro children today are in school and most adults can read and write. Unfortunately this literacy is not as great as the census says. The draft showed that at least a third of our youth are illiterate ~~and the mass of Negroes still form the least intelligent group of the nation, because of lack of school facilities, lack of cultural contacts and poverty.~~ But education is steadily rising

(over)

~~The push forward is a matter of unequal severed ranks, instead of a definite even progress.~~ Six thousand Bachlor degrees are awarded to Negroes each year and Doctorates in philosophy and medicine are not uncommon. Nevertheless as a group, the American Negro is in the lower ranks of learning and adaptability to modern conditions. They do not read widely, their travel is limited and their experience through contact with the modern world is curtailed by law and custom.

Secondly in civil rights, the Negro, perhaps has made his greatest advance. Mob violence and lynching have markedly decreased. Three thousand Negroes were lynched in the last half of the 19th century, five hundred in the first half of the 20th, and today lynching is comparatively rare. Mob violence also has decreased but is still in evidence, and summary and unjust court proceedings have taken the place of open and illegal ~~com~~ acts ~~pulsion~~. But the Negro has established in the courts his legal citizenship and his right to ~~thus~~ be included in the Bill of Rights. The question still remains of "equal but separate" public accommodations, and that is being attacked. Even the institution of the "Jim-crow" car in travel is following

The infraction of the marriage situation by law and custom is yet to be brought before the courts and public opinion in a forcible way. IP Third, the right to vote on the part of the Negro is being gradually established under the 14 and 15th amendments. It was not really until 1915 that the Supreme Court upheld this right of Negro citizens and even today the penalties of the 14th amendment have never been enforced. There are seven million possible voters among American Negroes and of these it is a question if more than 2 million actually cast their votes. This is partly from the national inertia, which keeps half of the American voters away from the polls, but even more from the question as to what practical ends the Negro shall cast his vote. IP He is thinking usually in terms of what he can do to better his condition by voting and he seldom gets a chance to vote on this

matter. On the wider implications of political democracy he has not yet entered, particularly he does not see the economic foundations of present civilization and the necessity of his attacking the rule of corporate wealth in order to free the ~~workers~~ labor group to which he belongs.

4. Fourth, there is the question of occupation. First and foremost, there are the submerged classes among Negroes. The farm laborers and tenants, the small farmers, the city laborers, the scrub-women and the servants. They form a majority of the Negro people. They are poorly paid and on the edge of poverty.

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In the North, while white families receive ~~medium~~ median incomes up ~~to~~ three thousand ~~families~~ dollars, Negroes get two thousand, two hundred. ~~In the West the average of both is a little higher.~~ But in the South, where the white families get $2700, Negro families get $1500. In Southern cities, seven per cent of the white families have incomes less than $1000 and thirty- per cent of the colored families. But there has been an economic ~~emergence~~ differentiation among Negroes. They have entered the class of skilled and semi-skilled artisans; They have greatly increased their membership in labor unions. The number of their teachers, both South and North, has increased, and also less notibly a the number of physicians, dentists and lawyers. At the same time there ~~has been~~ have ~~forced~~ crowded forward certain classes on the edge of ~~xxxxxx~~ anti-social activities. ~~There are~~ a ~~large~~ considerable number of Negroes ~~who~~ have made money out of various aspects of gambling, ~~and other activities of similiar nature~~ which have brought them large income and influence. All this means that there has developed in the last 50 years a class stratification in the Negro group based on income. For a select Negro fraternity it was said lately (Copy 3)

There is a considerable number of Negroes receiving more than $10,000 a year and spending accordingly. There is a varied middle class receiving between five and ten thousand dollars a year and aspiring to larger ecomomic power.

All this means that the oldest philosophy of group advancement has yielded to the idea of the individual race for wealth and power, and has made the Negro group increasingly a part of the profit-making ideal of American culture.

Housing has, of course, been a point of bitter pressure among Negroes, because the attempt to segregate the race in its living conditions has not only kept the more fortunate ones from progress but it has confined vast numbers of Negro people to the very parts of cities and country districts where they have least opportunities and least contacts. They must live largely in slums, in contact with crime and criminals and with fewest of the social advantages of government aid and human contact. The fight against segregation has been carried on in the courts and shows much progress against city ordinances, against unfair zoning and against covenants which make segregation hereditary.

Literature and art have made progress among Negroes, but with curious handicaps. An art expression is normally evoked by the conscious and unconscious demand of people for portrayal of their own emotion and experience. But in the case of the American Negroes, the audience, which embodies the demand and which pays sometimes enormous price for satisfaction, is not the Negro group but the white group. And the pattern of what the white group wants does not necessarily agree with the natural desire of Negroes. The whole of Negro literature is therefore curiously divided. We have writers who have written not really about Negroes, but about the things which white people like to hear about Negroes and not the highest class of whites. And those who have expressed what the Negro himself thinks and feels are those whose books sell to few people even of their own and whom most folk black and white, do not know. This has not made for the authentic literature which the early part of this century seemed to promised. To be sure, it can be said that American literature today has a considerable amount of Negro expression and influence, although not as much as once we had hoped.

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The same thing is true in sculpture and in painting. In science of ~~course,~~ the difficulty is that the Negro rarely gets the opportunity to pursue work. Turner, the great entomologist died trying to escape poverty ~~get even a small~~ earned income. Just was never given the opportunity that his unusual gifts called for. ~~Although~~ the number of scientists is not to be neglected, it is not as large as it ought to be.

The expression of Negro wish and desire through a free press has greatly ~~increased,~~ improved as compared with 1900. We have a half dozen large weekly papers with circulations of a hundred thousand or more. Their news coverage is immense even if not discriminating. But here again, the influence of the American press has been devastating. The predominance of advertising over opinion, the desire for income rather than literary excellence and the use of deliberate propaganda, has made ~~the~~ our press less of a power than it ~~ought~~ could ~~to~~ be, and leaves wide chance for inprovement in the future.

In comparison with other institutions the Negro church during the 20th century has lost ground. It is no longer the dominating influence that it used to be, the center of social activity and of economic experiment. Nevertheless ~~the Negro church~~ it is still a powerful institution ~~within influence~~ on the lives of a numerical majority of American Negroes if not upon the dominant intellectual classes. There has been a considerable increase in organized work for social progress through the church, but there has also been a large increase of expenditure for building, furnishings, and salaries; and it is not easy to find any increase in moral ~~power or conscientious~~ planning discrimination within church circles. The saandal of deliberate bribery in election of Bishops and in the holding of positions in the churches without a hierachy has been wide spread. ~~And there~~ It is a critical problem now as to just what part in the future the church among Negroes is going to hold.

Finally there comes the question of social equality, which despite effort on the part of thinkers, white and black, is after all the main and fundamental problem of race in the United States. Unless a human being is

going to have all human rights, including not only work, but friendhsip, contact, love, marriage and children. Unless these avenues are ~~to be~~ open and free, there can be no real equality and no cultural integration. This everybody has felt ~~but for a long time~~ nevertheless. It seemed utterly impossible that any such solution of the Negro problem in America could take place. The situation was quite similiar to the problem of the lower classes ~~of the 18th~~ laborers serfs and servants in European nations during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. ~~The~~ all nations had ~~of necessity~~ to consist of two separate parts and the only relation between them was ~~at best a matter of~~ religious tolerance and philanthropy. That problem has been partly solved by modern democracy but modern democracy cannot succeed unless the peoples of different race and religion are also integrated into the democratic ~~mind~~ whole. Against this large numbers of Americans have always fought and are still fighting, but the progress despite this has been notable. There are places in the United States especially in large cities like New York and Chicago, where the social differences between the races has to a large extent been quite nullified and there is a meeting on terms of equality which would have been thought impossible a half century ago.

On the other hand, in the South, despite religion, education and reason, the Color line, although perhaps shaken, still stands stark and ~~strong~~ unbending and to the minds of ~~many~~ most good people--eternal. Here ~~of course~~ lies the area of the last battle for the complete rights of American Negroes.

What the Negro wants, and must have for his advance in the present state of the world, was put forward, perhaps most effectively, by the President's committee on Civil Rights. This committee was not a philanthrophic group of white persons advising and studying Negroes. The Negro members ~~were~~ which was decisive, in the final formulation. At the same time their thought was critisized and examined by white folk of influence. The result therefore, is of great importance as a picture of the present needs of the American Negro. The committee stresses, machinery for the protection of civil rights

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with increased governmental commissions and police force. It stresses the right to safety and security of the person, by an anti-lynching act and legislation against peonage. It asks for strengthening the right of citizenship and voting by ending the poll tax, entrance into primary elections, widening of the right of naturalization and laws and administrative action against discrimination in the armed forces. It asks for freedom of conscience and federal aid without discrimination, for employment in accordance with a federal Fair Employment Practice Act, and State acts of the same sort, for better educational opportunityes, for housing without discrimination, for health services to all races and free entrance into public services; for the abolition of the "Jim Crow" car laws and a long term of public education to inform the people of the civil rights to which they are entitled and which they owe to one another. This was really an astonishing document toward which very little has yet been done for implementation, but which marks an era in the progress of the Negro race.

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On the other hand, within the race itself there are disquieting signs, the effort of Negroes to become Americans with equal status with all other Americans is leading them to a state of mind by which they not only accept what is good in America and its civilization but also whatever is bad and threatening so long as the Negro can share equally. This is peculiarly dangerous at this epoch in the development of world culture, . After two world wars of unprecedented loss of life, cruelty and destruction, we are faced by the fact that the industrial organization of our present civilization has in it something fundamentally wrong. It went to pieces in the First World War because of the determination of certain great powers excluded from world rule to share in that rule by acquisition of the labor and materials of colonial peoples . The attempt to recover from that cataclysm resulted in the collapse of our industrial system. Whether that collapse is permanent or simply the result of misuse is immeterial.

and a second World War

What we must realize as American Negroes is that the economic organization of the world has got to be rebuilt. That in place of what we call freedom--the right to do anything we please, no matter what the cost may be to others, must come a social conscience, that the state is not to be run for profit but for the welfare of its people. And that unless we as American Negroes realize this and work to that end, we are going down in common catastrophe.

Inspite of the propaganda which has gone on, which represents America as the leading democratic state, we Negroes know perfectly well and ought to know even better than must, that America is not a successful democracy and that until it is, it is going to drag down the world. This nation is ruled by corporate wealth to a degree which is frightening. One thousand persons owns the United States and their power outweighs the voice of the mass of American citizens. This must be cured, not by revolution, not by war and violence, but by reason and knowledge. Most of the world is today turning toward the welfare state, turning against the idea of production for individual profit, toward the idea of production for use and for the welfare of the mass of citizens No matter how difficult such a course is, it is the only course that is going to save the world and this we American Negroes have got to realize.

We may find it easy now to get publicity, reward, and attention by going along with the reactionary propaganda and war hysteria which is convulsing this nation, but in the long run America will not thank its black children if they help it go the wrong way, or retard its progress. Realization of our present situation on the part of Negroes is going to lead them in their own circles and in their own group to realize the dangers of the class differences that are arising. There was a time when perhaps with naive idealism, the leaders and prospective leaders among Negroes looked upon themselves as chosen persons who were going to make the progress of the mass of their people

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their chief object and interst. This day has been superceeded by a situation where today the majority of the young Negroes of education , good income and power think of themselves as detached individuals, who are working for their own advancement and assume that advancement automatically is going to mean the advancement , not only of the Negro people but of America and the world. This is not necessarily true, indeed, on the whole this individualistic and atomic conception of society is the thing that has made the 20th century so terrible an example of destruction and frustration. No, the individual and individual freedom has got to be ~~suppressed~~ seen before the social ideal. And that social ideal must be followed, not simply by individuals but by groups of individuals like ours, and then their fight for the things which they want and need, will not only be easier but less selfish and more in tune with the great ideals of human progress.

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Corrected

FIFTY YEARS

THE AMERICAN NEGRO FROM 1901 TO 1950

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

We are just finishing the first half of the 20th century. I remember its birth in 1901. There was the usual discussion as to whether the century began in 1900 or 1901; but of course 1901 was the beginning of the 20th century. We expected great things---peace, the season of war among nations had passed; progress was the order---everything going forward to bigger and better things. And then not so openly expressed but even more firmly believed, the rule of White Europe and America over black brown and yellow peoples. I was 32 years of age, in 1901, married and a father, and teaching at Atlanta University; with a program covering a hundred years of study and investigation into the condition of American Negroes.

Our subject of study at the turn of the century was Education: the college-bred Negro in 1900, the Negro common school in 1901. My own attitude toward the 20th century was expressed in an article which I wrote in the "Atlantic Monthly" in 1901. It said: "The Problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the Color-line.... I have seen a land right merry with the sun, where children sing, and rolling hills lie like passioned women wanton with harvest. And there in the King's Highway sat, and sits, a figure veiled and bowed by which the Traveller's footsteps hasten as they go. On the tainted air broods Fear. Three centuries' thought have been the raising and unveiling of that bowed human Soul; and now behold, my fellows, a century new for the duty and the deed! The problem of the Twentieth Century is the Problem of the Color-line."

This is what we hoped, to this we Negroes looked forward; Peace, Progress and the breaking of the Color Line. What has been the result? We

know it all too well---War, Hate, the Revolt of the colored peoples and the fear of more War.

In the meantime, where are we; those fifteen million citizens of the United States who are descended from the slaves, brought here between 1600 and 1900? We formed in 1901, a separate group because of legal enslavement, and emancipation into caste conditions with their attendent--poverty, ignorance, disease and crime. We were an inner group and not an integral part of the American nation; but we were exerting ourselves to fight for intergration.

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The burden of our fight was in seven different lines. We wanted education; we wanted particularly the right to vote and civil rights; we wanted work with adequate wage; housing, without segregation or slums; a free press to fight our battles, and (although in those days we dare not say it) social equality.

In 1901 our education was in parlous condition despite what we and our white friends had done for 30 years. The Atlanta University Conference said in its resolutions of 1901: "We call the attention of the Nation to the fact that less than one million of the three million Negro children of school age are at present regularly attending school, and these attend a session which lasts only a few months. We are today deliberately rearing millions of our citizens in ignorance and at the same time limiting the rights of citizenship by educational qualifications. This is unjust."

More particularly in civil rights, we were oppressed. We not only did not get justice in the courts but we were subject to peculiar and galling sorts of injustice in daily life. In the later half of the 19th century, where we first get something like statistics, no less than three thousand Negroes were lynched without trial. And in addition to that we were subject continuously to mob violence and judicial lynching.

In political life we had for 25 years been disfranchised by violence, law and public opinion. The 14th and 15th amendments were deliberately violated and the literature of the day in book, pamphlet and daily press, were widely of opinion that the Negro was still not ready for the ballot, could not use it intelligently and that no action was called for to stop his political power from being exercised by Southern whites like Tillman and Vardaman. We did not have the right or opportunity to work at an income which would sustain a decent and modern standard of life, because of a past of chattel slavery. We were for the most part, common laborers and servants, and a very considerable proportion were still unable to leave the plantations where they worked for next to nothing. There were a few who were educated for the professions and we had many good artisans; that number was not increasing as it should have been nor were new artisans being adequately trained. Industrial training was popular but funds to implement it were too limited. We were excluded from the new mass industry.

We were housed in slums and segregated districts where crime and disease multiplied, and when we tried to move to better and healthier quarters we were met by segregation ordinances if not by mobs. We not only had no social equality but we did not openly ask for it. It seemed a shameful thing to ask people to receive us as equals and as human beings. That was something we argued "that came and could not be fetched." And that meant not simply that we could not marry white women or legitimize mulatto bastards, but we could not stop in a hotel, nor eat in a public restaurant or attend the theatre, or accept an invitation to a private white home, or travel in a decent railway coach. When the "Public" was invited, this did not include us and admission to colleges involved special consideration if not blunt refusal.

Finally we had poor press. A few struggling papers with little news and inadequately expressed opinion, with small circulation or influence and

almost no advertising. ~~Here we started in 1901; How far have we gone?~~ There is no question but that we had made progress, and there also is no doubt but what that progress is not enough to satisfy us or to settle our problems.

This was our plight in 1901. It was discouraging but not hopeless. We could look back on a quarter century of struggle which had its results. We had schools; we had teachers; a few had forced themselves into the leading colleges and were tolerated if not welcomed. We voted in Northern cities, owned many decent homes and were fighting for further progress. Leaders like Booker Washington had received wide ~~popular~~ approval and a Negro literature had begun to appear.

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But what we needed was organized effort along the whole front, based on broad lines of complete emancipation. This came with the Niagara Movement in 1906 and the NAACP in 1909. In 1910, came the Crisis Magazine and the real battle was on.

What have we gained and accomplished? The advance has not been equal on all fronts, nor complete on any. We have not progressed with closed ranks like a trained army, but rather with serried and broken ranks, with wide gaps and even temporary retreats. But we have advanced. Of that there can be no atom of doubt.

First of all in education; most Negro children today are in school and most adults can read and write. Unfortunately this literacy is not as great as the census says. The draft showed that at least a third of our youth are illiterate. But education is steadily rising. Six thousand Bachlor degrees are awarded to Negroes each year and Doctorates in philosophy and medicine are not uncommon. Nevertheless as a group, the American Negro ~~is~~ are still in the lower ranks of learning and adaptability to modern conditions. They do not read widely, their travel is limited and their experience

through contact with the modern world is curtailed by law and custom.

Secondly in civil rights, the Negro has perhaps made his greatest advance. Mob violence and lynching have markedly decreased. Three thousand Negroes were lynched in the last half of the 19th century and five hundred in the first half of the 20th. Today lynching is comparatively rare. Mob violence also has decreased but is still in evidence, and summary and unjust court proceedings have taken the place of open and illegal acts. But the Negro has established in the courts his legal citizenship and his right to be included in the Bill of Rights. The question still remains of "equal but separate" public accommodations, and that is being attacked. Even the institution of the "jim crow" car in travel is tottering. The infraction of the marriage situation by law and custom, is yet to be brought before the courts and public opinion in a forcible way.

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Third, the right to vote on the part of the Negro is being gradually established under the 14th and 15th amendments. It was not really until 1915 that the Supreme Court upheld this right of Negro citizens and even today the penalties of the 14th amendment have never been enforced. There are seven million possible voters among American Negroes and of these it is a question if more than two million actually cast their votes. This is partly from the national inertia, which keeps half of all American voters away from the polls; but even more from the question as to what practical ends the Negro shall cast his vote.

He is thinking usually in terms of what he can do by voting to better his condition and he seldom gets a chance to vote on this matter. On the wider implications of political democracy he has not yet entered; particularly he does not see the economic foundations of present civilization and the necessity of his attacking the rule of corporate wealth in order to free the labor group to which he belongs.

Fourth, there is the question of Occupation. There are our submerged classes of farm laborers and tenatnts; our city laborers, washerwomen and scrubwomen and the mass of lower paid servants. These classes still form a majority of American Negroes and they are on the edge of poverty, with the ignorance, disease and crime tht always accompanies such poverty.

If we measure the medium income of Americans, it is $300 for whites and $2,000 for Negroes. In Southern cities, seven per cent of the wihte families recieve less than $1000 a year. On the other hand the class differentiation by income among Negroes is notable: the number of semi-skilled and skilled artisans has increased and membership in laborunions. Professional men have increased, espedially teachers and less notably, physicians, dentists and lawyers.

The number of Negroes in business has increased: mostly in small retail businesses, but to a considerable extent in enterprixes like insurance, real estate and small banking, where the color-line gives Negroes certain advantages and where too there is a certain element of gambling. Also beyond the line of gambling numbers of Negroes have made small fortunes in anti-social enterprises. All this means that there has arisen in the Negro group a distinct stratification from poor to rich Recently I polled 450 Negro families belonging to a select organization 45 years old. Of these families 127 received over $10,000 a year and a score of these over $25,000; 200 families recieved from $5000 to $10,000 a year and 86 less than $5000.

This is the start of a tendency which will grow; we are beginning to follow the American pattern of accumulating individual wealth and of considering that this will eventually settle the race problem. On the other hand, the whole trend of the thonght of our age is toward social welfare; the prevention of poverty by more equitable distribution of wealth, and business for general welfare rather than private profit. There are few signs that these ideals are guiding Negro development today. We may be adopting increasingly

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and has made the Negro group increasingly a part of the profit making ideal of American culture.

Housing, has, of course, been a point of bitter pressure among Negroes, because the attempt to segreagate the race in its living conditions has not only kept the more fortunate ones from progress but it has confined vast numbers of Negro peoples to the very parts of cities and country districts where they have least opportunities and least social contacts. They must live largely in slums, in contact with crime and criminals and with fewest of the social advantages of government aid and human contact. The fight against segregation has been carried on in the courts and shows much progress against city ordinances, against unfair zoning and against covenants which make segregation hereditary.

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Literature and Art have made progress among Negroes, but with curious handicaps. An art expression is normally evoked by the conscious and unconscious demand of people for protrayal of their own emotion and experience. But in the case of the American Negroes, the audience, which embodies the demand and which pays sometimes enormous price for satisfaction, is not the Negro group but the white group. And the pattern of what the white group wants does not necessarily agree with the natural desire of Negroes. The whole of Negro literature is therefore curiously divided. We have writers who have written not really about Negroes, but about the things which white people, and not the highest class of whites like to hear about Negroes. And those who have expressed what the Negro himself thinks and feels are those whose books sell to few, even of their own people and whom most folk do not know. This has not made for the authentic literature which the early part of this century seemed to promise. To be sure, it can be said that American literature today has a considerable amount of Negro expression and influence, although not as much as once we hoped.

Despite all this we have an increasing number of excellent Negro writers who make the promise for the future bright. In sculpture and painting we still lag, but in drama and music we have advanced. The whole world listens to our singers, sings our music and dances to our ~~rythyms~~ ~~rhythms~~ rhythms

In science we are still handicapped by lack of opportunity. Scholarships, laboratories and instructorships are the monopoly of white colleges and seldom opened to Negroes. Turner our great entomologist was repeatedly refused university opportunity and worked himself to death in a high school; Just was never given the recognition which he deserved. Carver was prisoner of his inferiority complex. Nevertheless in biology and medicine; in history law and the social sciences, ~~the~~ American Negro of late has made notable and heartening advance. To this is due in no little degree, there ~~the~~ physical survival ~~of~~ ~~Negroes~~, the fall of their death rate and the increased confidence they exhibit in themselves, ~~and their future~~

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The same thing is true in sculpture and in painting.

In science the difficulty is that the Negro rarely gets opportunity to persue work which is the perquisite of white colleges. Turner, the greatentomologist died trying to escape poverty. Ernest Just, was never given the opportunity that his unusual gifts called for. Carver was a prisoner of caste. The number of Negro scientists is not to be neglected but it is not as large as it ought to be.

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The expression of Negro wish and desire through a Free Press has greatly impro ved as compared with 1900. We have a half dozen large weekly papers with circulations of a hundred thousand or more. Their news coverage is immense even if not discriminating. But here again, the influence of the American press on us has been devastating. The predominance of advertising over opinion, the desire for income rather than than literary excellence and the use of deliberate propaganda, had made our press less of a power than it could be, and leaves wide chance for improvement in the future.

In comparison with other institutions the Negro church during the 20th century has lost gruund. It isno longer he dominating influence that it used to be, the center of social activity and of economic experiment. Nevertheless, it is still a powerful institution in the lives of numerical majority of American Negroes ifnot upon the dominant intellectual classes. There has been a considerable increase in organized work for social progress through the church, but there has also been a large increase of expenditure for building, furnishings, and salaries; and it is not easy to find any increase in moral stamina and discriminations within church circles. The scandal of deliberate bribery in election of Bishops and in the holding of positions in the churches without a hierachy has been wide spread. It is a critical

problem now as to just what part in the future the church among Negroes is going to hold.

Finally there comes the question of social equality, which, despite effort on the part of thinkers, white and black, is after all the main and fundamental problem of race in the United States. Unless a human being is going to have all human rights, including not only work, but friendship, ~~contact, love,~~ and of mutually desired marriage and children, unless these avenues are open and free, there canbe no real equality andno cultural integration. ~~This everybody has felt inconceible.~~ It seemed utterly impossible that any such solution of the Negro problem in America could take place. The situationwas quite similiar to the problem of the lower classes of laborers, serfs and servants in European nations during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. All nations had to consist of two separate parts and the only relation between them was ~~religious tolerance~~ and philanthropy. That problem has been prtly solved by modern democracy but modern democracy cannot succeed unless the peoples of different ~~race~~ and religion are also integrated into the democratic whole. Against this large numbers of Americans have always fought and are still fighting but the progress despite this has been notable. There places in the United States especially in large cities like New York and Chicago, where the social differences between the races has to a large extent been nullified and thereis a meeting on terms of equality which would have been thought impossible a half century ago.

On the other hand, in the South, despite religion, education and reason, the Color line, although perhaps shaken, still stands-stark and unbending and to the minds of most good people --eternal. Here lies the area of the last battle for the complete rights of American Negroes.

Within the race itself today there are disquieting signs. The effort of Negroes to become Americans with equal status with other Americans is leading them to a state of mind by which they not only accept what is good in America, but what is bad and threatening so long as the Negro can share equally. This is peculiarly dangerous at this epoch in the development of world culture. After two world wars of unprecedented loss of life, cruelty and destruction, we are faced by the fact that the industrial organization of our present civilization has in it something fundamentally wrong. It went to pieces in the First World War because of the determination of certain great powers excluded from world rule to share in that rule by acquisition of the labor and materials of colonial peoples. The attempt to recover from the catastrophe resulted in the collapse of our industrial system, and a second world war.

Inspite of the propaganda which has gone on, which represents America as the leading democratic state, we Negroes know perfectly well, and ought to know even better than most, that America is not a successful democracy and that until it is, it is going to drag down the world. This nation is ruled by corporate wealth to a degree which is frightening. One thousand persons own the United States and their power outweighs the voice of the mass of American citizens. This must be cured, not by revolution, not by war and violence, but by reason and knowledge. Most of the world is today turning toward the welfare state; turning against the idea of production for individual profit toward the idea of production for use and for the welfare of the mass of citizens. No matter how difficult such a course is, it is the only course that is going to save the world and this we American Negroes have got to realize.

We may find it easy now to get publicity, reward, and attention by going along with the reactionary propaganda and war hysteria which is convulsing this nation, but in the long run America will not thank its black children if they help it go the wrong way, or retard its progress.

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THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY CONVENTION

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

FOR A SECOND ELECTION, THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY FACES THIS NATION WITH A PROGRAME AND WARNING. WE COME WITHOUT APOLOGY, BUT AS THE NATURAL INSTRUMENT THROUGH WHICH AMERICA MAY ACHIEVE THAT DEMOCRACY WHICH HAS FOR ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS BEEN OUR HIGH IDEAL AND CONTINUED FAILURE. FOR HERE STANDS THE THESIS AND ANTITHESIS, STARING US GRIMLY IN THE FACE:

DEMOCRACY IS THE ONLY AND ULTIMATE WAY OF GOVERNING THE STATE AND CONTRADICTING THIS UNDISPUTED TRUTH, COMES THE FATAL FACT DEMOCRACY HAS NOT ACHIEVED SUCCESS IN ANY MODERN STATE.

WHAT IS THE SYNTHESIS OF THESE CONTRADICTORY AND DISCOURAGING STATEMENTS? WE HAVE HAD MANY ATTEMPTS: THE MOST NATURAL AND MOST FREQUENTLY REPEATED IS THE THEORY THAT DEMOCRACY IS IMPOSSIBLE, SAVE AS HALF-ACHIEVED IDEAL: IT

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MUST ALWAYS BE LED BY THE STRONG MAN, THE PROPHET, THE LEADER, WHO BY FORCE MAKES THE PEOPLE DO WHAT THEY, IN THEIR STUPIDITY AND SELFISHNESS, COULD NEVER ACCOMPLISH UNLED.

THUS SPOKE MUSSOLINI, HITLER AND FRANCE. THIS OF COURSE IS NOT A SOLUTION OF DEMOCRACY BUT ITS CYNICAL DENIAL: COUPLED WITH THE GRIM FACT THAT NO MAN IS SO GREAT AS TO ESCAPE DEATH.

THEN WE FACE THE THEORY OF THE MAJORITY: THE DOCTRINE OF DIVINE RIGHT, APPLIED TO THE TEN WHO BEAT THE NINE IN SOME CONTEST. THIS IS WE KNOW BUT A ROUGH RULE OF THUMB: SINCE RIGHT IS RIGHT EVEN IF WRONG WINS THE ELECTION: AND NO RETURNS CAN CHANGE THE FACT AND THE CONSEQUENCE. TO ELIMINATE THE ACCIDENT OF SINGLE ELECTIONS, WE RELY ON PARTY GOVERNMENT: ORGANIZED AND PERMANENT BODIES, WHICH STAND FOR PROGRAMS AND POLICIES, AND SOLICIT VOTES, WITH THE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THAT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE

PROGRAM RESTS ON THE ORGANIZATION ADVOCATING IT, SO THAT THE RIGHT IS SOUGHT NOT IN ONE ELECTION BUT IN A CONTINUING POLICY.

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THIS HAS BEEN OUR BEST APPROACH TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND HAS UNDOUBTEDLY CARRIED US FURTHEST TOWARD OUR IDEAL. BUT DURING ALL THE LONG DECADES OF ITS TRIAL, IT HAS DEVELOPED REPEATEDLY THE SAME DIFFICULTY: NAMELY THE DEVELOPMENT OF ONE POLICY, COUPED WITH ABSENCE OF ANY COUNTER POLICY, AND ACCOMPANIED WITH ELABORATE PRETENSE THAT THERE WERE ACTUALLY TWO PARTIES AND TWO POLICIES: WHEN IN FACT THERE WAS BUT ONE, AND THAT ONE UNCRITIZED AND UNCHALLENGED. THUS IN ENGLAND FOR YEARS TORY AND LIBERAL REPRESENTED BUT ONE IMPERIAL BRITISH POLICY: IN FRANCE SO-CALLED RADICALS WERE CONSERVATIVES AND CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS WERE NOT SOCIALISTS: IN THE UNITED STATES FROM1830 to 1860, DEMOCRATS AND WHIGS WERE IN REALITY BUT ONE PARTY WITH DIFFERENT LEADERS, AND THAT PARTY STOOD FOR SLAVERY AND TRADE.

TODAY THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AGREE NOT ONLY IN FOREIGN

POLICY BUT IN EVERYTHING ESSENTIAL TOUCHING DOMESTIC CONDITIONS: FROM FIGHTING THE TRADE UNIONS, TO RAISING RENTS AND AVOIDING SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

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DEMOCRACY HAS LONG HAD A REMEDY FOR THIS ONE PARTY RULE AND THAT IS THE THIRD PARTY. IN THE NATURE OF THE CASE, THE THIRD PARTY IS BUT RARELY USED: SO RARELY, THAT THE IDEA IS EASILY PROMULGATED THAT IT IS IN ITS NATURE REVOLUTIONARY AND UNDEMOCRATIC. IN TRUTH, ONLY THROUGH A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT, OR THE THREAT OF SUCH A MOVEMENT, CAN THE VERY GROUND PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT BE PRESERVED OR RESCUED FROM OLIGARCHY OR PLUTOCRACY: RULE OF BIRTH OR RULE OF WEALTH, MONOPOLY OR PRIVILEGE. UNLESS THE PEOPLE RETAIN AND ASSERT THE RIGHT TO TURN FROM TWO OLD PARTIES WHICH ARE IN ESSENTIAL AGREEMENT OR IN FALSE DISAGREEMENT: AND ESTABLISH WHEN THEY WILL A THIRD PARTY WHICH GIVES A CITIZEN THE CHANCE TO VOTE FOR WHAT HE BELIEVES AND NEEDS, UNLESS THAT RIGHT REMAINS, NOT ONLY DOES THE RIGHT HAVE NO CHANCE

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TO WIN, BUT DEMOCRACY ITSELF FAILS.

THAT IS THE REASON WHY A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT ALWAYS MEETS BITTER OPPOSITION FROM REACTION AND VESTED INTERESTS: AND THIS OPPOSITION IS NOT AGAINST ITS PLATFORM OR POLICY, BUT AGAINST ITS VERY RIGHT TO EXIST OR APPEAL TO THE ELECTORATE. ITS MOTIVES ARE MALIGNED, ITS OBJECTS DISTORTED AND ITS EFFORTS TO MAKE PUBLIC ITS PLATFORM OBSTRUCTED. THE PEOPLE ARE LED TO BELIEVE THAT IN THE VERY EFFORT TO ESTABLISH A THIRD PARTY, LIES TREACHERY AND ENMITY TO DEMOCRACY. IF, MOREOVER, THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED PARTIES IN POWER, CONTROL PRESS AND RAIDO: AND HAVE IN THEIR POCKETS UNLIMITED FUNDS FROM THE SWOLLEN PROFITS OF INTERESTS WHICH THEY FAVOR AND TO WHOM THEY GIVE LICENSE, THEN WITH HELP OF THE TERRIBLE POST WAR WEAPON OF PROPAGANDA THIS POLITICAL COMBINATION CAN LITERALLY DENY THE POLLS TO A THIRD PARTY, SMEAR IT WITH OBLOQUY AND DRIVE IT FROM THE PUBLIC PLATFORM. AND SO AGAIN DEMOCRACY ANCAN AND DOES FAIL.

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REMEMBER THAT WITHOUT THIRD PARTY MOVEMENTS, WE MIGHT STILL BE BRITISH COLONIES: WE MIGHT STILL REAP FORTUNES OUT OF THE SLAVE TRADE: WE MIGHT STILL BE EVEN MORE A LAND OF SLAVERY THAN WE ARE. THIRD PARTY MOVEMENTS HAVE REPEATEDLY IN OUR HISTORY PREVENTED THE ECLIPSE OF DEMOCRACY: BEGINNING IN 1844, AND TRIUMPHING IN 1860, THEY ABOLISHED AFRICAN SLAVERY AND THE POLITICAL POWER BASED ON IT.

BEGINNING IN 1872, A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT FOUGHT DISHONESTY IN GOVERNMENT AND FORCED THE ELECTION OF CLEVELAND IN 1884. BUT IN THAT ELECTION APPEARED A NEW FORCE, AIMING AT SOCIAL REFORM THROUGH CONTROL OF THE CURRENCY. IT APPEARED AGAIN IN THE ELECTION OF 1892, WHEN THE NEW POPULISM CAST ONE MILLION VOTES. FOR THE NEXT FOUR YEARS POPULISM GREW FAST AND WOULD HAVE SWEPT THE COUNTRY IN 1896, UNDER FAIR ELECTION LAWS: BUT THE SOUTH CHEATED THE WHITE VOTE JUST AS THEY HAD THE BLACK VOTE FOR 20 YEARS: AND MARK HANNA

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BOUGHT UP THE NORTH. POPLISM DIED. BUT MANY OF ITS PRINCIPLES APPEARED AGAIN, WHEN TEDDY ROOSEVELT FELL OUT WITH THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS AND TRIED TO LEAD THE BULL MOOSE TO ARMAGEDDON. HE FAILED AND WILSON AND WAR WON.

IT WAS NOT UNTIL 1924, THAT A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT UNDER LAFOLLETTE CAST FIVE MILLION VOTES, BUT FELL BEFORE RELIGIOUS HYSTERIS AND RACE HATE IN THE OVERWHELMING ELECTION OF HOOVER. BIG BUSINESS WAS IN THE SADDLE UNTIL THE BOTTOM FELL OUT OF THE WHOLE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM IN 1929, AND THE REIGN OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT BEGAN.

WITH THE ADVENT OF TRUMAN CAME A NEW AND INSISTENT DEMAND FOR A THIRD PARTY AND A CHANCE FOR REAL PROGRESS TOWARD DEMOCRACY IN THIS LAND. WITH THE BEST WILL AND EFFORT, DEMOCRACY, THE SELF RULE OF THE PEOPLE IS DIFFICULT TO ATTAIN: WITH PARTY GOVERNMENT IT HAS CHANCE TO SUCCEED, ONLY IF THE PARTIES REPRESENT REAL ISSUES AND DO NOT SIMPLY MEAN UNDERSTANDING TO CONTROL PULBIC OPINION AND OBSTRUCT POLICIES FOR THE PROGRESS OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE. WHEN REAL ISSURES FAIL AND GREED AND CLASS COMBING TO USE

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THE STATE FOR SELFISH ENDS, THEN AND THEN ONLY CAN DEMOCRACY BE SAVED FROM ITS ENEMIES BY A THIRD PARTY CRUSADE.

BUT THIS IS NOT ALL. BACK OF ALL PARTIES AND BACK OF ALL PROGRESS TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC STATE, MUST STAND THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE ELECTORATE AND THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF THE FACTS CONCERNING WHICH THEY ARE DECIDING. TODAY NOT ONLY IS ILLITERACY STILL TOO WIDE SPREAD IN THIS LAND, BUT DISTORTION OF THE NEWS, MONOPOLY OF THE PRESS AND CONTROL OF EDUCATION BY TEXT BOOKS AND FRIGHTENED TEACHERS, IS SO UNDISPUTED: AND FREE SPEECH SO CURTAILED, THAT INTELLIGENT DEMOCRACY IS IMPOSSIBLE.

THE FIRST TASK OF A THIRD PARTY IS TO COMBAT THESE SINISTER AND MISleading TENDENCIES. THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY THEN IS FACED BY THE INITIAL DUTY TO WORK FOR PEACE: WAR SETTLES NOTHING AND WAR AS PLANNED TODAY IS SUICIDE OF HUMANITY AND CIVILIZATION. DESPITE HIGH AUTHORITY WE CANNOT

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"LICK THE WORLD" AND IF WE COULD, WHAT WOULD WE DO WITH IT? THIS IS THE FIRST LESSON. SECOND, THE PEOPLE OF THIS NATION MUST HAVE SECURITY AND NOT SIMPLY SECURITY IN JAIL: THEY MUST HAVE WORK: THEY MUST HAVE A LIVING WAGE AND AS CITIZENS THEY MUST SHARE IN CONTROL OF SUCH INDUSTRY AS PRIVATE ENTERPRISE CANNOT OR WILL NOT UNDERTAKE, OR WHICH CAN ONLY BE PURSUED WITH PUBLIC AID. FREEDOM IN AMERICA MUST NOT MEAN LICENSE BUT LIBERTY LIMITED BY PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

NOT BY MIGHT NOR BY POWER OF FAR FLUNG ARMIES, NAVIES AND AIRCRAFT CAN WE HELP THE WORLD, BUT BY SACRIFICE AND EXAMPLE: WE GAIN LITTLE BY BOASTING OF A DEMOCRACY WHICH WE DO NOT PRACTISE OR OF RICHES AND COMFORT WHICH AT LEAST A THIRD OF OUR OWN POPULATION DO NOT SHARE. WE ARE RULED TODAY BY CORPORATE WEALTH: AND BLESSED AS WER ARE IN NATURAL RESOURCES, NEVER BEFORE HAVE SO FEW OWNED SO MUCH AT THE EXPENSE OF SO MANY. PUBLIC WELFARE MUST REPLACE PRIVATE PROFIT AS THE END OF EFFORT AND PLANNED ECONOMY MUST BRING ORDER AND

JUSTICE OUT OF THE ANARCHY OF FREE ENTERPRISE AND PRIVATE INITIATIVE. NO PAUPER IS FREE, NO PUBLIC SERVICE CAN BE PRIVATE, AND THE SICK AND IGNORANT CANNOT OFTEN INITIATE ENTERPRISE.

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WE NEED INCREASED GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF LAND OWNERSHIP AND USE: SOCIALIZED MEDICINE TO PROTECT THE PUBLIC HEALTH: ABO ITION OF SLUMS AND PUBLICILY SUBSIDIZED HOUSING ON A NATION WIDE SCALE: UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF, SICKNESS AND OLD AGE SECURITY, ON LEVELS SUFFICIENT FOR DECENT LIFE: THE PROTECTION AND SUBSIDIZING OF WORKERS IN ANY ESSENTIAL INDUSTRY LIKE FARMING, WHICH HAS LONG SUFFERED FROM PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY: AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF ALL FORMS OF SELF HELP, LIKE CONSUMERS COOPERATION.

THE PERSONS WHO SUPPORT THIS PLATFORM DO NOT AGREE IN ALL MATTERS AND HAVE MANY MINDS AS TO WRONGS AND REMEDIES: AS TO NATIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR PRESENT CONDITIONS. BUT HERE ARE SET DOWN THE MATTERS ON WHICH WE DO AGREE: AND TO THE SUPPORT OF THIS PLATFORM WE SEEK THE VOTES OF ALL PERSONS AND WE DO NOT ASK OR WISH TO KNOW WHAT OTHER BELIEFS THEY HAVE SO LONG AS THEY WHOLEHEARTEDLY SUPPORT OURS.

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The Progressive Convention Chicago. Feb. 22-26 1950

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35-4-618

WHAT IS THE SYNTHESIS OF THESE CONTRADICTORY AND DISCOURAGING STATEMENTS? WE HAVE HAD MANY ATTEMPTS: THE MOST NATURAL AND MOST FREQUENTLY REPEATED IS THE THEORY THAT DEMOCRACY IS IMPOSSIBLE, SAVE AS HALF-ACHIEVED IDEAL: IT

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MUST ALWAYS BE LED BY THE STRONG MAN, THE PROPHET, THE LEADER, WHO BY FORCE MAKES THE PEOPLE DO WHAT THEY, IN THEIR STUPIDITY AND SELFISHNESS, COULD NEVER ACCOMPLISH UNLED.

THUS SPOKE MUSSOLINI, HITLER AND FRANCE. THIS OF COURSE IS NOT A SOLUTION OF DEMOCRACY BUT ITS CYNICAL DENIAL: COUPLED WITH THE GRIM FACT THAT NO MAN IS SO GREAT AS TO ESCAPE DEATH.

THEN WE FACE THE THEORY OF THE MAJORITY: THE DOCTRINE OF DIVINE RIGHT, APPLIED TO THE TEN WHO BEAT THE NINE IN SOME CONTEST. THIS IS WE KNOW BUT A ROUGH RULE OF THUMB: SINCE RIGHT IS RIGHT WEVEN IF WRONG WINS THE ELECTION: AND NO RETURNS CAN CHANGE THE FACT AND THE CONSEQUENCE. TO ELIMINATE THE ACCIDENT OF SINGLE ELECTIONS, WE RELY ON PARTY GOVERNMENT: ORGANIZED AND PERMANENT BODIES, WHICH STAND FOR PROGRAMS AND POLICIES, AND SOLICIT VOTES, WITH THE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THAT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE

PROGRAM RESTS ON THE ORGANIZATION ADVOCATING IT, SO THAT THE RIGHT IS SOUGHT NOT IN ONE ELECTION BUT IN A CONTINUING POLICY.

THIS HAS BEEN OUR BEST APPROACH TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND HAS UNDOUBTEDLY CARRIED US FURTHEST TOWARD OUR IDEAL. BUT DURING ALL THE LONG DECADES OF ITS TRIAL, IT HAS DEVELOPED REPEATEDLY THE SAME DIFFICULTY: NAMELY THE DEVELOPMENT OF ONE POLICY, COUPED WITH ABSENCE OF ANY COUNTER POLICY, AND ACCOMPANIED WITH ELABORATE PRETENSE THAT THERE WERE ACTUALLY TWO PARTIES AND TWO POLICIES: WHEN IN FACT THERE WAS BUT ONE, AND THAT ONE UNCRITIZED AND UNCHALLENGED. THUS IN ENGLAND FOR YEARS TORY AND LIBERAL REPRESENTED BUT ONE IMPERIAL BRITISH POLICY: IN FRANCE SO-CALLED RADICALS WERE CONSERVATIVES AND CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS WERE NOT SOCIALISTS: IN THE UNITED STATES FROM1830 to 1860, DEMOCRATS AND WHIGS WERE IN REALITY BUT ONE PARTY WITH DIFFERENT LEADERS, AND THAT PARTY STOOD FOR SLAVERY AND TRADE.

TODAY THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AGREE NOT ONLY IN FOREIGN

POLICY BUT IN EVERYTHING ESSENTIAL TOUCHING DOMESTIC CONDITIONS: FROM FIGHTING THE TRADE UNIONS, TO RAISING RENTS AND AVOIDING SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

DEMOCRACY HAS LONG HAD A REMEDY FOR THIS ONE PARTY RULE AND THAT IS THE THIRD PARTY. IN THE NATURE OF THE CASE, THE THIRD PARTY IS BUT RARELY USED: SO RARELY, THAT THE IDEA IS EASILY PROMULGATED THAT IT IS IN ITS NATURE REVOLUTIONARY AND UNDEMOCRATIC. IN TRUTH, ONLY THROUGH A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT, OR THE THREAT OF SUCH A MOVEMENT, CAN THE VERY GROUND PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT BE PRESERVED OR RESCUED FROM OLIGARCHY OR PLUTOCRACY: RULE OF BIRTH OR RULE OF WEALTH, MONOPOLY OR PRIVILEGE. UNLESS THE PEOPLE RETAIN AND ASSERT THE RIGHT TO TURN FROM TWO OLD PARTIES WHICH ARE IN ESSENTIAL AGREEMENT OR IN FALSE DISAGREEMENT: AND ESTABLISH WHEN THEY WILL A THIRD PARTY WHICH GIVES A CITIZEN THE CHANCE TO VOTE FOR WHAT HE BELIEVES AND NEEDS, UNLESS THAT RIGHT REMAINS, NOT ONLY DOES THE RIGHT HAVE NO CHANCE

TO WIN, BUT DEMOCRACY ITSELF FAILS.

THAT IS THE REASON WHY A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT ALWAYS MEETS BITTER OPPOSITION FROM REACTION AND VESTED INTERESTS: AND THIS OPPOSITION IS NOT AGAINST ITS PLATFORM OR POLICY, BUT AGAINST ITS VERY RIGHT TO EXIST OR APPEAL TO THE ELECTORATE. ITS MOTIVES ARE MALIGNED, ITS OBJECTS DISTORTED AND ITS EFFORTS TO MAKE PUBLIC ITS PLATFORM OBSTRUCTED. THE PEOPLE ARE LED TO BELIEVE THAT IN THE VERY EFFORT TO ESTABLISH A THIRD PARTY, LIES TREACHERY AND ENMITY TO DEMOCRACY. IF, MOREOVER, THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED PARTIES IN POWER, CONTROL PRESS AND RAIDO: AND HAVE IN THEIR POCKETS UNLIMITED FUNDS FROM THE SWOLLEN PROFITS OF INTERESTS WHICH THEY FAVOR AND TO WHOM THEY GIVE LICENSE, THEN WITH HELP OF THE TERRIBLE POST WAR WEAPON OF PROPAGANDA THIS POLITICAL COMBINATION CAN LITERALLY DENY THE POLLS TO A THIRD PARTY, SMEAR IT WITH OBLOQUY AND DRIVE IT FROM THE PUBLIC PLATFORM. AND SO AGAIN DEMOCRACY ~~CAN~~ CAN AND DOES FAIL.

35-4-620

45-4-3

REMEMBER THAT WITHOUT THIRD PARTY MOVEMENTS, WE MIGHT STILL BE BRITISH COLONIES: WE MIGHT STILL REAP FORTUNES OUT OF THE SLAVE TRADE: WE MIGHT STILL BE EVEN MORE A LAND OF SLAVERY THAN WE ARE. THIRD PARTY MOVEMENTS HAVE REPEATEDLY IN OUR HISTORY PREVENTED THE ECLIPSE OF DEMOCRACY: BEGINNING IN 1844, AND TRIUMPHING IN 1860, THEY ABOLISHED AFRICAN SLAVERY AND THE POLITICAL POWER BASED ON IT.

BEGINNING IN 1872, A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT FOUGHT DISHONESTY IN GOVERNMENT AND FORCED THE ELECTION OF CLEVELAND IN 1884. BUT IN THAT ELECTION APPEARED A NEW FORCE, AIMING AT SOCIAL REFORM THROUGH CONTROL OF THE CURRENCY. IT APPEARED AGAIN IN THE ELECTION OF ~~1468~~ 1892, WHEN THE NEW POPULISM CAST ONE MILLION VOTES. FOR THE NEXT FOUR YEARS POPULISM GREW FAST AND WOULD HAVE SWEPT THE COUNTRY IN 1896, UNDER FAIR ELECTION LAWS: BUT THE SOUTH CHEATED THE WHITE VOTE JUST AS THEY HAD THE BLACK VOTE FOR 20 YEARS: AND MARK HANNA

BOUGHT UP THE NORTH. POPLISM DIED. BUT MANY OF ITS PRINCIPLES APPEARED AGAIN, WHEN TEDDY ROOSEVELT FELL OUT WITH THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS AND TRIED TO LEAD THE BULL MOOSE TO ARMAGEDDON. HE FAILED AND WILSON AND WAR WON.

IT WAS NOT UNTIL 1924, THAT A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT UNDER LAFOLLETTE CAST FIVE MILLION VOTES, BUT FELL BEFORE RELIGIOUS HYSTERIS AND RACE HATE IN THE OVERWHELMING ELECTION OF HOOVER. BIG BUSINESS WAS IN THE SADDLE UNTIL THE BOTTOM FELL OUT OF THE WHOLE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM IN 1929, AND THE REIGN OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT BEGAN.

WITH THE ADVENT OF TRUMAN CAME A NEW AND INSISTENT DEMAND FOR A THIRD PARTY AND A CHANCE FOR REAL PROGRESS TOWARD DEMOCRACY IN THIS LAND. WITH THE BEST WILL AND EFFORT, DEMOCRACY, THE SELF RULE OF THE PEOPLE IS DIFFICULT TO ATTAIN: WITH PARTY GOVERNMENT IT HAS CHANCE TO SUCCEED, ONLY IF THE PARTIES REPRESSNT REAL ISSUES AND DO NOT SIMPLY MEAN UNDERSTANDING TO CONTROL PULBIC OPINION AND OBSTRUCT POLICIES FOR THE PROGRESS OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE. WHEN REAL ISSURES FAIL AND GREED AND CLASS COMBING TO USE

THE STATE FOR SELFISH ENDS, THEN AND THEN ONLY CAN DEMOCRACY BE SAVED FROM ITS ENEMIES BY A THIRD PARTY CRUSADE.

BUT THIS IS NOT ALL. BACK OF ALL PARTIES AND BACK OF ALL PROGRESS TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC STATE, MUST STAND THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE ELECTORATE AND THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF THE FACTS CONCERNING WHICH THEY ARE DECIDING. TODAY NOT ONLY IS ILLITERACY STILL TOO WIDE SPREAD IN THIS LAND, BUT DISTORTION OF THE NEWS, MONOPOLY OF THE PRESS AND CONTROL OF EDUCATION BY TEXT BOOKS AND FRIGHTENED TEACHERS, IS SO UNDISPUTED: AND FREE SPEECH SO CURTAILED, THAT INTELLIGENT DEMOCRACY IS IMPOSSIBLE.

THE FIRST TASK OF A THIRD PARTY IS TO COMBAT THESE SINISTER AND MISleading TENDENCIES. THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY THEN IS FACED BY THE INITIAL DUTY TO WORK FOR PEACE: WAR SETTLES NOTHING AND WAR AS PLANNED TODAY IS SUICIDE OF HUMANITY AND CIVILIZATION. DESPITE HIGH AUTHORITY WE CANNOT

"LICK THE WORLD" AND IF WE C ULD, WHAT WOULD WE DO WITH IT? THIS IS THE FIRST LESSON. SECOND, THE PEOPLE OF THIS NATION MUST HAVE SECURITY AND NOT SIMPLY SECURITY IN JAIL: THEY MUST HAVE WORK: THEY MUST HAVE A LIVING WAGE AND AS CITIZENS THEY MUST SHARE IN CONTROL OF SUCH INDUSTRY AS PRIVATE ENTERPRISE CANNOT OR WILL NOT UNDERTAKE, OR WHICH CAN ONLY BE PURSUED WITH PUBLIC AID. FREEDOM IN AMERICA MUST NOT MEAN LICENSE BUT LIBERTY LIMITED BY PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

NOT BY MIGHT NOR BY POWER OF FAR FLUNG ARMIES, NAVIES AND AIRCRAFT CAN WE HELP THE WORLD, BUT BY SACRIFICE AND EXAMPLE: WE GAIN LITTLE BY BOASTING OF A DEMOCRACY WHICH WE DO NOT PRACTISE OR OF RICHES AND COMFORT WHICH AT LEAST A THIRD OF OUR OWN POPULATION DO NOT SHARE. WE ARE RULED TODAY BY CORPORATE WEALTH: AND BLESSED AS WER ARE IN NATURAL RESOURCES, NEVER B FORE HAVE SO FEW OWNED SO MUCH AT THE EXPENSE OF SO MANY. PUBLIC WELFARE MUST REPLACE PRIVATE PROFIT AS THE END OF EFFORT AND PLANNED ECONOMY MUST BRING ORDER AND

JUSTICE OUT OF THE ANARCHY OF FREE ENTERPRISE AND PRIVATE INITIATIVE. NO PAUPER IS FREE, NO PUBLIC SERVICE CAN BE PRIVATE, AND THE SICK AND IGNORANT CANNOT OFTEN INITIATE ENTERPRISE.

WE NEED INCREASED GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF LAND OWNERSHIP AND USE: SOCIALIZED MEDICINE TO PROTECT THE PUBLIC HEALTH: ABO ITION OF SLUMS AND PUBLICILY SUBSIDIZED HOUSING ON A NATION WIDE SCALE: UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF, SICKNESS AND OLD AGE SECURITY, ON LEVELS SUFFICIENT FOR DECENT LIFE: THE PROTECTION AND SUBSIDIZING OF WORKERS IN ANY ESSENTIAL INDUSTRY LIKE FARMING, WHICH HAS LONG SUFFERED FROM PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY: AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF ALL FORMS OF SELF HELP, LIKE CONSUMERS COOPERATION.

THE PERSONS WHO SUPPORT THIS PLATFORM DO NOT AGREE IN ALL MATTERS AND HAVE MANY MINDS AS TO WRONGS AND REMEDIES: AS TO NATIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR PRESENT CONDITIONS. BUT HERE ARE SET DOWN THE MATTERS ON WHICH WE DO AGREE: AND TO THE SUPPORT OF THIS PLATFORM WE SEEK THE VOTES OF ALL PERSONS AND WE DO NOT ASK OR WISH TO KNOW WHAT OTHER BELIEFS THEY HAVE SO LONG AS THEY WHOLEHEARTEDLY SUPPORT OURS.

95-4-423

9-4-64

 The Progressive Convention Chicago - 2/22 to 26 - 1950

FOR A SECOND ELECTION, THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY FACES THIS NATION WITH A PROGRAME AND WARNING, WE COME WITHOUT APOLOGY BUT AS THE NATURAL INSTRUMENT THROUGH WHICH AMERICA MAY ACHIEVE THAT DEMOCRACY WHICH HAS FOR ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS HAS BEEN OUR HIGH IDEAL AND CONTINUED FAILURE. FOR HERE STANDS THE THESIS AND ANTITHESIS, STARING US GRIMLY IN THE FACE:

DEMOCRACY IS THE ONLY AND ULTIMATE WAY OF GOVERNING THE STATE

AND CONTRADICTING THIS UNDISPUTED TRUTH, COMES THE FATAL FACT

DEMOCRACY HAS NOT ACHIEVED SUCCESS IN ANY MODERN STATE.

WHAT IS THE SYNTHESIS OF THESE CONTRADICTORY AND DISCOURAGING STATEMENTS? WE HAVE HAD MANY ATTEMPTS: THE MOST NATURAL AND MOST FREQUENTLY REPEATED IS THE THEORY OF THE STRONG MAN THE PROPHET, THE LEADER, WHO BY FORCE MAKES THE PEOPLE DO WHAT THEY IN THEIR STUPIDITY AND SELFISHNESS COULD NEVER ACCOMPLISH UNLED. THIS OF COURSE IS NO SOLUTION OF DEMOCRACY BUT ITS CYNICAL DENIAL: AND THE GRIM FACT THAT NO MAN IS SO GREAT AS TO ESCAPE DEATH.

35-4-624

OR WE HAVE THE THEORY OF THE MAJORITY: THE DOCTRINE OF DIVINE RIGHT, APPLIED TO THE ACCIDENTAL TEN WHO BEAT THE NINE IN SOME CONTEST. THIS IS WE KNOW BUT A ROUGH RULE OF THUMB: SINCE RIGHT IS RIGHT EVEN IF WRONG WINS THE ELECTION AND NO RETURNS CAN CHANGE THE FACE AND THE CONSEQUENCE. TO ELIMINATE THE ACCIDENT OF SINGLE ELECTIONS, WE RELY ON PARTY GOVERNMENT: ONE ORGANIZED AND PERMANENT BODY STANDS FOR A PROGRAM AND POLICY AND SOLICITS VOTES, WITH THE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THAT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE PROGRAM RESTS ON THE ORGANIZATION, SO THAT THE RIGHT DEPENDS NOT ON ONE ELECTION BUT ON A CONTINUING POLICY. ANOTHER PARTY STANDS FOR A DIFFERENT PROGRAM OF PROGRESS.

THIS HAS BEEN OUR BEST THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND HAS UNDOUBTEDLY CARRIED US FURTHEST TOWARD OUR IDEAL. BUT DURING ALL THE LONG DECADES OF ITS TRIAL, IT HAS DEVELOPED REPEATEDLY THE SAME DIFFICULTY: NAMELY, THE DEVELOPMENT OF ONE POLICY, COUPLED WITH ABSENCE OF ANY COUNTER POLICY,

AND ACCOMPANIED WITH ELABORATE INSISTENCE THAT THERE WERE ACTUALLY TWO PARTIES AND TWO POLICIES WHEN IN FACT THERE WAS BUT ONE, AND THAT ONE UNCRITICED AND UNCHALLENGED. THUS IN ENGLAND FOR YEARS TORY AND LIBERAL REPRESENTED IN FACT BUT ONE IMPERIAL BRITISH POLICY: SO IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1820 to 1850, DEMOCRATS AND WHIGS WERE IN REALITY BUT ONE PARTY WITH DIFFERENT LEADERS, AND THAT PARTY STOOD FOR SLAVERY AND COMMERCE. TODAY, THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AGREE NOT ONLY IN FOREIGN POLICY B BUT IN EVERYTHING ESSENTIAL T UCHING DOMESTIC CONDITIONS, FROM FIGHTING THE TRADE UNIONS, TO RAISING RENTS AND AVOIDINT SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

BUT DEMOCRACY HAS LONG HAD A REMEDY FOR THIS AND THAT IS THE THIRD PARTY. IN THE NATURE OF THE CASE, THE THIRD PARTY IS BUT RARELY USED: SO RARELY, THAT THE IDEA IS EASILY PROMULGATED THAT IT IS REVOLUTIONARY AND UNDEMOCRATIC. IN TRUTH, ONLY THROUGH A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT, OR THE THREAT OF SUCH A MOVEMENT, CAN THE VERY GROUND PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

35-4-625

BE RESCUED FROM OLIGARCHY OR PLUTOCRACY. UNLESS THE PEOPLE RETAIN AND ASSERT THE RIGHT TO TURN FROM TWO OLD PARTIES WHICH ARE IN ESSENTIAL AGREEMENT OR IN FALSE DISAGREEMENT, AND ESTABLISH A THIRD PARTY WHICH GIVES A CITIZEN THE CHANCE TO VOTE FOR WHAT HE BELIEVES, THEN NOT ONLY DOES THE RIGHT LOSE, BUT DEMOCRACY ITSELF FAILS.

THAT IS THE REASON WHY A THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT ALWAYS MEETS BITTER OPPOSITION FROM REACTION AND VESTED INTERESTS: AND THIS OPPOSITION IS NOT AGAINST ITS PLATFORM OR POLICY, BUT AGAINST ITS VERY RIGHT TO EXIST OR ~~TO MAKXXREBLIKXXIXXRLATFORM~~ APPEAL TO THE ELECTORATE. ITS MOTIVES ARE MALIGNED, ITS OBJECTS DISTORTED AND ITS EFFORTS TO MAKE PUBLIC ITS PLATFORM ~~ONXREBLICXI~~ OBSTRUCTED. THE PEOPLE ARE LED TO BELIEVE THAT IN THE VERY EFFORT TO ESTABLISH A THIRD PARTY LIES TREACHERY AND ENMITY TO DEMOCRACY. AND IF THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED PARTIES IN POWER, CONTROL PRESS

and radio; and have in their pockets unlimited funds from the profits of interests which they favor and give lisence, then with the post-war weapon of propaganda, this political combination can literally deny the polls to a Third Party, smear it with obliguy and drive it from the public platform. And so again democracy can fail.

Remember that without Third Party movements, we might still be British colonies, we might still reap fortunes out of the slave trade, we might still be even more a land of slavery than we are.

With the best will and effort, democracy, the self ruel of the people is difficult to attain; with party government it has chance to succeed only if the parties represent real issues and not combines understanding to control public opinion and obstruct policies for the progress of the mass of people; and when real issues fail and greed and class combine to use the state for selfish ends, then and then only can democracy be saved from its enemies by a Third Party crusade.

35-4-626

But this is not all. Back of all parties and back of all progress toward a democratic state, must stand the intelligence of the electorate and their knowledge of the facts concerning which they are deciding. Today not only is illiteracy still too wide spread in this land, but control of Press, publication of truth and issue of text books for education is so undisputed, and free speech so curtailed that intelligent democracy is impossible. The first task of a Third Party is to combat these sinister and misleading situations. The Progressive Party then is faced by the initial duty to work for Peace: war settles nothing and war as planned today is suicide of humanity and civilization. Despite high authority we cannot "lick the World" and if we could what would we do with it? This is the first lesson. Second, the people of this nation must have security and not simply security in jail; they must have Work; they must have a liging Wage and Public control of such industry as private enterprise

(1)

For a second election, the Progressive Party faces this nation with a programme and warning. We come without apology but as the natural instrument through which America may achieve that democracy which has for one hundred and fifty has been our high ideal and continued failure. For here stands the Thesis and Antithesis, staring us grimly in the face:

Democracy is the only and ultimate way of governing the State

and contradicting this undisputed truth, comes the fatal fact

Democracy has not achieved success in any modern state

35-7-40

What is the Synthesis of these contradictory and discouraging statements? We have had many attempts; the most natural and most frequently repeated is the theory of the Strong Man the Prophet, the Leader, who by force makes the People do what they in their stupidity and selfishness could never accomplish unled. This of course is no solution of democracy but its cynical denial; and the grim fact that no man is so great as to escape death

Or we have the theory of the Majority; the doctrine of Divine ~~Rmax~~ Right, applied to the accidental Ten who beat the Nine in some contest. This is we know but a rough rule of thumb; since Right is Right even if Wrong wins the election and no returns can change the fact and the consequence. ~~Then~~ To eliminate ~~more chance and~~ the accident of single elections, we rely on Party government: one organized and permanent body stands for a program and policy and solicits votes, with the clear understanding that responsibility for the sucess of the program rests on the organization, so that the right depends not on one election but on a continuing policy. Another party stands for a different program of progress.

This has been our best theory of democratic government and has undoubtedly carried us furthest toward our ideal. But during all the long decades of its trial, it has developed repeatedly the same difficulty: namely, ~~failure to lay down or carry out a~~ the development of one policy, coupled with absence of any counter policy, and accompanied with elaborate insistence that there were actually two parties and two policies when in fact there was but one and that one unchallenged & unchallenged. Thus in England for years Tory and Liberal represented in fact but one imperial British policy; so in the United States from 1820 to 1850, Democrats and Whigs were in reality but one party with different leaders, and that party stood for slavery and commerce. Today, the Republican and Democratic parties not only agree in foreign policy but in everything essential touching domestic conditions, from fighting the trade unions, to raising rents and avoiding social responsibilities.

But Democracy has long had a remedy for this and that is the Third Party. ~~But~~ In the nature of the case, the Third Party is but rarely used; so rarely, that the idea is easily promulgated that it is revolutionary and undemocratic. In truth, only through a Third Par

Party movement, or the threat of such a movement, can the very ground principles of democratic government be rescued from oligarchy or plutocracy. Unless the people retain and assert the right to turn from two old parties which are in essential agreement or in false disagreement, and establish a Third Party which gives a citizen the chance to vote for what he believes, then not only does the Right lose, but democracy itself fails.

35-7-41

That is the reason why a Third Party movement always meets bitter opposition from reaction & vested interests; and this opposition is not against its platform or policy, but against its very right to exist or appeal to the electorate. Its motives are maligned, its objects distorted and it efforts to ~~appeal to the electorate~~ make public its platform obstructed. The people are led to believe that in the very effort to establish a Third Party lies treachery and enmity to democracy. And if the allied and associated parties in power, control press and radio; and have in their pockets unlimited funds from the profits of interests which they favor and give lisence, then with the post-war weapon of propaganda, this political combination can literally deny the polls to a Third Party, smear it with obliquy and ~~literally~~ drive it from the public platform. And so again democracy can fail.

Remember that without Third Party movements, we might still be British colonies, we might still reap fortunes out of the slave trade, we might still be even more a land of slavery than we are.

With the best will and effort, democracy, the self rule of the people, is difficult to attain; with party government it has chance to succeed only if the parties ~~xx~~ represent real issues and not combined understanding to control public opinion and obstruct policies for the progress of the mass of people; and when real issues fail and greed and class combine to use the state for selfish ends, then and then only can democracy be saved from its enemise ~~f~~ by a Third Party crusade.

But this is not all. Back of all all parties and back of all progress toward a democratic state, must stand the intelligence of the electorate and their knowledge of the facts concerning which they are deciding. Today not only is illiteracy still too wide spread in this land, but control of Press, publication of truth and issue of text-books for education is so undisputed that intelligent democracy is ~~difficult~~ impossible. And the first task of a Third Party is to combat these sinister and misleading situations. The Progressive party then is faced by the initial duty to work for Peace: War settles nothing and war as planned today is suicide of humanity and civilization. This is the first lesson. Despite high authority we cannot "lick the World" and if we could what would we do with it?

Second, the people of this nation must have security and not simply security in jail; they must have Work; they must have a living Wage and Public control of such industry as private enterprise cannot or will not undertake or which can only be pursued with public aid. And Freedom in America must not mean license but liberty limited by public welfare and social progress

35-7-42

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 Wilmington, Delaware
March 7, 1950

THIS FREEDOM

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

WHEN I WAS INVITED HERE/IT WAS SUGGESTIED/THAT I SPEAK ON THE COURAGE OF CONVICTIONS.// DOUBLTESS WITH THE IDEA/THAT THIS COMMUNITY/NEEDS ~~STIRRING~~ to consider ~~UP AS TO~~ ITS IDEALS AND ACTIONS,/ESPECIALLY IN RACIAL RELATIONS.// BUT IT SEEMED TO ME/THAT I COULD DO A BETTER CHORE/IF I TRIED TO APPROACH THIS SITUATION/FROM THE BROADER CONCEPT OF FREEDOM/SO AS TO CLEAR AWAY/A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF MENTAL UNDERBRUSH/WHICH OFTEN IMPEDES OUR ATTEMPTS/AT SOCIAL REFORM.

IN THE PATTERN OF CULTURE/WHICH WE HAVE INHERITED/FROM THE 19th CENTURY,/LIES THE ~~WELL-NIGH~~ UNIVERSAL ASSUMPTION/OF INDIVIDUAL, FREE AND CONSCIOUS CHOICE OF ACTIONS/WHICH INFLUENCE AND GUIDE/THE COURSE OF HUMAN HISTORY.// NOT ALL PERSONS PAUSE/TO CONSIDER THE TREMENDOUS IMPLICATIONS/

~~AND INHERENT PARADOX~~/OF SUCH AN ASSUMPTION.// THE CONCEPT OF A WORLD OF ETERNAL AND UNALTERABLE LAW/GREW UP AND FLOWERED IN THAT MARVELLOUS 19th CENTURY,/SIDE BY SIDE/WITH THIS ASSUMPTION/OF OUR GOD-LIKE ABILITY/TO DECIDE THE DESTINY OF MAN.// MOST PERSONS WERE UNCONSCIOUS OF THE CONTRADICTION,/AND FROM TIME/TURNED EASILY FROM THE LAW OF CONSERVATION OF FORCE/TO THE IDEA OF THE GREAT MAN/WHO MAKES HISTORY//WITHOUT ANY REALIZATION OF THE INHERENT PARADOX.

PARTICULARLY IN AMERICA/DID THIS IDEA OF FREEDOM OF HUMAN EFFORT/SPROUT AND FLOURISH./ WE LIVED ON THE WORLD'S FRONTIER:/THERE WAS RICH LAND, FREE FOR THE TAKING,/ THERE WERE ANIMALS AND VEGETABLES,/ FRUIT AND FLOWERS:/ THERE WERE MINES AND WELLS,/ MOUNTAINS AND RIVERS,/ FOREST AND PLAIN. / IT WAS MORE WIDELY TRUE/IN ~~THE BEGINNING~~ OF THE 19th CENTURY/~~AND WELL ON PAST ITS MIDYEAR~~,/ THAT A FREE, WHITE AMERICAN/WITH HEALTH, ABILITY AND PUSH/COULD CHOOSE HIS CAREER,/ GO WHERE HE WOULD, WHEN HE WISHED/AND OFTEN MAKE A REASONABLR FORTUNE //

in America than elsewhere

THE IMMIGRANT FROM EUROPE/WAS ASTONISHED AT THE CONTRAST:/ THE FREEDOM FROM RESTRAINT:/ AND THE BREAKING OF THE CHAINS OF CUSTOM:/ THE CHANCE FOR EXPRESSION IN WORD AND ACT./ THIS WAS THE LAND OF FREEDOM.// I REMEMBER AS A BOY ROLLING ON MY TONGUE/THOSE SONOROUS PERIODS/OF DRAKE'S STORY OF THE BIRTH OF OUR FLAG:/

35-4-32

WHEN FREEDOM, FROM HER MOUNTAIN HEIGHT,
UNFURLED HER STANDARD TO THE AIR
SHE TORE THE AZURE ROBE OF NIGHT
AND SET THE STARS IN GLORY THERE

5&L

WHEN AN AMERICAN RETURNS FROM ABROAD,/ HE FEELS AGAIN THE FREEDOM OF THIS LAND:/ BUT OF COURSE HERE COMES PAUSE:// THE FREEDOM WHICH HE THINKS HE SENSES/ IS IN PART SIMPLY CHANGE FROM UNFAMILIAR USAGES/ TO WAYS OF ACTION / TO WHICH HE HAS BEEN ACCUSTOMED ALL HIS LIFE.// AND IT WAS ONLY SLOWLY/AND WITH THE PASSING YEARS,/ THAT AMERICANS BEGAN TO SENSE/ THAT [redacted]/THE OLD FREEDOM OF THE FRONTIER/IS PASSING GONE/AND A NEW FREEZING OF THE CAKE

over

OF COURSE FOR ME/FROM THE FIRST/THIS FREEDOM WAS LIMITED./ I COULD NOT SING LAND OF THE NOBLE FREE/WITH COMPLETE ABANDON// AND THUS EARLIER THAN MY WHITE SCHOOLMATES/I GOT A CONCEPT OF FREEDOM LIMITED/SO FAR AS THEY WERE CONCERNED/SO AS TO ALLOW ME/A REASONABLE CHANCE

OF CUSTOM IS ~~UNHOLDING~~ evident. I REMEMBER HAVING THIS THOUGHT THRUST ON ME SUDDENLY/ WHEN A YOUNG FRENCH GIRL SAID ~~TO ME:~~/ "THE STATUE OF LIBERTY? / O H YES./ THAT IS THE STATUE WITH ITS BACK TOWARD AMERICA/ AND ITS FACE TOWARD FRANCE.// ~~BUT~~ LESS SYMBOLICALLY AND MORE TRAGICALLY, I HAD THIS THOUGHT/ OF THE CHANGE IN AMERICAN FREEDOM/ BROUGHT HOME ~~TO ME~~./ FOR, OF COURSE, ALL MY LIFE/ I HAD BEEN PAINFULLY AWARE/ OF THE DICHOTOMY BETWEEN AMERICAN FREEDOM FOR WHITES/ AND THE CONTINUING SUBJECTION OF NEGROES.// RETURNING FROM STUDY IN GERMANY TO AMERICA/ TO BEGIN MY LIFE WORK,/ I HAD RATIONALIZED THIS CONTRADICTION.// I SAID IN 1897, TO AN AUDIENCE ~~OF~~ at THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,/ THAT THE SOLUTION OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM/ CALLED FOR KNOWLEDGE // SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF THE FACTS/ ON A BROAD SCALE,/ OVER A SPACE OF TIME/ L NG ENOUGH/ TO MAKE A COMPLETE PICTURE:/ THAT WHEN THE NATION KNEW THE TRUTH/ IT WOULD TAKE ACTION ACCORDINGLY.

I LAID DOWN PLANS OF STUDY/ COVERING A CENTURY/ AND TRIED TO CARRY Close

35-433

IT OUT AT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY/ FOR THIRTEEN YEARS,// THEN I AWOKE TO THE rather bitter Truth ~~BITTER FACT~~/ THAT THE SOLUTION TO THIS SOCIAL PROBLEM/ WAS NOT SO SIMPLE AS I HAD FONDLY IMAGINED.// THAT THE TRUTH OF ITSELF/ DID NOT MAKE MAN FREE:/ THAT TRUTH MUST FIRST BE KNOWN/ AND THEN ACTED ON// OTHERWISE THERE WOULD BE NO FUNDS FOR STUDY/ AND THE WORLD WOULD GIVE SCANT ATTENTION TO ~~MODERN~~ FACTS; it did not realize

AT 42,/ THEREFORE,/ ~~FINDING~~ seeing THAT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY/ COULD NOT FIND EVEN the $5000 A YEAR/ FOR THE cost of the ONLY SYSTEMATIC STUDY/ OF THE NEGRO RACE / THEN BEING CARRIED ON IN THE WORLD,// AND THAT DESPITE OUR PUBLICATIONS,/ LYNCHINGS FLOURISHED/ AND TILLMAN AND VARDAMAN/ CONTINUED TO LIE ABOUT RAPE AND CRIME,// I MADE A RIGHT-ABOUT-FACE IN MY LIFE WORK,/ AND BEGAN TO SPREAD KNOWLEDGE OF FACTS/ INSTEAD OF SIMPLY GATHERING THEM,// AND TO URGE ACTION/ INSTEAD OF TAKING IT FOR GRANTED// THIS WAS DESCENT FROM SCIENCE TO PROPAGANDA/ AND I WINCED AT THE CHANGE./ BUT THERE SEEMED NO CHOICE.

35-434

~~AWAITING ITS AUTOMATIC APPEARANCE.~~

THENCEFORTH, IT BECAME MORE AND MORE CLEAR TO ME, THAT THE CONCEPT OF FREEDOM OF HUMAN ACTION MUST BE LIMITED BY OBVIOUS ~~ELEMENTS~~ FACTS; THE LAW OF GRAVITATION HELD ALL IN THRALL; BIOLOGICAL LAWS GOVERNED INEXORABLY OUR GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT; AND MORE THAN THAT, SOCIAL CONVENTION AND LONG CONTINUED CULTURAL PATTERNS MADE INDIVIDUAL ACTION SLOW AND UNCERTAIN. SOME FOLK HAD PRACTICALLY SURRENDERED THE CONCEPT OF THE FREEDOM OF HUMAN INITIATIVE TO BETTER THE WORLD. WHAT WITH THE DARWINIAN THEORY OF THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST AND THE VOLUMINOUS WORKS OF HERBERT SPENCER AND THE FATALISM OF THE CHURCH, THE INTELLIGENT WORLD OF THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND EARLY TWENTIETH, BEGAN TO FALL BACK ON EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT AND DECLARE THAT NEGRO SLAVERY WAS THE RESULT OF NATURAL LAW RATHER THAN OF HUMAN WICKEDNESS AND THAT ALL THE WHITE RULERS OF THE UNIVERSE HAD TO DO WAS TO ~~FALL BACK~~ rely ON GOD AND TIME TO HAVE THEIR WISH AND ~~GOVERNMENT~~ POWER MADE PERMANENT. RELIGION, PHILANTHROPY AND SCIENCE SOUGHT TO JOIN HANDS IN

MAKING THE COLOR-LINE WORLD-WIDE AND THE INFERIORITY OF THE DARKER RACES A PART OF HOLY WRIT.

THE RESULT OF THIS TREND OF THOUGHT IS TODAY STILL EVIDENT IN CITIES LIKE ~~WILMINGTON~~ Philada, BALTIMORE AND WASHINGTON. NOWHERE IN THE WORLD IS THERE A MORE UNJUSTIFIABLE EXHIBITION OF RACIAL CASTE Class differ. THAN IN THESE CITIES. IF IT WERE NOT THAT I HAVE ~~MY~~ FRIENDS AND RELATIVES IN THESE PLACES, AND ERRANDS OF BUSINESS IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL, I WOULD NEVER ~~AGAIN~~ IN MY LIFE SET FOOT IN THESE Cities CAPITALS. THEIR RACIAL PREJUDICE HAS LESS JUSTIFICATION THAN ~~IN~~ CHARLESTON OR NEW ORLEANS. IS MORE SET AND IMPERVIOUS THAN THAT OF ATLANTA AND BIRMINGHAM, AND HAS MADE LESS CHANGE IN THE LAST 25 YEARS THAN NASHVILLE OR DALLAS.

THE REASON FOR THIS IS THAT IN THESE OLDER CITIES GROWING UP BETWEEN THE ~~EQUALITARIANISM~~ OF THE NORTH AND THE SLAVERY OF THE SOUTH, THERE REMAINS EQUALITARIAN[redacted]ISM

35-4-30

IN THE MINDS OF THINKING PEOPLE/A SINGULAR AND YET UNREALIZED/ CONTRADICTION IN THEIR RELATION TO THE WORLD//ON THE ONE HAND/ THEY CLING TO AN IDEA OF FREEDOM OF ACTION/AND INFLUENCE UPON THE WORLD/ WHICH IS NO LONGER AS TRUE/ AS THEY HAVE BEEN TAUGHT TO THINK//AND ON THE OTHER HAND/ THEY ARE ALSO UNCONSCIOUSLY/FALLING BACK UPON NATURAL FORCES/AND EVEN DIVINE GUIDANCE/IN THE UNIVERSE/ ~~WHICH~~ TO ABSOLVES THEM FROM ALL NECESSITY/ FOR ACTING AND DOING/ AND CHANGING.

How does this relate to the above 20,000?

FOR INSTANCE,/IN CITIES LIKE ~~THESE~~ Philadelphia,/THE PROBLEM OF OCCUPATION/FOR ALL PEOPLE/IS A DIFFICULT ONE.//IT IS NOT EASY TO PICK OUT/ FOR YOUR CHILDREN/ THE KIND OF LIFE WORK/WHICH YOU WOULD LIKE THEM TO DO/ OR WHICH THEY WOULD CHOOSE// YOU HAVE ONLY TO REMEMBER/THAT LAST YEAR/TWENTY FIVE THOUSAND EDUCATED YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN/APPLIED FOR MEDICAL EDUCATION IN THE U.S./AND LESS THAN SIX THOUSAND/WERE ACCEPTED:/ ~~THAT~~ ADMISSION TO ATTRACTIVE roles/ ~~PLACES~~ /IN THE INDUSTRIAL HIERACHY OF AMERICA/IS INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT.//THERE WAS A TIME WHEN YOU COULD SAY

35-4-38

TO THE YOUNG MAN/ GO ~~OUT~~ West AND START A LITTLE GROCERY STORE/AND END BY BEING A GREAT MERCHANT.//TODAY, THE LITTLE GROCERY STORE/WILL BE OVERCOME AND PUT OUT OF EXISTENCE/IN NINE CASES OUT OF TEN/BY THE CHAIN STORE/BEFORE THE YOUNG MAN HAS A CHANCE/TO BEGIN TO EARN A LIVING.// THERE IS NO LONGER OPPORTUNITY TO GO PROSPECTING FOR GOLD,/ SILVER OR MINERALS,/OR EVEN FOR OIL.//THE OPPORTUNITYES IN THE PROFESSIONS LIKE LAW,/ THE MINISTRY AND EVEN TEACHING ARE NARROW/ AND MANY WELL-TRAINED YOUNG PEOPLE/ HAVE TO ACCEPT POORLY PAID POSITIONS/ WITH SMALL CHANCE OF ADVANCEMENT//OR BETTER PAID POSITIONS/WITH NO CHANCE FOR ~~INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE OVER~~ FREEDOM OF THOUGHT.

IN THE ARTS/ the opportunities/ ARE EVEN MORE PRECARIOUS/ IAM CONTINUALLY ALARMED TO SEE ABOUT ME/, ~~YOUNG~~ MEN AND WOMEN/ WHO YEARS AGO/TRIED TO BE MUSICIANS/ THEY WERE NOT ALL GENIUSES/ BUT MANY OF THEM HAD REALLY GREAT TALENT/ AND TALENT WHICH THE WORLD ~~NEEDED~~ WANTED//AND YET AS THEY COME TOWARD MIDDLE AGE,/ IT ~~IS~~ was ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE/FOR THEM TO EARN A LIVING.// ~~EVEN THE~~ THE GREAT PRIZES/OF OUR CIVILIZATION/GO TO Become MERCHANTS, NOT TO ARTISTS.// EVEN THE

and to a certain kind of merchants

GREAT ARTISTS, THE SINGERS/ HAVE BUT A SHORT TIME/IN WHICH TO EARN ENOUGH TO KEEP THEM ALIVE/ THE REST OF THEIR LIVES.// THE PAINTERS ARE IN PERHAPS EVEN MORE PRECARIOUS POSITION/ AND THE WRITER/ WHO CAN DEPEND UPON ~~AN~~ INCOME ~~FOR~~ from HIS WRITING/ IS ~~AN UNUSUAL~~ a very exceptional PERSON./ Think of those who want to write and have a message./ ~~FOR THE MOST PART,~~ THE BEGINNER MAY FIND A PLACE UPON ~~THE~~ a GREAT NEWSPAPER$/ BUT IN THAT CASE/HE DOES NOT WRITE WHAT HE THINKS /OR WHAT HE WANTS/ BUT WHAT HE IS TOLD TO WRITE.// AND IF HE DOES NOT DO THAT,/ HE LOSES HIS JOB.// IN THIS PRECARIOUS SITUATION/ IN THE WORLD OF WORK /AND THE WORLD OF ART,/ IT IS A MATTER for CAREFUL THOUGHT/AND CONSULTATION WITH FRIENDS/ TO KNOW HOW TO GUIDE/ A NEW GENERATION TO A DECENT LIVING/AND A REPUTABLE CAREER.// BUT ALL THIS IS RECOGNIZED AND WHILE EVERY ONE/ CAN SEE HOW MUCH THIS CURTAILS OUR TRADITIONAL FREEDOM/ AT THE SAME TIME,/ WE CONTINUALLY START/ RATHER JAUNTILY AND WITHOUT CONSIDERATION INTO PLANS FOR CHANGING THE WORLD.

the man who refuses this work will only find the editor wants such as he has

[redacted] //.

Yet AND WE KNOW/PERFECTLY WELL/ THAT THERE IS NO DEARTH OF WORK/ IN THE WORLD// THERE IS NO OVERPLUS OF IDEAS/ WE NEED AND NEED DESPERATELY/ THE ZEAL AND MUSCLE/ AND EFFORT/ OF EVERY HUMAN BEING.// IF YOU DOUBT THIS /TRY TO FIND SOMEBODY TO COOPERATE/IN AN EFFORT /LIKE THAT REPRESENTED HERE TONIGHT./ TRY TO GET CARPENTERS AND PLUMBERS./ TRY TO GET NEW IDEAS/TO REPLACE OLD/ AND MOTHEATEN PREJUDICES./ TRY TO FIND TECHNICIANS/FOR THE NEW AND ONRUSHING DISCOVERIES/ AND INVENTIONS./ THERE IS NO LACK OF THINGS/ AND VITAL THINGS TO DO.// THERE IS CRITICAL LACK /OF MEN ABLE AND TRAINED/TO DO THEM.// YET IT IS DIFFICULT TO FIND YOUR BOY /AND ESPECIALLY YOUR GIRL/ WORK. /ONE WOULD THINK THAT 10 PERSONS WERE SEEKING ONE JOB./ WHEN IN TRUTH /~~SEVEN~~ TEN ~~JOBS XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ KINDS OF WORK /LACK A SINGLE PERSON TO DO THEM.// WHENCE ARISES THIS PARADOX?

35-4-41

12

THE TRUTH IS/THAT WHILE OUR FREEDOM/IS CURTAILED/BY INCREASED KNOWLEDGE OF NATURAL LAW/ BY THE NECESSITY OF LIVING CLOSER TO OUR NEIGHBORS/ BY NEW TECHNIQUE/AND NEW CUSTOMS ADAPTED TO THEM?//~~AT THE SAME TIME~~ YET/THE NECESSITY OF ADJUSTMENT AND PLANNING/IS ALL THE CLEARER/SO AS TO PRESERVE/THE MAXIMUM OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM/AND AT THE SAME TIME/FILL THE WANTS OF THE MAJORITY OF MANKIND//LOSS OF FREEDOM THEN/NEED NOT BE PROGRESS/TOWARD SLAVERY AND DICTATORSHIP:/IT MAY BE SUCH PLANNED ECONOMY/AND BREADTH OF THOUGHT/WHICH WITH EVERY NECESSARY REGIMENTATION OF LIFE?/WILL OPEN WIDER POSSIBILITIES/OF POWER/AND FREEDOM OF ~~THOUGHT~~/AND CREATIVE ~~THOUGHT~~. ENERGY

THIS PLANNING/OF OUR COMPLICATED LIFE?/WHICH IS SPREADING/IN EVERY PART OF THE WORLD?/NOT EXCLUDING THE UNITED STATES/IS USUALLY CALLED SOCIALISM./BUT WHETHER IT IS CALLED SOCIALISM/OR COMMUNISM/OR PROGRESSIVE CAPITALISM/IT MEANS/THE EFFORT TO RECONCILE TECHNIQUE WITH LIBERTY/AND ~~PROGRESS~~ THAT/INSTEAD OF CONTINUING/TO HAVE PROGRESS WITH POVERTY/AND THE CHILDREN OF POVERTY/IGNORANCE AND DISEASE."THIS ACCOMMODATION HAS NOT YET BEEN MADE:/THERE HAVE BEEN MANY MISTAKES/IN THE ATTEMPT//BUT THE EFFORT GOES ON/AND WILL AND MUST GO ON,

(we can realize the Welfare State

18

WHEN NOW IN ANY AREA OF LIFE/WE ATTEMPT CHANGE AND PROGRESS/WHAT DOES THIS INVOLVE?

35-4-42

13

R WHAT ~~NOW~~/HAS CHANGE TO DO/WITH FREEDOM?//IT IS OFTEN ASSUMED/THAT THAT ~~THE~~ CURTAILMENT OF LIBERTY/IS THE BEGINNING OF SLAVERY//IT MAY BE/BUT THERE IS A THIRD WAY/WHICH THE WORLD IS FOLLOWING WIDELY/AND ~~AND~~ THAT IS ~~SOCIALISM/COMMUNISM~~/AN ATTEMPT/TO SOLVE THE IMPACT OF LAW ON FREEDOM/BY SCIENTIFIC PLANNING/SO AS TO GUIDE HUMAN ACTION/INTO THE WIDEST AND MOST BENEFICIAL/AREAS OF EFFORT/WHICH WILL ~~BENEFIT~~ serve/THE MASS OF HUMAN BEINGS.//SOME FOLK/HAVE OPPOSED PLANNING/AS INTERFERENCE WITH INITIATIVE/ BUT SUCH INTERFERENCE IS INEVITABLE/AS ~~THE~~ GROUPS OF HUMAN BEINGS/INCREASE IN NUMBERS AND IN INTRICACY of organization//WITH SCIENTIFIC PLANNING/THE LARGEST POSSIBLE AREA OF FREEDOM/MAY SURVIVE.//WITHOUT IT/WE LAPSE INTO DICTATORSHIP AND SLAVERY.//THIS IS THE MEANING/OF GOVERNMENT IN INDUSTRY/AND OF INDUSTRY FOR ~~PROFIT~~ USE/AND NOT SOLELY/FOR PRIVATE PROFIT.//THE MASS OF THE MODERN/WORLD IS MOVING TOWARD this SOCIALISM/AND THE UNITED STATES WITH THE ROOSEVELT NEW DEAL/TOOK A LONG STEP IN THAT DIRECTION//HERE THEN IS WHERE FREEDOM WILL BE PRESERVED/IF ANYWHERE/AND NOT IN THE ANARCHY OF PRIVATE INITIATIVE/AND SO CALLED FREE ENTERPRISE./

FOR UNCONTROLLED FREE ENTERPRISE/AND THE ANARCHY OF UNCOORDINATED PRIVATE INITIATIVE/LEADS TO WAR//AND WAR AND CONTINUED WAR/ON A FANTASTIC SCALE/THREATENS THE VERY FOUNDATIONS OF civilization TODAY

35-4-43

THE WORLD OUGHT TO BE CHANGED/AND IS CHANGING//AND ~~THAT~~/ PARTICULARLY IN THESE THREE CITIES/WHICH I HAVE MENTIONED/ A CHANGE IN THE REALATIONS BETWEEN THE RACES/ IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY// YET ONE MUST REMEMBER THAT SUCH CHANGE INVOLVES/ LARGE AND UNDOUBTED SOCIAL COSTS/ ~~not called~~ PLANNING, and Planners has / ? Sacrifice of Freedom

ANY PERSON IN ~~WILMINGTON~~,/ OF POSITION/ ~~IN THE WHITE RACE~~/WHO PROPOSES TO CHANGE THE RELATIONS BETWEEN RACES/MUST FIRST OF ALL/LOOK TO HIS SOCIAL STATUS.// HE IS GOING TO FIND HIMSELF/IN DISAGREEMENT WITH PERSONS OF WEALTH / AND POWER IN THE COMMUNITY// AND THE DISAGREEMENT/IS NOT GOING TO BE SHOWN SIMPLY BY SILENCE/ BUT BY/CUTTING THEMSELVES OFF,/ MORE OR LESS/FROM COMMUNICATION WITH THE ~~PERSON~~/WHO ADVOCATES/ CHANGE// ~~THAT~~ IS GOING TO SHOW ITSELF/IN THE NEIGHBORHOODS/WHERE THEY LIVE,/IN THE CLUBS TO WHICH THEY BELONG / IN THEIR SOCIAL INTERCOURSE/WITH THEIR FELLOWS.// IT IS GOING TO SHOW ITSELF/IN THE SCHOOLS ~~WHERE~~ THEIR CHILDREN ATTEND// AND MUCH MORE

35-4-44

SERIOUS THAN THAT/IT IS GOING TO HAVE/ REPERCUSSIONS UPON THEIR JOBS// UPON THE KIND OF JOBS/ THAT THEY CAN GET AND RETAIN/ UPON THE PROMOTION WHICH IS COMING TO THEM/ UPON ~~THE WEALTH~~ FOR ~~THEIR~~ OLD AGE/ AND FOR THEIR CHILDREN/ ~~WHICH THEY CAN ACCUMULATE~~

THE RESULT NATURALLY/IS THAT/WITHOUT ACTUALLY SAYING SO/ OR IN MANY CASES WITHOUT CONSCIOUSLY THINKING// THE MAJOR POWERS OF A COMMUNITY/LIKE ~~WILMINGTON~~/ REFRAINS/ FROM ADVOCATING ANY GREAT CHANGE/ NOT ONLY IN RACIAL RELATIONSHIPS/ BUT IN INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION// IN THE DISTRUBITION OF WEALTH / IN THE GENERAL SOCIAL CLIMATE/IN WHICH THEY FIND THEMSELVES// THIS IS ESPECIALLY THE ATTITUDE IN THE CHURCH// THE SERMONS WHICH ARE PREACHED ~~IN WILMINGTON~~,/ I HAVE NO DOUBT/IF WE STUDIED CAREFULLY/WOULD BE FOUND TO AVOID ANY SPECIFIC TREATMENT/OF THE GREAT PROBLEMS OF OUR DAY/

THE CAREFUL PREACHER/CONFINES HIMSELF TO WHAT IS CALLED NON-CONTROversal topics/SUBJECTS/UPON WHICH THERE IS NO GREAT DIFFERENCE/OF OPINION

35-4-45

// HE AVIODS THE RACE PROBLEMS/EXCE T IN VAGUE TERMS // HE AVOIDS THE Labor ~~ECONOMIC~~ PROBLEMS // HE KEEPS OUT OF POLITICS.// WITH THE RESULT/THAT IN JUST THOSE AREAS OF THOUGHT/WHERE GUIDANCE IS NEEDED/AND CHANGE IS BOUND TO COME./ THE CHURCH SHOWS/USUALLY/NO LEADERSHIP.

OR AGAIN/ THERE IS THE PUBLIC FORUM// THERE WAS A TIME/WHEN IN THE TOWN MEETING/AND IN THE CORNER GROCERY/ AND THEN LATER IN THE ORGANIZED SCHOOL FORUMS,/ WE HAD FRANK AND FULL DISCUSSION/OF ALL CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECTS.// I REMEMBER ONCE HAVING THE PRIVILEGE/OF SPEAKING IN THE CELEBRATED SCHOOL FORUM SYSTEM/OF THE CITY OF DES MOINES// IT WAS AT THE TIME/ONE OF THE GREATEST INSTITUTIONS IN OUR LAND./ IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR EVERY CITIZENS OF DES MOINES/ TO HEAR PRACTICALLY ALL THE GREAT SUBJECTS/ OF SOCIAL CHANGE/DISCUSSED/ NOT SIMPLY BY THOSE/WHO WERE IN FAVOR/BUT BY THOSE WHO WERE NOT IN FAVOR.// NOT SIMPLY BY LOCAL PERSONS/ BUT BY

35-4-46

WORLD WIDE TRAVELERS AND STUDENTS .// AND THERE WAS THE WIDEST OPPORTUNITY FOR QUESTIONING AND DEBATE.// BUT TODAY THE FORUM IS FALLING INTO DISUSE./ IT IS LOCKED UPON AS A DANGEROUS CENTER/WHERE SUBVERSIVE THOUGHTS MAY BE SPREAD/AND UNDESIRABLE ACTIONS NURTURED./ OUR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES ARE BEING SILENCED AND SHACKLED/ SO THAT THEY CNA DISCUSS RUSSIA/WITHOUT KNOWING WHAT SHE THE NEWSPAPERS/AT ONE TIME/COULD BE DEPENDED UPON/TO DISCUSS ALL THE OBTAINABLE FACTS/ FROM EVERY POINT OF VIEW// THAT IS NO LONGER TRUE.// THEY ARE OWNED BY BIG BUSINESS./ THEIR VIEWS ARE SET AND CONTROLLED// AND ON MANY QUESTIONS/IT IS PRACTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE/TO KNOW WHAT IS REALLY GOING ON/IN THIS COUNTRY/ OR IN THE WORLD.// AND THEN TO SALVE OUR SOULS/UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES/WE FALL BACK UPON THE OIDER AND COMFORTABLE THOUGHT/THAT AFTER ALL/THE WORLD IS PROGRESSING/ THAT CHANGE AND BENEFICENT CHANGE IS A MATTER OF CENTURIES AND MILENNIUMS/AND THAT IF WE ARE CAREFUL NOT TO JOIN IN UNSEASONABLE AGITATION/ IN THE LONG RUN,/THINGS ARE GOING TO COME OUT all RIGHT. // THIS ATTITUDE / HASMADE TWO WORLD WARS POSSEEBLE,

35-4-48

THIS IS ESPECIALLY/THE TEMPTATION OF THOSE/WHO UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS/ ARE COMFORTABLE/AND WELL TO DO.// WHO DO NOT HAVE GREAT PROBLEMS OF SECURING EMPLOYMENT FOR THEMSELVES/OR THEIR CHILDREN,//AND WHO CONSEQUENTLY CAN WAIT WITH COMPLACENCY.// BUT ON THE OTHER HAND,/ THIS IS AS WE KNOW/VERY WELL A ~~THE~~ DANGEROUS SITUATION.// IN THE LATTER PART OF THE 19th CENTURY/ WE WERE SMUG ABOUT OUR SITUATION / EVERYTHING WAS GOING WELL,/ PROGRESS WAS INEVITABLE// THE UNITED STATES IN PARTICULAR/ WAS GOING TO BE THE ~~ONE HOPE~~/ SHINING LIGHT OF THE WORLD,/ FLANKED BY GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE,/ ITALY, GERMANY AND SCANDINAVIA.//THE REST OF THE WORLD, NATURALLY/WAS ~~AXNE~~ GOING TO LAG BEHIND/ BUT THERE WAS NO DOUBT/ABOUT THE WISDOM OF THE LEADERSHIP/ WHICH THE WHITE RACE/ WAS GOING TO GIVE. What they actually gave was War

THIS ATTITUDE/IS OF COURSE CLEARLY DANGEROUS.// NO COUNTRY OUGHT TO KNOW THAT/BETTER THAN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA./ AND ~~SO~~ KNOW IT

35-4-48

PARTICULARLY/IN THE PROBLEM WHICH WE ARE STILL FACING TODAY/ THE PROBLEM OF RACE AND COLOR.// THERE WAS A TIME/ IN THE LATE 18th CENTURY/AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 19th ~~CENTURY~~/ WHEN NO PERSON OF STATURE IN THE UNITED STATES DEFENDED SLAVERY/OR THE COLOR LINE// THE MOST THAT THEY SAID WAS/HERE IS AN UNFORTUNATE INSTITUTION/ EVIL IN MANY RESPECTS/ BOUND TO DIE.// BUT IT IS BETTER/ NOT ~~TO STOP~~ TO GO TOO FAST ! IT IS BETTER TO WAIT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ~~FACT AND OF~~ CONSCIENCE.

THE RESULT/WAS NOT ONLY A CIVIL WAR/ ~~OF~~ WITH A BITTER LOSS/AND HATREDS AND PREJUDICES/ SHOWING RESULTS/DOWN TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 20TH CENTURY.//AND BIDDING FAIR/ TO GO MUCH MUCH FURTHER/ THAN THAT.//BUT IT SET A PATTERN/FOR US/OF PROCRASTINATION/AND DELAY/ AND UNWILLINGNESS/TO FACE EVIDENT FACTS in social reform

~~MOREOVER~~ THE TRAGEDY/OF THIS RACE PROBLEM/CONTINUES WITH US.// WE HAVE/ ON THE PART OF THE OPPRESSED COLORED PEOPLE/ A CERTAIN SULLENNESS AND UNWILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE/ OR TO BELIEVE IN THE GOOD FAITH/ OF THEIR WHITE FELLOWS

write new conclusion

35-4-49

WE HAVE THE NATURAL/ FALLING INTO CRIME/ OF THE YOUNGER PEOPLE/ CONTINUALLY THERE IS THE BOY/ WHOSE PRANK/ IF HE IS WHITE/ IS NOT EVEN NOTICED/ OR LIGHTLY REPRIMANDED/ BY THE AUTHORITIES/ AND THE BLACK BOY/ COMMITTING THE SAME CRIME IS NOT SIMPLY PUNISHED/ BY BE IS PUT IN A POSITION/ WHERE IT IS PRACTICALLY INEVITABLE/ THAT HE SHALL NOT GROW UP/ AS A CONFIRMED CRIMINAL/ TO THE GREAT COST OF THE STATE/ PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL.// AND EVEN/ IN ADDITION TO THAT/ TODAY OF ALL DAYS/ WE SEE ANOTHER INEVITABLE PROBLEM// THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE/ HAVE GOT TO LIVE WITH YELLOW/ BROWN AND BLACK PEOPLE IN ONE WORLD/ THERE IS NO ESCAPE FROM IT,/ THERE IS NO ESCAPE/ FROM THEIR CONTINUAL MEETING/ AND INTERACTION.// THE WHITE WORLD CAN NO LONGER RULE/ THE REST OF THE EARTH,/ AND IS BEGINNING TO REALIZE IT.

NOW WHAT KIND OF A WORLD/ IS THIS GOING TO BE?/ AN INTERESTING INCIDENT/ TOOK PLACE NOT LONG SINCE/ WHICH ILLUSTRATES THE COMPLICATION//

35-4-63

WHEN THE TOWN HALL OF NEW YORK,/ WENT TO EUROPE AND ASIA/ TO CARRY ON A SERES OF DEBATES,/ THEY KNEW THAT THE COLORED QUESTION/ MUST BE DEBATED.// THEY TOOK ALONG/ A COLORED WOMAN ATTORNEY/ FROM CHICAGO,/ TO SET FORTH THE PROGRESS WHICH AMERICAN NEGROES HAVE MADE.

BUT WHEN SHE GOT TO INDIA,/ SOME OF THE YOUNG MEN/ WHO HAD BEEN IN THE UNITED STATES/ QUESTIONED HER RATHER CAREFULLY/ ABOUT THE NEGRO PROBLEM.// MRS. SAMPSON GOT QUITE ANGRY/ AT ONE OR TWO MEETINGS/ AND INSISTED THAT THE SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES/ ALONG THE COLOR LINE/ WAS EMINENTLY HOPEFUL.//

THEN THE TOWN HALL ORGANIZATION/ RETURNED TO THE UNITED STATES/ AND PREPARED A DINNER OF CELEBRATION/ IN WASHINGTON.// THE HOTEL WOULD NOT LET MRS. SAMPSON EAT.// NOW THIS REPRESENTS ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM. IF ONE CHANCES ARE THAT A FEW OF THE AVERAGE AMERICAN NEGROES/ IN WILMINGTON, BALTIMORE AND WASHINGTON/ HOW THEY WERE GETTING ON IN THE CITY,/ THEY WOULD TELL YOU/ THAT THEY WERE GETTING ON/ VERY WELL INDEED.// THEY LIKE WILMINGTON,

THEY LIKE BALTIMORE,/ THEY LIKE WASHINGTON/ ~~Dover the Gulf Stream~~

THEN YOU MIGHT TURN/RATHER TRIUMPHANTLY TO CRITICS/AND PEOPLE WHO ARE URGING ACTION/AND SAY" WHAT ARE YOU COMPLAINING ABOUT?/HERE ~~ARE~~ THE PEOPLE WHO ARE SUPPOSED TO BE OPPRESSED/ARE MAKING NO COMPLAINT AT ALL// YOU TRY TO GET THEM/INTO SOME ORGANIZATION ~~FOR CHANGE~~ ask them/AND A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF THEM/WILL TAKE NO PART ~~AT ALL~~./ NOW THIS IS NOT EXACTLY WHAT IT SEEMS TO BE,/ THE REASON THAT THE AVERAGE NEGRO/IN WILMINGTON/DOES NOT COMPLAIN/IS ~~THAT~~ HE SO ORDERS HIS LIFE/THAT HE ~~MAKES~~ meets THE LEAST INSTANCES OF OPPRESSION AND DISCRIMINATION/ IF HE IS NOT WANTED SUCH AND SUCH a RETAIL STORE/DOWNTOWN,/ HE DOES NOT GO THERE./ IF THE PUBLIC IS INVITED,/ HE FINDS OUT RATHER CAREFULLY,/ WHETHER HE IS INCLUDED IN THE PUBLIC OR NOT/ BEFORE HE APPEARS./ HE STAKES OUT A CAREFULLY ARRANGED LIFE/FOR HIMSELF WITHIN CERTAIN NARROW LINES/OF DISCRIMINATION/AND LIVES WITHIN THAT WITHOUT

35-4-64

That he is conscious that conditions are not right

MEETING DISCRIMINATION.// BUT OF COURSE WITHIN THAT PROCESS/HE PAYS A CONSIDERABLE PRICE./ HE VOLUNTARILY NARROWS HIS OUTLOOK/AND HIS CONTACTS/ HE IS NOT A CITIZEN OF THE WHOLE CITY./ HE IS A COLORED CITIZEN// IT IS DIFFICULT/IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE/TO GET HIS INTEREST AROUSED IN MATTERS/THAT ARE OF REAL IMPORTANCE TO THE CITY/AND THE STATE./ WHEN THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES ORGANIZE THEMSELVES/AND ASK HIS HELP,/ THEY FIND A CURIOUS APATHY WHICH THEY CANNOT UNDERSTAND./ BECAUSE OF COURSE THE AMERICAN NEGRO/IN CITIES LIKE THIS AND ELSEWHERE,/ HAVING COME TO THE PLACE/WHERE HE PRACTICALLY HAS NO FAITH/IN ANY ACTION THAT AMERICANS/ARE GOING TO TAKE/FOR REAL ~~AND FOR~~ Progress/ ~~NATION~~ He/IS TRYING TO PROTECT HIMSELF/TO KEEP THE JOB WHICH HE HAS,/ TO KEEP THE PROPERTY WHICH HE HAS BOUGHT,/ TO FIND SO FAR AS HE CAN/ ~~TO RAISE~~ planning FOR his children ~~ANOTHER GENERATION~~// CONSEQUENTLY HE CANNOT BE COUNTED UPON AS ~~A COOPERATIO~~ AS A FELLOW WORKER/IN MOVEMENTS FOR CHANGE AND REFORM.//

35-4-64

24 the Phil area Clean

THE SELF DECEPTION OF THE WHITES IN ~~A CITY~~ LIKE ~~WILMINGTON~~, IS ~~WELL KNOWN~~. "RACE PROBLEM? WHY WE HAVE PRACTICALLY NO PROBLEM IN THIS CITY. THE RELATIONS BETWEEN RACES IS MOST CORDIAL I HAVE A FAITHFUL COOK WHO HAS BEEN WITH ME TEN YEARS AND I DONT KNOW WHAT I WOULD DO WITTH OUT HER. I NOTICE THE NEBROES ARE WELL DRESSED AND MANY OWN CA RS. THEY SEEM HAPPY AND CONT TENTED, EXCEPT A FEW RADICALS AND TROUBLE MAKERS." THIS IS USUALL Y SAID QUITE HONESTLY, SUCH PERSONS DO NOT VISIT THE NEGRO GHETTO, THEY KNOW NOTHING OF THE NEGRO DEATH RATE, ~~THEY DO NOT VISIT THE NEG O SCHOOLS~~, THEY DO NOT ASK WHAT JOBS A NEGRO BOY CAN GET OR TO WHAT CAR EERS HE MAY LOOK FORWARD, AVOIDING THUS ALL THE CENTERS AND MANIFESTATIONS OF CASTE, THEY ARE LITERALLY WITHOUT CONCEPTION OF ANY NEGRO PROBLEM IN THIS CITY AND CAN HONESTLY DENY ITS EXISTENCE

35-4-66

They do not seek the causes of negro crime or sickness

21 21-25 ~~21~~

35-4-58

~~NOW~~ THIS BRINGS US BACK PRACTICALLY TO WHERE WE STARTED. AND THAT IS THAT THERE IS NOT CURE FOR WRONG IN CITIES LIKE THIS, FOR INJUSTICE AND DISCRIMINATION WHICH FOUNDS ITSELF IN INACTION ON THE ONE HAND OR IN SUBMISSION ON THE OTHER. IF THE PEOPLE OF THIS CITY ARE GOING TO CONTINUE IN THE KIND OF CASTE SYSTEM WHICH THEY HAVE HERE, and ~~THEN~~ INSPITE OF THE NUMBERS OF WORTHY NEGRO CITIZENS WHO HAVE PLAYED THEIR PART IN Phil ~~WILMINGTON~~ FOR A HUNDRED YEARS OR MORE, ~~THEY~~ ARE STILL GOING TO JUDGE PEOPLE BY THEIR SKINS AND NOT BY THEIR ABILITIES, THEY ARE GOING TO MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE FUTURE TO UNDERSTAND WHY ON EARTH, THEY SHOULD HAVE MADE SUCH A NARROW BASIS OF JUDGMENT FOR ~~THEMSELVES~~ THEIR FELLOW BEINGS, ~~THEN THAY HAVE GOT TO DO SOMETING ABOUT IT.~~ AND ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THE NEGROES OF WILMINGTON, EXPECT TO BREAK THROUGH THE COLOR LINE AND TO BE FULL CITIZENS ~~OF THIS CITY,~~ AND TO ENJOY ITS ~~AL~~ ADVANTAGES, ~~THEY~~ ARE NOT GOING TO GET THAT ?

THEY ARE GOING TO PROVE TO THE WORLD /WHAT THE WORLD ALREADY IS SAYING/ THAT THE UNITED STATES/IS NOT A DEMOCRACY/ NEVER WAS A DEMOCRACY/AND DOES NOT PLAN TO BECOME ONE.// THAT DISCRIMINATION HERE/BEGINNING WITH RACE AND COLOR/HAS SPREAD TO CREED/NATIONALITY/ AND CLASS// AND THAT NO SUCH NATION/WILL E VER LEAD MANKIND/ OUT OF THE WILDERNESS.

NOR WILL RESPONSIBILITY/FOR THIS/REST SOLELY ON WHITE Phil WILMING TON./ IF THE NEGROES OF THIS CITY/ EVER EXPECT TO BE FREE/THEY WILL NEV ER ACHIEVE THAT FREEDOM/BY SUBMISSION

35-4-51

~~BY SUBMISSION~~/TO WHAT THEY NOW SUFFERING. ~~THEN~~ HAVING ONCE GOTTEN A CLEAR IDEA LIKE THIS,/IT IS NEXT NECESSARY FOR THE PEOPLE/WHO WANT REFORM ~~THE WORLD~~ TO REMEMBER THAT REFORM/IS GOING TO COST SOMETING. IT IS A GREAT MISTAKE TO THINK/ ~~WHEN THINGS~~ THAT WHEN THINGS GO WRONG/IT IS BY DELIBERATE CHOICE OF THE WRONG DOERS.// USUALLY IT IS BECAUSE/the way of TO UNDO THE WRONG/IS GOING TO COST THE DOER/MORE THAN HE IS WILLING TO PAY. H E RATHER HAVE NEGROES SUFFER THAN reduce his own income. He rather get little than less.

IF YOU ARE GOING TO HAVE/AN ORGNIZATION LIKE THIS/ ~~WHICH IS GOING~~ TO FIGHT/AGAINST SOME OF THE race DISCRIMINATION IN THIS CITY,/ THE PEOPLE WHO ARE WORKING IN IT/ARE GOING TO PAY FOR IT.// THEY ARE GOING TO PAY FOR IT BY LOSS OF STATUS,/ BY DIFFICULTIES ABOUT THEIR JOBS/ BY DIFFICULTIES ABOUT ACCUMULATING THE WEALTH/WHICH THEY WANT FOR THE FUTURE ~~ABOUT~~/ AND IN MANY WAYS/ WHICH HAVE TO DO WITH THEIR EVERYDAY LIFE./ THERE IS NOT ~~ANY~~ OTHER WAY/IN WHICH REFORM AND JUSTICE/C'N BE CARRIED OUT.

YOU REMEMBER/THE GREAT POEM/WHICH WE USED TO BE FOND OF ~~IN OUR YOUTH~~.

35-4-67

IT IS CHANGED A LITTLE TODAY:

SO NEAR IS GRANDEUR TO OUR DUST
SO NEAR IS GOD TO MAN
WHEN DUTY WHISPERS LOW, THOU MUST
THE YOUTH REPLIES**IT IS NECESSARY TO CONSIDER WHAT THIS

IS GOING TO COST IN TERMS OF MY JOB, MY INCOME AND OF MY SOCIAL STATUS.

AND SOMETIMES THE YOUTH REPLIES, I CAN, AND EVEN MORE OFTEN HE REPLIES:

I WILL NOT. GRANTED THAT THE WORLD IS WRONG I AM NOT RESPONSIBLE
AND I AM NOT GOING TO UNDERTAKE THE HIGH COST OF RIGHTING IT

TO WHICH WE HAVE THE DUBIOUS RIGHT OF REPLYING! EITHER YOU CURE THE ILLS OF THIS WORLD, OR YOU AND YOUR ~~CHILDREN~~ FELLOWS IN WILMINGTON NEW YORK, LONDON AND MOSCOW WILL LEAVE TO YOUR CHILDREN A WORLD WORSE THAN THIS ~~THIS~~. FAR WORSE

and the race. this encumbers
of Wilmington

35-4-68

THIS FREEDOM

When I was invited here it was suggested that I speak on the courage of convictions; doubtless with the idea that this community needs a slurry up as to its ideals and actions, especially in racial relations. But it seemed to me that I could do a better chore if I tried to approach this situation from the broader concept of Freedom so as to clear away a certain amount of mental underbrush which impedes often our attempts at social reform

In the pattern of culture which we have inherited from the 19th century, lies the well-nigh unuversal assumption of individual, free and concious choice of actions which influence and ~~often~~ guide the course of human history. Not all persons pause to consider the tremendous implications and inherent paradox of such an assumption. ~~There~~ grew up and flowered ~~side by side~~ in that marvellous 19th century, the concept of a world of eternal and unalterable law, side by side with this assumption of our god-like ability to decide the destiny of man. Most persons were unconscious of the contradiction, and from time turned easily from the law of conservation of force to the idea of the Great Man who makes history without any realization of the inherent paradox.

35-4-137

Particularly in America did this idea of freedom of human effort sprout and flourish. We lived on the world's frontier: there was rich land, free for the taking; there were animals and vegetables, fruit and flower; there were mines and wells, mountains and rivers, forest and plain. It was ~~almost literally~~ widely true, in the beginnig of the 19th century and well on past it midyear, that a free, white American, with health and ability to work, could choose his career, ~~make a reasonable fortune and~~ make a reasonable fortune go where he would, when he wished. An immigrant from Europe was astonished at the contrast: the freedom from restraint; the breaking of the chains of custom; the chance for expression in word and act. This was the Land of Freedom. I remember as a boy, rolling on my tongue those sonorous periods of Drake's story of the birth of our flag:

35-4-137

> When Freedom, from her mountain height,
> Unfurled her standard to the air
> She tore the azure robe of night
> And set the stars in glory there

When an American returns from abroad, he feels again the freedom of this land; but of course here comes pause; the freedom which he thinks he senses is in part simply change from unfamiliar ~~usages~~ customs to ways of action to which he has been accustomed all his life. And it only slowly and with the passing years, that Americans begin to sense that even ~~in America~~ here the old freedom of the frontier is passing and a new freezing of the cake of custom is unfolding. I remember having this thought thrust suddenly on me when a young French girl said to me: "The statuue

of Liberty? O yes. That is th statue with its back toward America and its face toward France." But less symbolically, I had this thought of the change in American freedom, brought home to me. For, of course, all my life I was painfully aware of the dichotomy between American freedom for whites and the continuing slavery of Negroes. But I had by time, returning from Germany to America to begin my life work, rationalized this contradiction. I said in 1897 to an audience of the University of Pennsylvania, that the solution of the Negro Problem called for knowledge — scientific study of the facts on a broad scale, over a space of time long enough to make a perfect picture; That when the nation knew the Truth it would take action accordingly. I laid down plans of study covering a century and tried to carry them out at Atlanta University for thirteen years. Then I awoke to the bitter fact that the solution to this social problem was not so simple as I had fondly imagined. That the Truth of itself did not make Man free; that truth must first be known and then be acted on Otherwise there would be no funds for study, and the world would give scant attention to the facts. At 42, therefore, finding that Atlanta University could not find even $5000 a year for the only systematic study of the Negro Race, carried on in the world; and that despite our publications, lynchings flourished and Tillman and Vardaman continued to lie about rape and crime, I made about face in my life work, and began to spread facts instead of gathering them and urge action instead of awaiting its automatic appearance.

Thenceforth, it became more and more clear to me, that the concept of freedom of human action must be limited by obvious elements: the law of gravitatino held all in thrall; biological laws governed inexorably our growth and development; and more than that, social convention and long-continued cultural patterns, made individual action slow and uncertain. Some folk, practically surrendered the concept of the freedom of human initiative to better the world. What with the Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest and the voluminous works of Herbert Spencer, the intelligent world of the late 19th and 20th century began to fall back on evolution and development and declare that Negro slavery was the result of natural law rather than human wickedness and that all the white rulers of the universe had to do was to fall back on God and Time to have their wish and rule made pernanent. Religion, Philanthropy and Science sought to join hands in making the color-line world-wide and the inferiority of the darker races a part of Holy Writ.

The result of this trend of thought is today evident in cities like Wilmington, Baltimore and Washington. Nowhere in the world is there a more contemptible exhibition of racial caste than in these cities. If it were not that I have old

friends and relatives in these places, and errands of business in the nation's capital, I would never again in my life set foot in these capitals. Their racial prejudice has less justification than in Charleston or New Orleans, is more set and impervious than that of Atlanta and Birmingham, and has made less change in the last 25 years than Nashville or Dallas

35-4-139

45-4-145

Ethical Culture
April 10, 1950

35-6-198

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION AND WAR

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT, / BUT OUR LACK OF EDUCATION IN ECONOMICS / LIES AT THE BOTTOM / OF THE CONFUSION OF OUR MINDS / IN THE PRESENT CRISIS. // I CAN LOOK BACK / ON TEN YEARS SPENT IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS / DURING THE LAST QUARTER / OF THE 19th CENTURY: / THAT CENTURY WHICH SET THE PATTERN / OF OUR PRESENT INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION. // IN OUR SCHOOLS / VERY LITTLE WAS SAID OR TAUGHT / CONCERNING THE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES OF WORK AND WAGE / OF PROPERTY AND INCOME. // IN THESE MATTERS WE WERE GUIDED MAINLY / BY INHERITED ASSUMPTIONS: // WEALTH WAS THE RESULT OF WORK: / EITHER YOUR OWN WORK / OR THE WORK OF YOUR FATHER / WHOSE PROPERTY YOU INHERITED. // THE MORE ONE WORKED AND SAVED, / THE RICHER HE BECAME.

35-6-199

POVERTY WAS MISFORTUNE ~~/ AND PERHAPS MORE.~~ IN THE MAJORITY OF CASES / IT SHOWED also LAZINESS AND SHIFTLESSNESS. // THERE WERE NO BEGGARS IN OUR TOWN OF 5000 / AND SEVERE CASES OF WANT / WERE GRUDGINGLY RELIEVED BY THE TOWN. // BUT SUCH RELIEF WAS SHAMEFUL. // THERE WAS A POORHOUSE, / BUT I NEVER SAW IT / AND IT WAS NOT MENTIONED IN SCHOOL.

THE TOWNSFOLK WERE FARMERS, / SHOPKEEPERS, ARTISANS, / MILLHANDS AND A FEW PROFESSIONAL MEN. // THERE WERE TWO CAPITALISTS, / MEN WHO OWNED THE WOOLEN MILL AND RAN IT WITH IRISH MILLHANDS. // FURTHER UP THE VALLEY WERE ONE OR TWO OTHER MILLS / IN NEIGHBORING TOWNS. // BUT MAINLY WE LIVED BY FARMING AND TRADE. / I SAW FROM THE STREETS / THE WHIRRING MACHINERY OF THE MILLS / BUT I NEVER WAS INSIDE / NOR WERE THEIR FUNCTIONS DISCUSSED IN SCHOOL. // I CAN NOW SEE / HOW IN TWO RESPECTS / THESE MILLS AFFECTED OUR LIVES CLOSELY. // FIRST AROUND THEM WERE SLUMS: / DIRTY CROWDED HOUSES AND HUTS, / FILLED WITH RAGGED PEOPLE AND SMELLING

OF PIGS AND OFFAL. // WE AVOIDED THESE SLUMS. / LITTLE WAS SAID ABOUT THEM IN SCHOOL. / FROM THAT LITTLE / I GATHERED THAT SLUMS ~~ARE~~ were NATURAL PHENOMENA. / IF ABOLISHED SOME PEOPLE WOULD REESTAB LISH THEM. / THAT THESE PARTICULAR SLUMS / WERE DUE TO THE IRISH / WHO LIKED SLUMS AND WHISKEY. / 35-6-200 // THERE WAS NO INTIMATION / THAT SLUMS WERE CONNECTED / WITH LOW WAGES AND HIGH PROFITS. / INDEED SUCH A CONNECTION / I AM SURE NEVER OCCURED / TO MANY OF OUR LEADING CITIZENS / SINCE WAGES WERE FIXED BY NATURAL LAW / WHILE PROFITS AND RENTS / WERE THE REWARD OF FREE ENTERPRIZE.

THE USE OF WHISKEY / WAS DEPLORED IN SCHOOL. / WE WERE TAUGHT THAT ALCHOHOL WAS HARMFUL. BUT WE KNEW / THAT ITS USE WAS NOT CONFINED TO MILLHANDS. / DRUNKENNESS WAS COMMON IN THE TOWN AMONG ALL CLASSES. / OUR SUNDAY SCHOOLS TAUGHT / THAT THIS WAS DUE TO TOTAL DEPRAVITY. // IT WAS NOT UNTIL I WAS GROWN / AND FAR AWAY FROM TOWN, / THAT I SAW A CONNECTION BETWEEN DRUNKNESS AND THE HOUSATONIC RIVER. // THIS LONG NARROW RIVER TRANVERSED THE BERKSHIRE VALLAY / FOR A HUNDRED MILES, / AMID BEAUTIFUL HILLS AND MOUNTAINS, / ROCKS AND MEADOWS, / FORESTS AND WATERFALLS. // YET THE RIVER ITSELF WAS UGLY. / IT WAS DIRTY, DULL, MUDDY AND SLUGGISH. / IT STANK WITH REFUSE POURED INTO IT / BY THE MILLS AND TOWN FOLK. / BACKHOUSES PERCHED ON ITS BANKS. / FISH COULD NOT LIVE IN ITS ~~GARBAGE.~~ IT WAS AN OPEN SEWER / AND GARBAGE CANAL. // SUPPOSE THIS RIVER HAD BEEN USED FOR BEAUTY AND RECREATION: / BOATING, BATHING AND FISHING; / FLOWERS, TREES AND SKATING. / RECREATION

WAS LACKING IN THIS TOWN: / NO THEATRE, NO ART, NO MUSIC BUT HYMNS / NO PLAYGROUNDS SAVE THE ANNUAL AGRICULTURAL FAIR. // OUTSIDE THE HOMES WHICH COULD AFFORD IT / AND THE CHURCHES WHEN THEY HAD TIME FROM MISSIONS / THERE WAS LITTLE ORGANIZED EFFORT / TO ENTERTAIN THE CHILDREN / OR GROWN-UPS. / I AM NOW CONVINCED THAT THE PEOPLE GOT DRUNK / BECAUSE THAT WAS THE CHEAPEST / AND MOST AVAILABLE RECREATION. // BUT NOTHING WAS SAID OF THIS IN SCHOOL. / THERE IT WAS SAID / THAT IT WAS NOT THE FUNCTION OF GOVERNMENT / TO ENTERTAIN. // IN FACT THE GOVERNMENT / SHOULD HAVE AS FEW FUN CTIONS AS POSSIBLE. / THE FEWER THE BETTER. // MORE GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONS, THE HIGHER THE TAXES. / WE HATED TAXES, / ALTHOUGH MOST OF US PAID NONE. // HOUSEHOLDERS AND FARMERS / WHO PAID MOST OF THE TAXES / INVEIGHED BITTERLY ~~ABOUT~~ against THEM / AND DECLARED THAT THE BURDEN OF TAXATION / WAS NOT FAIR. BUT HOW COULD THAT BE PROVEN? / WE HAD NO WAY OF KNOWING / WHO GOT INCOME OR HOW MUCH. / THAT WAS SECRET. / ALL MATTERS OF WEALTH WERE SECRET. / WE MENTIONED INCOME / NO MORE THAN UNDERWEAR AND THEN BUT DIFFIDENTLY / TO ADMIT ITS EXISTENCE. // NEVER IN ALL MY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LIFE / DO I REMEMBER ANY DISCUSSION / OF THE MILLHANDS WAGES / AND WHETHER THEY WERE SUFFICIENT; / OR OF MILLOWNERS PROFITS / WHETHER THEY WERE EXCESSIVE. / NOONE SEEMED TO KNOW CERTAINLY WHO OWNED THE SLUMS / AND EXACTED HIGH RENT / FOR FEW OR NO REPAIRS. // UNDER SUCH PRESSURES EVEN THE HIGH SCHOOL WAS REGARDED / BY MANY / AS AN EXTRAVAGANCE.

35-6-201

THE YEAR AFTER GRADUATION FROM HIGH SCHOOL, I REMAINED IN TOWN AWAITING A CHANCE TO GO TO COLLEGE. I FOUND WORK THAT YEAR ON A PROJECT WHICH THREW ME INTO CLOSE CONTACT WITH INDUSTRY. A DAUGHTER OF OUR TOWN HAD GONE WEST AND MARRIED ONE OF THE BUILDERS OF THR UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD ~~AND~~ who had BECAME RICH BY METHODS NOT TO BE TOO NARROWLY INVESTIGATED. AFTER HIS DEATH SHE CAME HOME AND DETERMINED TO BUILD A MANSION ON ONE OF THE BROADEST OF OUR GREEN MEADOWS AND OUT OF OUR BLUE GRANITE NESTLING IN OUR MOUNTAINS. A NOTED FIRM OF BUILDERS AND AN ARISTOCRATIC ENGLISH ARTCHITECT CAME TO DO THE JOB. BECAUSE A GREAT UNCLE OF MINE HAD WORKED FOR THIS FAMILY YEARS BEFORE AND RECEIVED NO PAY I WAS GIVEN A PLACE AS TIMEKEEPER ON THE JOB AT A DOLLAR A DAY WHICH WAS FABULOUS WAGE FOR ME. I FELT QUITE LIKE A CAPITALIST AS I DISTRIBUTED PAY CHECKS AND KEPT TRACK OF WORKING HOURS. HERE BEGAN MY EDUCATION IN APPLIED ECONOMICS. I WAS NOT SO SURE THAT HARD WORK BROUGHT HIGH PAY. I WONDERED WHAT HAPPENED WHEN WITH NO PREVIOUS NOTICE I HANDED A MASON a card ~~NOTICE~~ OF DISMISSAL. IN HIGH SCHOOL I HAD LEARNED THAT UNIONS AMONG WORKERS WERE USELESS IN PRACTICE AND WRONG IN CONCEPT. STRIKES INTERFEERED WITH FREEDOM AND I HAD NEVER SEEN ONE IN MY LIFE. BUT I DID NOTICE THAT ON THIS JOB THE WORKER WHO COMPLAINED OR WAS FIRED HAD ABSOLUTELY NO CHANCE TO EXPLAIN THAT DID NOT SEEM QUITE FAIR. THEN TO THIS CAME A CROWNING EVENT. SUDDENLY THE ARISTOCRATIC BUT PENNILESS ARTICHECT MARRIED THE RICH WIDOW. THE STEWARD WHO HAD SERVED HER MANY YEARS

AND WHOM I KNEW WELL/ COMMITTED SUICIDE./ EVENTUALLY THE WIDOW DIED/ AND THE ARCHITECT INHERITED HER MILLIONS.// THIS AFFRONTED EVEN THE CONSERVATIVE ECONOMICS OF MY TOWN/ WE HAD CONSIDERD PROPERY (A STRICTLY PRIVATE MATTER/ BECAUSE (WE ARGUED, IF A MAN MADE HIS MONEY/ IT WAS HIS TO DO WITH AS HE PLEASED/ NOONE HAD A RIGHT TO INQUIRE OR INTERFERE./ BUT IN THIS PECULIAR CASE/ A MAN WHO CERTAINLY DID NOT MAKE/ THIS FORTUNE/ HAD THE UNQUESTIONED RIGHT TO IT.// THAT SENT ME FURTHER AFIELD./ IT WAS TOO EASY TO GO ON FROM THERE./ NO MAN MAKES HIS FORTUNE./ HE MERELY HELPS IN GREATER OR LESS DEGREE /TO MAKE WEALTH./ "WE" ARE THE ONES WHO MAKE FORTUNES

35-6-203

He asked in 1941, for mankind, freedom of speech, freedom of belief; the abolition of poverty and world peace

35-6-204

IT BE INVESTIGATED AND RIGHTED/UNLESS FIRST WE KNOW THE FACTS:/HOW MUCH A MAN RECEIVES/AND WHERE IT COMES FROM.//NOW IN MY TOWN/THIS WAS CONSIDERED A strictly PRIVATE MATTER/BECAUSE WE ASSUMED/THAT SINCE A MAN "MADE" HIS MONEY,/ITS AMOUNT AND DISPOSITION/WAS HIS BUSINESS AND NO ONE ELSE'S// It was almost blasphemy to mention it.

BUT OF COURSE I CAME TO realize/THAT NO MAN "MAKES" HIS FORTUNE/"WE" MAKE IT--ALL WHO JOIN/IN THE INTRICATE AND RELATED WORK/THAT APPEARS IN THE FINAL PRODUCT/AS CLOTHES, SHOES, HOMES AND RAILROADS.// SO THAT DIVISION OF THE END RESULT/COVERING YEARS OF WORK,/THOUSANDS OF WORKERS AND HUNDREDS OF MIDDLEMEN/WAS A MATTER OF [illegible] INTRICACY AND MYSTERY.//CERTAINLY IT had been WAS A MYSTERY TO US SCHOOL CHILDREN/AND WAS MENTIONED LESS OFTEN/THAN THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE,/IN WHICH WE WERE barely WELL VERSED. Stop *

IN FACT/HOW MEN MADE MONEY,/WHAT WAS THE BASIS OF PROPERTY/AND HOW INEQUALITIES AND INJUSTICES/IN INCOME/SHOULD OR COULD BE REMEDIED/WAS NOT FRANKLY AND OPENLY STUDIED/IN ANY OF THE TEN YEARS OF MY PRIMARY, SECONDARY/AND HIGH SCHOOL LIFE.//MOREOVER FROM MY CONTACT WITH GRADUATES OF OUR elementary SCHOOLS, afterward

35-6-205

Economics Teacher a career I DURING COLLEGE TEACHING COVERING THE FIRST THIRD/OF THIS CENTURY,/I AM CONVINCED/THAT SCHOOL CHILDREN TODAY/ARE STILL DENIED inadequate TEACHING/COVERING THE MAIN FACTS/OF WORK AND WAGE,/INCOME AND PROPERTY. * *

NOW IF THIS IS TRUE/IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION/WHAT DOES THE COLLEGE DO TO REMEDY THIS LACK?//FIRST OF ALL/MOST CITIZENS/DO NOT ATTEND COLLEGE/AND THEREFORE/THEIR TRAINING IN ECONOMICS/ENDS BEFORE IT BEGINS.// MOREOVER EVEN THE COLLEGES/TOUCH THIS MATTER/OF WORK AND INCOME/GINGERLY.//IT was A HOT SUBJECT,/IN MY DAY/AND IN THESE DAYS, it is A DANGEROUS ONE.//MANY A PROFESSOR HAS LOST HIS JOB/BY TALKING TOO FRANKLY/ON THESE MATTERS.

YET THIS IS THE PROBLEM BEFORE US// THIS IS WHY WE ARE TODAY/A FRIGHTENED NATION,/AFRAID OF OUR JOBS AND OUR REPUTATIONS/AND LOOKING OVER OUR SHOULDERS FOR SPIES.//IT WOULD BE INTERESTING TO KNOW/HOW MANY OF US HERE TONIGHT/ARE

NOTED IN THE FILES OF THE FBI/AS PERSONS WHO WILL BEAR WATCHING.// ABOVE ALL WE KNOW/THAT THE WORLD TODAY/ IS IN SIGHT/OF THE MOST HORRIBLE/OF THREE HORRIBLE WARS/ EVEN THOUGH NINE OUT OF TEN/OF THE WORLD'S inhabitants ARE PASSIONATELY AGAINST WAR. And at the basis of this proposed war is the question of changing our industrial system about which we are

35-6-206

A PARALLEL SITUATION/MAY BE SEEN/IN THE 'THIRTY YEARS WAR'/WHICH RUINED EUROPE FOR A GENERATION/AND SET BACK THE CLOCK OF CIVILIZATION/FOR CENTURIES// THEN PEOPLE FOUGHT OVER RELIGION/AND OVER DESPOTIC POWER/BASED ON RELIGION// OVER THE ULTIMATE INTERPRETATION/OF THE UNIVERSE, OF WHICH THEY NECESSARILY KNEW LITTLE.//YET FOR THAT VERY REASON/ THEY MURDERED AND DESTROYED/THE MORE VINDICTIVELY.//AS CHILDREN THEY HAD IMBIBED DOGMA/RATHER THAN SCIENCE,/ SO THAT THEY FOUGHT/AND DID NOT KNOW/WHAT THEY WERE FIGHTING ABOUT.

//SO WITH US:/FOR THREE CENTURIES/WE HAVE GIVEN OUR THOUGHT,/INGENUITY AND ENERGY,/TO TECHNICAL CONQUEST/OF THE PHYSICAL UNIVERSE.//OUR SUCCESS HAS BEEN MIRACULOUS/AND DRIVEN US MAD/WITH PRIDE OF POWER.//BUT SINCE THE BEGINNING OF OUR ERA/ SINCE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION,/BASED ON AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVERY,

HAS MADE WHITE EUROPE/ARBITER OF THE DESTINY OF THE WORLD, WISE MEN HAVE WARNED/THAT TECHNIQUE AND WEALTH/WOULD CHOKE CIVILIZATION/ UNLESS WE RATIONALIZED/AND CONTROLLED/PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.//THIS WISDOM HAS BEEN DELIBERATELY IGNORED.// IT HAS NOT BEEN TAUGHT IN OUR SCHOOLS/SAVE BY EXCEPTION/NOR MENTIONED OFTEN/IN OUR PULPITS.// THOSE MEN TODAY/WHO ARE SWEARING BEFORE GOD/THAT THEY NEVER ADVOCATED/CHANGING OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM/FROM ITS PRESENT CONTRADICTIONS AND INJUSTICE/TO SOMETHING BETTER/ SHOULD REMEMBER THAT/IN THAT CASE/THEY ARE THE ONLY MEN OF SENSE AND INSIGHT/IN THE LAST 300 YEARS/WHO HAVE NOT ADVOCATED REFORM/ AND EVEN REVOLUTION/IN OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.//THE PASSIONATE CRY FOR REFORM/DID NOT BEGIN WITH KARL MARX/ NOR WILL IT END WITH JOSEPH STALIN.// IT CANNOT IN THE LONG RUN/ BE MURDERED BY WAR/NOR SCARED TO DEATH BY WITCH HUNTS.//IT WILL ENDURE AS LONG AS CIVILIZATION ENDURES/BECAUSE IT IS FOUNDED ON SCIENCE, AND JUSTICE, and Commonsense

35-6-207

IN THAT TOWN/WHERE I WAS BORN,/ WE DID NOT MENTION IN THE SCHOOLS/THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTS/CONCERNING WEALTH AND PROPERTY/ INCOME AND WAGE.//WE LEFT ~~OUR~~ CHILDREN/TO GROPE FOR WAYS OF EARNING A LIVING/AND GUESS AT ECONOMIC JUSTICE.//THE BEST OF ~~THE~~ that GROWING GENERATION/WERE FORCED TO GO AWAY TO FIND CAREERS,//SO THAT THE CONTINUITY/OF THE TOWNS' LIFE WAS BROKEN.//WE THOUGHT OF THIS BEAUTIFUL AND RICH VALLEY/AS POOR PROVINCIAL/AND OFFERING NO FUTURE/AND BELIEVED/THAT ONLY IN NEW YORK AND CHICAGO/ DID MEN REALLY LIVE,/AND GET HAPPY AND RICH.//WE SURRENDERED FARM AND HILL/TO CITY SUMMER VISITORS/AND MADE MONEY/ FLEECING THEM//IN A VALLEY/WHERE CIVILIZATION,/ THE SIMPLE LIFE/ WITH industry/ SCIENCE AND ART/ MIGHT HAVE FLOURISHED,//AND WHERE ABOVE ALL/ MEN COULD HAVE TAUGHT MEN/THAT LIFE WAS MORE THAN MEAT/ AND THE BODY MORE THAN RAIMENT./ ~~BUT~~ MENTION OF SUCH AN IDEAL/ ON MAIN STREET THEN AND TODAY/WOULD SET ALL THE LOAFERS,/ RICH AND POOR/INTO GALES OF LAUGHTER.// THEY ARE DETERMINED/WITH US/TO PUT RUSSIA IN ~~ITS~~ her PLACE.//TO REFUTE LENIN AND KARL MARX//OF WHOM ~~THEY~~ books they ~~have not even heard~~

35-6-264

KNOW NOTHING,/ ~~IN THEIR PLACES~~, TO ROOT OUR COMMUNISM,/ WHATEVER THAT MAY BE.// THEY BELIEVE WITH GENERAL EISENHOWER/ THAT WE CAN "LICK THE WORLD"/AND WITH BARNEY BARUCH,/ THE GREAT MANIPULATOR OF COPPER PRICES/ THEY ARE WILLING TO RAISE AN ARMY ~~FOR~~ BY FORCED DRAFT,/ NOT ONLY TO RE-CONQUER CHINA,/ BUT TO PUT DOWN CIVIL WAR IN ~~NEW YORK~~ EUROPE,/ STARTED BY ADVOCATES OF PEACE/AND FOMENTED BY THE ENTIRE MONOPOLIZED PRESS OF THE ~~NATION~~ U.S.

35-6-265

FOR THIS TOWN/ AND FOR THE NATION AND WORLD,/ THERE IS BUT ONE CURE ; THE TRUTH/ TAUGHT IN OUR SCHOOLS,/ LEARNED BY THE LOST ART OF READING/AND SPREAD BY MEN/WHO DARE THINK/ ~~AND WRITE AGAIN~~./

If we had not lost Franklin Roosevelt 5 years ago there would have been no world of fear today.

Ethical Culture
April 10, 1950

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION AND WAR

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT, BUT OUR LACK OF EDUCATION IN ECONOMICS LIES AT THE BOTTOM OF THE CONFUSION OF OUR MINDS IN THE PRESENT CRISIS. I CAN LOOK BACK ON TEN YEARS SPENT IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS DURING THE LAST QUARTER OF THE 19th CENTURY: THAT CENTURY WHICH SET THE PATTERN OF OUR PRESENT INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION. IN OUR SCHOOLS VERY LITTLE WAS SAID OR TAUGHT CONCERNING THE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES OF WORK AND WAGE, OF PROPERTY AND INCOME. IN THESE MATTERS WE WERE GUIDED MAINLY BY INHERITED ASSUMPTIONS: WEALTH WAS THE RESULT OF WORK: EITHER YOUR OWN WORK OR THE WORK OF YOUR FATHER WHOSE PROPERTY YOU INHERITED. THE MORE ONE WORKED AND SAVED, THE RICHER HE BECAME.

POVERTY WAS MISFORTUNE AND PERHAPS MORE. IN THE MAJORITY OF CASES IT SHOWED LAZINESS AND SHIFTLESSNESS. THERE WERE NO BEGGARS IN OUR TOWN OF 5000 AND SEVERE CASES OF WANT WERE GRUDGINGLY RELIEVED BY THE TOWN: BUT SUCH RELIEF WAS SHAMEFUL. THERE WAS A POORHOUSE, BUT I NEVER SAW IT AND IT WAS NOT MENTIONED IN SCHOOL.

THE TOWNSFOLK WERE FARMERS, SHOPKEEPERS, ARTISANS, MILLHANDS AND A FEW PROFESSIONAL MEN. THERE WERE TWO CAPITALISTS, MEN WHO OWNED THE WOOLEN MILL AND RAN IT WITH IRISH MILLHANDS. FURTHER UP THE VALLEY WERE ONE OR TWO OTHER MILLS IN NEIGHBORING TOWNS. BUT MAINLY WE LIVED BY FARMING AND TRADE. I SAW FROM THE STREETS THE WHIRRING MACHINERY OF THE MILLS BUT I NEVER WAS INSIDE, NOR WERE THEIR FUNCTIONS DISCUSSED IN SCHOOL. I CAN NOW SEE HOW IN TWO RESPECTS THESE MILLS AFFECTED OUR LIVES CLOSELY, FIRST AROUND THEM WERE SLUMS: DIRTY CROWDED HOUSES AND HUTS, FILLED WITH RAGGED PEOPLE AND SMELLING

OF PIGS AND OFFAL. WE AVOIDED THESE SLUMS IN WALK OR TALK. NOTHING WAS SAID OF SLUMS IN SCHOOL. I GOT THE IDEA THAT SLUMS WERE NATURAL PHENOMENA AND UNAVOIDABLE. I COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY PEOPLE LIKED TO LIVE IN SUCH PLACES IT SEEMED GENERALLY ATTRIBUTED TO THE FACT THAT THE DENIZENS WERE IRISH AND THAT IRISH WERE ADDICTED TO SLUMS AND WHISKEY BY NATURE.

THE MATTER OF WHISKEY BROUGHT UP MORE THOUGHT AND SOME MENTION IN SCHOOL. WE WERE INSTRUCTED THAT ALCHOHOL WAS DELITERIOUS AND WE KNEW THAT ITS USE WAS NOT CONFINED TO THE MILLHANDS. INDEED DRUNKENNESS WAS QUITE COMMON IN THE TOWN AMONG ALL CLASSES. WHY? IN SCHOOL AND SUNDAY SCHOOL THIS HABIT WAS ATTRIBUTED TO TOTAL DEPRAVITY. IT WAS NOT UNTIL I WAS GROWN AND AWAY FROM THIS BIRTHTOWN, THAT I REMEMBERED ONE UNNOTICED FACT: THE HOUSATONIC RIVER.

NOW THIS LONG NARROW RIVER TRAVERSED THE BERKSHIRE VALLEY AND CONNECTICUT FOR A HUNDRED MILES AMID MOST BEAUTIFUL NATURAL SCENERY OF HILL AND MOUNTAIN, ROCK AND FIELD, TREES AND WATERFALLS. BUT THE RIVER ITSELF WAS

NOT BEAUTIFUL: IT WAS DIRTY, DULL, MUDDY AND NASTY. IT STANK WITH REFUSE AND THIS REFUSE WAS LARGELY SUPPLIED BY THE MILLS. THEY JUST DROPPED THEIR DIRT AND WASTE INTO IT AND THE TOWNS FOLK FOLLOWED SUIT, BUILDING THEIR BACKHOUSES ON AND THROWING GARBAGE INTO IT: SO THAT THE RIVER WAS AN OPEN SEWER AND DRAINAGE CANAL. I SAW IN AFTER YEARS WHAT THIS RIVER MIGHT HAVE BEEN IN BEAUTY AND RECREATION. AND RECREATION WAS CURIOUSLY LACKING IN THIS VALLEY. NO THEATRE OR ART, ONLY CHURCH MUSIC, NO PLAY GROUNDS. THERE WAS LITTLE ORGANIZED EFFORT TO FURNISH ENTERTAINMENT OUTSIDE THE HOME AND IN THE CHURCHES. MOST PEOPLE GOT DRUNK BECAUSE THAT WAS THE CHEAPEST AVAILABLE RECREATION. THINK WHAT THE RIVER MIGHT HAVE BEEN IN RECREATION THE YEAR ROUND: BOATING AND BATHING IN SUMMER, SKATING IN WINTER. BUT THIS WOULD HAVE COST THE TOWN MONEY AND THAT MEANT TAXES AND ALL HATED TAXES.

IN FACT THE TAXES FELL ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON FARMERS AND HOMEOWNERS AND THEY COULD AFFORD NO INCREASE. WE WERE TAUGHT IN SCHOOL THAT THE LEAST THAT WAS SPENT BY THE GOVERNMENT, THE BETTER IT WAS FOR THE PEOPLE. SOME BELIEVED THAT A PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL WAS AN UNNECESSARY EXTRAGAGANCE. PURSUING THIS LINE OF THOUGHT, I CAME TO QUESTION THE CONNECTION OF THE MILLS AND SLUMS. NO WORD OF THIS CAME UP IN SCHOOL. I NEVER HEARD THERE OR ON THE STREET WHO OWNED THE PROPERTY WHERE THE SLUMS WERE SITUATED. IT MUST HAVE BELONGED TO SUBSTANTIAL TOWNS FOLK, WHO DID NOTHING TO IMPROVE IT. BUT ITS OWNERSHIP WAS SECRET. ALL MATTERS OF WEALTH AND INCOME WERE SECRET. WE MENTIONED IT NO MORE THAN WE DID OUR UNDERWEAR, AND THAT WAS ONLY DIFFIDENTLY TO ADMIT ITS EXISTANCE. BUT I BEGAN TO SEE INJUSTICE IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS. DURING ONE YEAR AFTER GRADUATION FROM HIGH SCHOOL I WAS TIMEKEEPER ON A BUILDING OPERATION. A DAUGHTER OF THE TOWN HAD MARRIED ONE OF THE MEN WHO BUILT THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD BY METHODS, NOT TO BE TOO NARROWLY INVESTIGATED. HE

DIED AND SHE CAME HOME TO BUILD A MANSION OF OUR BEAUTIFUL BLUE GRANITE. ON THIS PROJECT I WORKEDFOR A DOLLAR A DAY, KEEPING THE WORK HOURS OF THE MASONS, HANDING OUT THEIR PAY CHECKS AND FEELING A PART OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS. BUT I NOTICED MUCH: I WAS NOT SURE THAT HARD WORK WAS RIGHTLY REWARDED: I WAS STARTLED AT THE WAY IN WHICH WORKERS WERE SUMMARILY DISCHARGED WITH UT NOTICE THEY HAD NO UNION. IN SCHOOL WE WERE TAUGHT THAT UNIONS WERE USELESS AND WRONG IN CONCEPT. I QUESTION THAT NOW. I REMEMBERED THAT IN MY CASE AND THAT OF MY FAMILY, IT WAS DIFFICULT TO GET JOBS AND DECENT PAY.

THEN CAME THE CROWNING INJUSTICE: THE RATHER ARROGANT BUT PENNILESS ENGLISH ARCHITECT WHO HEADED THE JOB, SUDDENLY MARRIED THE RICH WIDOW AND SOON WAS MASTER OF HER MILLIONS. I COULD NOT SEE THE JUSTICE OF THIS. LATER I CAME TO ASK, IF THERE IS INJUSTICE IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS, HOW CAN

IT BE INVESTIGATED AND RIGHTED UNLESS FIRST WE KNOW THE FACTS: HOW MUCH A MAN RECEIVES AND WHERE IT COMES FROM. NOW IN MY TOWN THIS WAS CONSIDERED A PRIVATE MATTER BECAUSE WE ASSUMED THAT SINCE A MAN "MADE" HIS MONEY, ITS AMOUNT AND DISPOSITION WAS HIS BUSINESS AND NO ONE ELSE.

BUT OF COURSE I CAME TO KNOW THAT NO MAN "MAKES" HIS FORTUNE "WE" MAKE IT--ALL WHO JOIN IN THE INTRICATE AND RELATED WORK THAT APPEARS IN THE FINAL PRODUCT AS CLOTHES, SHOES, HOMES AND RAILROADS. SO THAT DIVISION OF THE END RESULT COVERING YEARS OF WORK, THOUSANDS OF WORKERS AND HUNDREDS OF MIDDLEMEN, WAS A MATTER OF EQUAL INTRICACY AND MYSTERY. CERTAINLY IT WAS A MYSTERY TO US SCHOOL CHILDREN AND WAS MENTIONED LESS OFTEN THAN THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE, IN WHICH WE WERE WELLVERSED.

IN FACT HOW MEN MADE MONEY, WHAT WAS THE BASIS OF PROPERTY AND HOW INEQUALITIES AND INJUSTICES IN INCOME SHOULD OR COULD BE REMEDIED WAS NOT FRANKLY AND OPENLY STUDIED IN ANY OF THE TEN YEARS OF MY PRIMARY, SECONDARY AND HIGH SCHOOL LIFE. MOREOVER FROM MY CONTACT WITH GRADUATES OF OUR SCHOOLS

DURING COLLEGE TEACHING COVERING THE FIRST THIRD OF THIS CENTURY, I AM CONVINCED THAT SCHOOL CHILDREN TODAY ARE STILL DENIED TEACHING COVERING THE MAIN FACTS OF WORK AND WAGE, INCOME AND PROPERTY.

NOW IF THIS IS TRUE IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, WHAT DOES THE COLLEGE DO TO REMEDY THIS LACK? FIRST OF ALL, MOST CITIZENS DO NOT ATTEND COLLEGE AND THEREFORE THEIR TRAINING IN ECONOMICS ENDS BEFORE IT BEGINS. MOREOVER EVEN THE COLLEGES TOUCH THIS MATTER OF WORK AND INCOME GINGERLY. IT IS A HOT SUBJECT, IN MY DAY AND IN THESE DAYS, A DANGEROUS ONE. MANY A PROFESSOR HAS LOST HIS JOB BY TALKING TOO FRANKLY ON THESE MATTERS.

YET THIS IS THE PROBLEM BEFORE US. THIS IS WHY WE ARE TODAY A FRIGHTENED NATION, AFRAID OF OUR JOBS AND OUR REPUTATIONS, AND LOOKING OVER OUR SHOULDERS FOR SPIES. IT WOULD BE INTERESTING TO KNOW HOW MANY OF US HERE TONIGHT ARE

NOTED IN THE FILES OF THE FBI AS PERSONS WHO WILL BEAR WATCHING. ABOVE ALL WE KNOW THAT THE WORLD TODAY IS IN SIGHT OF THE MOST HORRIBLE OF THREE HORRIBLE WARS, EVEN THOUGH NINE OUT OF TEN OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLES ARE PASSIONATELY AGAINST WAR.

A PARALLEL SITUATION MAY BE SEEN IN THE 'THIRTY YEARS WAR' WHICH RUINED EUROPE FOR A GENERATION AND SET BACK THE CLOCK OF CIVILIZATION FOR CENTURIES. THEN PEOPLE FOUGHT OVER RELIGION AND OVER DESPOTIC POWER BASED ON RELIGION: OVER THE ULTIMATE INTERPRETATION OF THE UNIVERSE, OF WHICH THEY NECESSARILY KNEW LITTLE, YET FOR THAT VERY REASON THEY MURDERED AND DESTROYED THE MORE VINDICTIVELY. AS CHILDREN THEY HAD IMBIBED DOGMA RATHER THAN SCIENCE, SO THAT THEY FOUGHT AND DID NOT KNOW WHAT THEY WERE FIGHTING ABOUT.

SO WITH US: FOR THREE CENTURIES WE HAVE GIVEN OUR THOUGHT, INGENUITY AND ENERGY, TO TECHNICAL CONQUEST OF THE PHYSICAL UNIVERSE. OUR SUCCESS HAS BEEN MIRACULOUS AND DRIVEN US MAD WITH PRIDE OF POWER. BUT SINCE THE BEGINNING OF OUR ERA: SINCE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, BASED ON AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVERY,

HAS MADE WHITE EUROPE ARBITER OF THE DESTINY OF THE WORLD, WISE MEN HAVE WARNED THAT TECHNIQUE AND WEALTH WOULD CHOKE CIVILIZATION, UNLESS WE RATIONALIZED AND CONTROLLED PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION. THIS WISDOM HAS BEEN DELIBERATELY IGNORED. IT HAS NOT BEEN TAUGHT IN OUR SCHOOLS SAVE BY EXCEPTION NOR MENTIONED OFTEN IN OUR PULPITS. THOSE MEN TODAY WHO ARE SWEARING BEFORE GOD THAT THEY NEVER ADVOCATED CHANGING OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM FROM ITS PRESENT CONTRADICTIONS AND INJUSTICE TO SOMETHING BETTER, SHOULD REMEMBER THAT IN THAT CASE THEY ARE THE ONLY MEN OF SENSE AND INSIGHT IN THE LAST 300 YEARS WHO HAVE NOT ADVOCATED REFORM AND EVEN REVOLUTION IN OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM. THE PASSIONATE CRY FOR REORM DID NOT BEGIN WITH KARL MARX, NOR WILL IT END WITH JOSEPH STALIN. IT CANNOT IN THE LONG RUN BE MURDERED BY WAR NOR SCARED TO DEATH BY WITCH HUNTS. IT WILL ENDURE AS LONG AS CIVILIZATION ENDURES BECAUSE IT IS FOUNDED ON SCIENCE AND JUSTICE.

IN THAT TOWN WHERE I WAS BORN, WE DID NOT MENTION IN THE SCHOOLS THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTS CONCERNING WEALTH AND PROPERTY, INCOME AND WAGE. WE LEFT OUR CHILDREN TO GROPE FOR WAYS OF EARNING A LIVING AND GUESS AT ECONOMIC J STICE. THE BEST OF THE GROWING GENERATION WERE FORCED TO GO AWAY TO FIND CAREERS, SO THAT THE CONTINUITY OF THE TOWNS' LIFE WAS BROKEN. WE THOUGHT OF THIS BEAUTIFUL AND RICH VALLEY AS PROVINCIAL AND OFFERING NO FUTURE AND BELIEVED THAT ONLY IN NEW YORK AND CHICAGO DID MEN REALLY LIVE, AND GET HAPPY AND RICH. WE SURRENDERED FARM AND HILL TO CITY SUMMER VISITORS AND MADE MONEY FLEECING THEM IN A VALLEY WHERE CIVILIZATION, THE SIMPLE LIFE, WITH SCIENCE AND ART MIGHT HAVE FLOURISHED: AND WHERE ABOVE ALL MEN COULD HAVE TAUGHT MEN THAT LIFE WAS MORE THAN MEAT AND THE BODY MORE THAN RAIMENT. BUT MENTION OF SUCH AN IDEAL ON MAIN STREET THEN AND TODAY WOULD SET ALL THE LOAFERS, RICH AND POOR INTO GALES OF LAUGHTER. THEY ARE DETERMINED WITH US TO PUT RUSSIA IN ITS PLACE: TO REFUTE LENIN AND KARL MARX OF WHOM THEY

KNOW NOTHING, IN THEIR PLACES, TO ROOT OUR COMMUNISM, WHATEVER THAT MAY BE. THEY BELIEVE WITH GENERAL EISENHOWER THAT WE CAN "LICK THE WORLD" AND WITH BARNEY BARUCH, THE GREAT MANIPULATOR OF COPPER PRICES, THEY ARE WILLING TO RAISE AN ARMY FOR FORCED DRAFT, NOT ONLY TO RE-CONQUER CHINA, BUT TO PUT DOWN CIVIL WAR IN NEW YORK, STARTED BY ADVOCATES OF PEACE AND FOMENTED BY THE ENTIRE MONOPOLIZED PRESS OF THE NATION.

FOR THIS TOWN AND FOR THE NATION AND WORLD, THERE IS BUT ONE CURE, THE TRUTH, TAUGHT IN OUR SCHOOLS, LEARNED BY THE LOST ART OF READING AND SPREAD BY MEN WHO DARE THINK AND THINK AGAIN.

Lincoln University
May 5, 1950

35-4-25

ONCE UPON A TIME, ACCORDING TO FABLE, AN OLD MAN VOLUNTERED ADVICE TO HIS SON ON THE YOUNG MAN'S FIRST JOURNEY INTO THE WORLD. // THE ~~OLD MAN~~ FATHER WAS COMFORTABLY PLACED, WITH ~~HIGH~~ DISTINGUISHED POSITION AND GOOD INCOME. HE HAD LONG EXPERIENCE AND CONSORTED WITH PERSONS OF HIGH DEGREE. // HE WAS THE FATHER OF THIS PROMISING YOUTH AND OF A DAUGHTER, BEAUTIFUL BUT PERHAPS OVER-SENSITIVE. // HE GAVE HIS SON SOUND BUT NOT ~~QUITE~~ OVER-IDEALIZED ADVICE. // HE TOLD HIM TO MIND HIS MANNERS, TO BE CONFIDENT BUT NOT AGGRESSIVE; TO WEAR CLOTHES NOT LOUD OR GAUDY BUT WELL-FITTING AND REGULARLY PRESSED; // HE WARNED HIM NOT TO BE QUARRELSOME BUT AT THE SAME TIME NO COWARD; TO AVOID DEBT; TO CHOOSE FRIENDS WARILY AND STICK BY THEM. // AND FINALLY, SUMMING ALL UP, HE SAID: "THIS ABOVE ALL, TO THINE OWN SELF BE TRUE, AND IT MUST FOLLOW AS THE NIGHT THE DAY THOU CANST NOT THEN BE FALSE TO ANY MAN." // THE SEQUEL OF THIS ADVICE ~~WAS~~ IS NOT PLEASANT TO RECALL. // THE FATHER DIED BY TRAGIC MISTAKE

35-4-26

AT THE HAND OF HIS DAUGHTER'S LOVER // AND THAT SAME DISTRAUGHT LOVER KILLED AND WAS KILLED BY THE SON HIMSELF WHILE HIS SISTER WENT MAD. //

SO ~~THAT~~ IN THIS DAY OF MADNESS AND HYSTERIA WHEN ALL MORAL VALUES SEEM AFLOAT, YOU MAY WELL LOOK ABOUT AND EXAMINE AND ASSESS ADVICE LIKE THIS AND SEE HOW AND WHERE IT APPLIES. // THE MATTER OF MANNERS, CLOTHES AND DEBT SEEM TRIVIAL COMPARED WITH THAT SELF WHICH DEMANDS FRIENDS AND TRUTH. // EVEN IF ONE GETS TRUTH AS LAERTES DID, THAT MAY MEAN DEATH AND DOWNFALL, IN PLACE OF THE WORLD-WISE CAREFULNESS WHICH THE COURT-BRED POLONIUS INTENDED. // IN SUCH CASE DOES THE ADAGE STILL HOLD? // WOULD THE FATHER HAVE THOUGHT SO? // CERTAINLY MUCH DEPENDS UPON THIS SELF AND WHAT IT IS AND HOW YOU VALUE IT.

DO YOU HOLD YOURSELF WORTH SACRIFICE OR ARE YOU OF LESS HEROIC MOLD? FOR INSTANCE, THAT HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY FOR THE WORLD IN WHICH YOU LIVE IS UNQUESTIONABLE. BUT IS IT THE BEST POLICY PERSONALLY FOR YOU? FOR MIND YOU, BY BEING HONEST, YOU MAY LOSE YOUR JOB. YOUR SALARY MAY BE PEGGED OR LOWERED AND PROMOTION DENIED. YOUR FRIENDS, WHO ONCE WERE CLOSE TO YOU, MAY UNDER PRESSURE BE UNABLE TO RECOGNICE YOUR FEATHRES, PARTICULARLY IN A CROWD.

35-4-27

I REMEMBER A RECENT INCIDENT. PAUL ROBESON SANG IN DETROIT BEFORE THOUSANDS. HE TOOK LUNCH AT THE COLORED YMCA. THE YOUNG AND EFFICIENT SECRETARY CAME IN FULL OF SMILES AND HEARTY HANDSHAKES. HE FILLED HIS TRAY AND STARTED TO SIT DOWN WHEN RAISING HIS EYES HE SAW ROBESON OPPOSITE. HE DROPPED HIS GAZE, GRABBLED HIS TRAY CONVULSIVELY AND BOLTED TO THE FARTHEST CORNER OF THE ROOM. WHAT HE THOUGHT IS FRIENDSHIP COMPARED TO A JOB? AND TO HIM IT WAS NOTHING. THERE ARE TODAY IN THIS LAND, MEN AND WOMEN WHO IN THIS VERY WAY HAVE BEEN ASKED TO WEIGH HONESTY AGAINST INCOME: SELF-RESPECT

as for instance, the still lucrative calling of

AGAINST HIGH POSITION AS "WHITE FOLKS NIGGER," AND THEIR ANSWERS VARY AS THEIR SOULS DIFFER.

35-4-28

TO MANY, FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS A YEAR IS FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS INCLUDING A CHRYSTLER; AND THAT COMPARED TO AN HONEST SELF WEIGHS HIGH INTO THE TONS. BUT THERE ARE A FEW, WHOSE SOULS ALTHOUGH NOT HEAVY, ARE UNMOVED. TO THEM IT IS NO MATTER OF WEALTH HERE OR MILK AND HONEY HEREAFTER: IT IS JUST A FLAT FACT THAT THEIR OWN PRIDE AND SELF-RESPECT WILL NOT LET THEM LIE: THAT NONE OF THE MILLIONAIRES WHO HAVE BOUGHT AND OWN AND DIRECT THIS NATION AND WHO TELL YOU AND ME AND ALL WHAT TO DO AND WHAT WE DARE NOT THINK: NOT EVEN THIS VAST, ORGANIZED AND CORPORATE WEALTH HAVE ENOUGH MONEY TO BUY THEM. THAT THEIR MINDS ARE FREE AND THEIR SOULS THEIR OWN AND IF THEY WANT TO BE REPUBLICANS, COMMUNISTS OR EVEN PRESBYTERIANS, IT'S NOBODY'S DAMNED BUSINESS BUT THEIR OWN.

AND WITH SELVES WHICH PUT THIS HIGH VALUE ON THEIR OWN SOULS THEY WILL MARCH INTO LIFE, UNAFRAID AND SINGING, AND TAKE WHAT COMES // THIS ABOVE ALL, THEY CANNOT THEN BE FALSE.

35-4 29

35-7-02

(1)

THIS MEETING HAS BEEN CALLED BY THE PEACE INFORMATION BUREAU. IN 1949, THREE WORLD CONGRESSES FOR PEACE WERE HELD IN NEW YORK, PARIS AND MOSCOW. SINCE THEN THRERE HAVE BEEN MEETINGS IN STOCKHOLM, LONDON AND CHICAGO, UNDER VARIOUS AUSPICES AND WITH MANY AIMS BUT ALL WITH THE CENTRAL OBJECT OF STRESSING PEACE --NO MORE WAR. OVER ALL THE WORLD THIS PEACE MOVEMENT IS MOVENG WITH INCREASING RAPIDITY. BUT THE ATTITUDE OF OUR PRESS IS SUCH THAT NEWS OF WHAT IS HAPPENING ALONG THE PEACE FRONT IS EITHER MINIMIZED OR ENTIRELY OMITTED. MANY OF US THEREFORE HAVE THOUGHT THAT A CENTER FOR INFORMATION WAS NEEDED. THIS CENTER PUBLISHES PEACE-GRAMS, GIVES IN FORMATION BY LETTER AND INTERVIEW AND FORWARDS NEWS OF ANY ACTIVITY, ANYWHERE WHICH IS WORKING FOR PEACE. (Howard Fast)

WE MEET TONIGHT TO LISTEN TO INFORMATION COLLECTED IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS BY FRIENDS WHO HAVE TRAVELLED IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE AND ~~WITNESSED THE MOVEMENT F~~ FOR PEACE. AND TO HEAR ~~MEXXXXXXXXXXXX AND~~ OTHER PERSONS INTERESTED IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT // TEN SUCH PERSONS WE HAVE ASKED TO SPEAK TO YOU BRIEFLY ON PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN. ~~NOW~~ TEN SPEECHES, EVEN THOUGH ALL INTERESTING AND INFORMING WOULD BE A CONSIDERABLE DOSE UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, BUT ESPECIALLY SO ON A HOT NIGGHT WHEN THERE IS SO MUCH TO BE SAID. THEREFORE I HAVE BEEN ORDERED AS CHAIRMAN TO ASK EACH SPEAKER TO KEEP CAREFULLY WITHIN THE TIME LIMITS WHICH I SHALL ANNOUNCE. IT HURTS ME FAR MORE THAN IT WILL YOU TO HOLD MY WATCH ON ANY ELOQUENT AND INFORMED

WE APPRECIATE THEIR WILLINGNESS TO CO-OPERATE. BUT

(WE ARE DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR 2 THE HONOR OF THEIR PRESENCE

SPEAKER, BUT BEING UNDER OATH, I HAVE NO CHOICE. I SHALL THEREFORE CALL THE SPEKER AND GENTLY GIVE HIS TIME ALLOWANCE. A MINUTE BEFORE HE IS ABOUT TO FINISH, I WILL STAND UP, AND WHEN HIS TIME HAS ELAPSED. I SHALL FIRMLY TAP THIS GAVEL. MAY THE AUDIENCE HAVE MERCY ON MY HARSH DECISIONS. †ANY APPARENT but UNMEANT DISCOURTESY

35-7-03

AT THIS SEASON OF THE YEAR WHEN COMMENCEMENTS ARE FLOODING THE LAND AND YOUTH IN A THOUSANDS HALLS IS BEING GROOMED FOR LIFE AND WORK, IT IS FITTING THAT THIS MEETING SHOULD OPEN WITH FIVE MINUTES FROM ESTELLE FREEMAN OF PHILADELPHIA, CO* CHAIRMAN OF ~~YOUTH FOR A FREE~~ WORLD YOUTH PEACE APPEAL

(ESTELLE FREEMAN-- 5 MINUTES)

THE LABOR MOVEMENT BELTS THE WORLD AND EXPRESSES ITS FUTURE. ~~MR.~~ MARCEL SHERE WILL TELL US OF THE ATTITUDE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT TOWARD PEACE IN FIVE MINUTES

(MARCEL SHERE, 5MINUTES)

JOHANNES STEELE THROUGH HIS WRITING, SPEAKING AND BROADCASTS, HAS KNIT TOGETHER THE WORLD SITUATION TODAY AND MADE IT CLEAR AND UNDERSTANDABLE. HE HAS JUST RETURNED FROM ABROAD AND WILL SPEAK TO US FOR IO MINUTES

(JOHANNES STEELE, IO MINUTES)

JOHN ROGGE, / DEFENDER OF CIVIL RIGHTS / HAS JUST RETURNED FROM TWO TRIPS TO EUROPE HE WILL SPEAK TO US / TEN MINUTES / ON HIS EXPERIENCES

(JOHN ROGGE IO MINUTES)

IF WOMEN / STAND STRONG FOR PEACE / THERE WILL BE NO MORE WAR. / DR. GENE WELFISH IS A SCIENTIST / WHO HAS TAUGHT THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN / AND LED THE FIGHT FOR THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN. / SHE WILL TALK TO US / FOR IO MINUTES

(GENE WELFISH IO MINUTES)

ROCKWELL KENT ~~HAX~~ IS AN ARTIST / WHOSE WORK IS KNOWN / TO ALL AMERICA. / HE HAS JUST BEEN / TO THE SOVIET UNION / AND SAW AND TALKED WITH FOLK / WHO WANT PEACE. / IN TEN MINUTES / HE WILL TELL US ABOUT IT.

(ROCKWELL KENT IO MINUTES)

ALBERT KAHN / HAS TWO FUNCTIONS TONIGHT. / FIRST / HE WAS PRESENT AT THE STOCKHOLM MEETING / WHICH SENT OUT THE APPEAL / AGAINST THE ATOM BOMB. / / HE WILLMENTION HIS EXPERIENCES. / / AFTER THAT HE HAS A SPECIAL MESSAGE / FOR YOU / WHICH I FEAR TO LIMIT NOW / BUT RESERVE THE RIGHT / LATER

(ALBERT KAHN 30 MINUTES)

Youth Caravan from Philadelphia

35-7-04

35-7-05

JOSEPH FLETCHER,/MINISTER AND TEACHER/HAS LONG TALKED FOR PEACE./ A FEW WEEKS AGO HE WENT TO AUSTRALIA/WHERE THE PEOPLE OF THAT CONTINENT/AND OF SOUTHEAST ASIA/ HELD A GREAT PEACE CONFERENCE,/ at WHICH MR. FLETCHER ~~ATTENDED~~ Spoke./ HE WILL SPEAK FOR US TWENTY MINUTES

(JOSEPH F. FLETCHER ,20 MINUTES)

AND NOW FOR TWENTY MINUTES --PAUL ROBESON.

(PAUL ROBESON, 20 MINUTES)

THE STOCKHOLM PEACE PLEDGE/** MR. ABBOT SIMON) / veterans Campaign Oct 15

SHIRLEY GRAHAM

Friends in scholarship
on the brink of war
Rds

We can stop a war
or Wage Guest

INTERVENTION DU DR DUBOIS Prague 1950

A year ago in the great peace meeting in Moscow, I said that the vast majority of the American people did not want war and that I was speaking as the unofficial representative of these people. Today it is still true that most Americans hate war but it is also true that a significant change has taken place in public opinion.

A powerful group of Americans has come into almost undisputed power. This group representing big business is determined to have world war because they see that war is the only method of maintaining their control of cheap labor and essential raw material which are necessary for their power. Out of such control in Asia and Africa they can afford to pay high wage in America and thus keep political control at home and stop the spread of socialism among the laboring classes.

For this purpose they have attacked all progressive and liberal elements and much social legislation by an unprecedented organized propaganda. For fifty years I have been in touch with social currents in the United States. Never before has organized reaction wielded the power it does today. By ownership of press and radio, by curtailment of free speech, by imprisonment of liberal thinkers and writers. It has become almost impossible today in my country even to hold a public rally for peace. This has been accomplished by inducing Americans to believe that America is in imminent danger of aggression from communism, socialism and liberalism, and that the peace movement cloaks this threat. Thus most of our leading thinkers have been driven into silence and even our great progressive Henry Wallace has at last been led to believe that the attack of little Korea on the great United States represents the beginning of world-wide aggression.

Manifestly to meet this hysteria it is not so much a question of the concept of war under any circumstances, as the far deeper problem of getting the truth to the masses of the citizens of the United States who still in overwhelming majority hate murder, crippling destruction and insanity, as a means of progress. By personal contact, by honest appeal, by knowing the truth ourselves, we can yet win the peace in America. But it is going to take guts and the willingness to jeopardize jobs and respectability. Our peace movement which still is vast and old, has today been split into factions and differences. There are those who see in the atom bomb the end of civilisation. There are those who say this is not far enough; we must oppose general bombing of civilians such as today is decimating women and children in Korea. There are others who ask if you are against war why not oppose all armaments. And still others who like Secretary Acheson demand loudly why do not peacemakers fight all aggression.

The reply to these critics is that the Stockhom Appeal is a minimum demand from civilized people and as such, in brevity, simplicity and honest directness, forms one of the great statements of all history. The person unable or unwilling to sign it, labels himself as holding something more important than indiscriminate murder of helpless and innocent persons. But there is no earthly reason why signers of this petition should not willingly join hands and actions with all who seek to end war by universal disarmament.

But when men go beyond this and name "aggression" an excuse for war, the immediate answer is what is aggression? What aggression has Korea committed against the United States? Moreover what war in the last ten centuries has not been excused by alleging aggression? Such an excuse for war is equal to attacking sin as the reason for evil.

Courage then truth and work, the insistence that the Russians are not devils but men striving for a better world, and the insistence even in the United States that persons be given the right and the opportunity to seek and speak the truth.

When I asked for a passport to come to this meeting, the U.S. Department of State demanded that I sign a statement that I was aware of the "unsettled conditions" in this country. This I refused to do. I merely wrote "whatever the conditions are I wish to come". So the Partisans of Peace want peace no matter what some people may call aggression.

The Peace Information center which I represent here at your gracious invitation, has had great success in a short time and with little money. Our constituents prove how deepseated is the American demand for peace and to what extraordinary exertions the warmongers are being forced to counteract our appeal to truth and justice.

25-17-60

W. E. B. Du Bois

45-4-143

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PRESS CONFERENCE, September 24, 1950
Hotel Theresa,
American Labor Party

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1950

THE GREAT ISSUE, OF THIS TIME, OF THIS NATION, OF THIS WORLD, IS PEACE AND THE CENTRAL THEME OF THE COMPAIGN ~~WHICH BEGINS HERE TODAY~~ IS IS PEACE, NO MORE WAR. THERE ARE IN THIS NATION TODAY POWERFUL INTERESTS WHICH ARE DETERMINED ON WAR. TO THIS END THEY ARE SUPPRESSING THE BILL OF RIGHTS SO AS TO STOP DISCUSSION, ~~DISTORT THE FACTS~~ AND STAMPEDE THE NATION THROUGH THE HYSTERIA OF GROUNDLESS FEAR. WHO IS IT AMONG US WHO WANTS WAR AND WHY DO THEY WANT IT?

THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY KNOWS WHO AND WHY. AND THERE ARE MANY OTHERS WHO ALSO KNOW. BUT THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY NOT ONLY KNOWS BUT IT IS GOING TO DO SOMETING ABOUT IT. THAT RIGHT OF ACTION IS THE RIGHT TO ELECT OUR LAWMAKERS AND EXECUTIVES BY UNIVERSAL AND SECRET BALLOT.

OUR PARTY THEREFORE HAS SELECTED CANDIDATES FOR GOVENOR AND LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR; FOR COMPTROLLER AND ATTORNEY-GENERAL, ~~FOR MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK AND~~ FOR MEMBERS of the Legislature OF THE FEDERAL CONGRESS. for local offices

--2--

45-4-144

IT HAS ASKED ME TO RUN FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE. THIS IS FOR ME A NEW ROLE. ONLY ONCE IN MY LIFE HAVE I HELD PUBLIC OFFICE, AND THAT WAS WHEN IN 1928, FOR A MONTH I WAS MADE SPECIAL MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY TO LIBERIA. MY POLITICAL ACTIVITY HAS BEEN ALMOST WHOLLY CONFINED TO WRITING. IN THIS WRITING, WITH SOME SPEAKING, I TRIED FIRST TO PUT THE NEGRO VOTE IN PROPER AND EFFECTIVE RELATION TO THE NATIONAL NEEDS. IN THE FIRST ELECTION OF WOODROW WILSON, I SOUGHT TO END NEGRO SUBSERVIENCY TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. I TRIED TO INDUCE THE BULL MOOSE MOVEMENT TO MAKE NEGRO RIGHTS A MAIN PLANK AND FOUGHT IT WHEN IT REFUSED. I OPPOSED TAFT'S "LILY-WHITE" SOUTHERN POLICY AND SUPPORTED THE THIRD PARY MOVEMENTS OF LAFOLLETTE AND HENRY WALLACE. I HAVE NEVER BEEN AN ACTIVE PARTY WORKER, BUT I HAVE BEEN AN ENROLLED MEMBER OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY UNDER THE NEW DEAL, AND LATELY OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY.

35-4-264

THE BASIC MOTIVE OF MY POLITICAL THOUGHT AND ACTIVITY HAS BEEN THE SECURING FOR ALL AMERICANS, CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS REGARDLESS OF RACE OR COLOR. I ASSUMED AND ASSUMED TOO EASILY, THAT ONCE COLOR DISCRIMINATION WAS DONE AWAY WITH, THE NATION AND THE WORLD WOULD BE FREE TO ATTACK AND SOLVE CERTAIN BASIC PROBLEMS OF HUMAN PROGRESS WHICH I KNEW FULL WELL CRIED FOR SOLUTION. BEHIND AND BENEATH THIS DEMAND FOR RIGHTS THEREFORE LAY ALWAYS THE ASSUMPTION THAT WITH THE RIGHT TO VOTE, THE RIGHT TO THINK AND SPEAK, AND THE RIGHT TO KNOW, WOULD COME THROUGH THE VERY EXERCISE OF THESE FUNDAMENTAL PRIVILEGES, THE BASIC RIGHT OF HUMAN BEINGS TO LIVE, TO WORK: TO EAT AND BE SHELTERED, TO BE SHIELDED FROM DISEASE AND HAVE THEIR CHILDREN EDUCATED.

BUT TO MY AMAZEMENT AND FRIGHT, I HAVE LIVED TO SEE THE ERA OF PEACE To WHICH I WAS TRAINED TO LOOK FORWARD AS THE GOAL OF CIVILIZATION TRANSFORMED INTO PLANS FOR UNIVERSAL WORLD WAR; AND A THEORY OF PROGRESS BY WAR AND MORE WAR, EACH MORE SAVAGE AND DESTRUCTIVE THAN THE LAST. I NOW

35-4-265

REALIZE THAT I, AS WELL AS YOU, AM FACING A CRISIS IN WHICH NO CONSIDERATIONS OF EASE OR AGE, SUFFICE TO HOLD US BACK FROM a GREAT DUTY. THAT DUTY IS THE ONE OF TRYING TO BRING REASON AND EXPERIENCE TO BEAR UPON those of us who have GONE TEMPORARILY INSANE.

THE BASIC CAUSE OF THIS INSANITY IS THE EFFORT OF POWERFUL INTERESTS, ARMED BY CONTROL OF PRESS AND RADIO, SCHOOL AND PLATFORM, BACKED BY ALMOST UNLIMITED MONEY, TO TURN THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD FROM THE FUNDAMANTAL PROBLEM OF OUR AGE. THAT PROBLEM IS "THAT IN OUR UNPRECEDENTED ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY, WITH ITS MARVELLOUS TECHNIQUE AND WORLD-WIDE EXTENT, THE VAST MAJORITY OF MANKIND REMAIN SICK, IGNORANT AND STARVED, WHILE A FEW HAVE MORE INCOME IN GOODS AND SERVICES THAN THEY CAN USE."

IT IS NO SUFFICIENT ANSWER TO THIS FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM, TO POINT OUT THAT THE PRESENT DEGRADATION OF THE WORKER IS NOT SO GREAT AS IT ONCE WAS

35-4-266

OR MUCH LESS/IN SOME LANDS/THAN IN OTHERS.//THE POINT IS/THAT IT IS FAR TOO GREAT/THAN IS NECESSARY OR DECENT//AND CALLS FOR DRASTIC CURE/NOW/AND NOT A THOUSAND YEARS HENCE.

THIS IS THE BASIC PROBLEM/OF OUR CULTURE/NO MATTER HOW MUCH/WE TRY TO CONCEAL AND IGNORE IT/ OR TRY TO DIVERT ATTENTION/FROM IT TO OTHER MATTERS.// THERE ARE NO OTHER MATTERS/SO IMPORTANT OR SO PRESSING.// WE MAY BE LED/TO YELL OUR HEADS OFF/TO CONVINCE OURSELVES/THAT THE PROBLEM OF THIS WORLD/TODAY/IS THE SOVIET UNION/AND COMMUNISM.///THAT IS DELIBERATE DECEPTION./ THE PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC JUSTICE/TO WORKING MEN/EXISTED BEFORE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION/AND WOULD REMAIN/IF RUSSIA WERE SWEPT/FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH TOMORROW.//PROPOSALS TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM/BY SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM./ DID NOT ORIGINATE IN RUSSIA/AND WILL NOT END THERE.//WHAT RUSSIA DID/WAS TO ATTEMPT/TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM/IN A SYSTEMATIC WAY./ AT A TIME/WHEN THE 19th CENTURY/HAD BEQUEATHED TO THE WORLD/THE DOGMA THAT THE PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC JUSTICE/WAS INSOLUBLE.//THAT MOST MEN/MUST ALWAYS BE POOR,/ IGNORANT AND SICK,

35-4-267

BECAUSE MOST MEN/WERE SO INFERIOR/IN GIFT AND MORALS/THAT THIS WAS INEVITABLE// THAT CIVILIZATION/DEPENDED/ON MAKING THE FEW/MASTERS OF THE MANY,/ THE RICH THE RULERS OF THE POOR.//AND THUS/IN THIS WAY,/ AND ONLY IN THIS WAY,/ COULD CIVILIZATION/BE BUILT AND MAINTAINED.

IS THIS TRUE?//WHETHER IT IS TRUE OR NOT,/ WE HAVE NO RIGHT/TO STOP PEOPLE AND NATIONS/FROM DENYING/(ITS TRUTH—FROM DENYING) THE NECESSITY OF POVERTY, DISEASE AND IGNORANCE.//AND FROM EXPERIMENTING/IN THEIR OWN WAY/TO MAKE A BETTER WORLD.// MOREOVER,/ OUR OWN DUTY/IS CLEAR/AND THAT IS/NOT TO PULL DOWN OTHERS/BUT RATHER/TO BUILD OURSELVES UP.//TO PROVE TO THE WORLD/THAT THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF MANKIND/CAN BE BETTERED/AND THAT WE KNOW HOW TO DO THIS/AND THAT WE PROPOSE/TO PROVE OUR BELIEF/BY ACTION.//INSTEAD OF THIS,/WHAT ARE WE UP TO?//WE ARE TRYING TO FIGHT AN IDEA./WE ARE GOING TO MAKE NATIONS/AGREE WITH US/AND OUR WAY OF LIFE/BY USING ATOM BOMBS/BOMBER PLANES, BATTLESHIPS AND ARTILLERY.//AND WHILE WE ARE WASTEING/TIME/WEALTH/AND STRENGTH/IN DOING THIS/WE ARE DOING ALMOST NOTHING/TO IMPLEMENT/OUR OWN IDEA OF PROGRESS//

WHY? / WHY DO WE PROPOSE / TO MAKE THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT FAIL, / TO THROTTLE CHINA / AND TO THROW THE WORLD / INTO CONTINUOUS WAR? // THE REASON IS CLEAR:

¶ WE FEAR / THAT ANY SUCCESS OF SOCIALISM / OR COMMUNISM / WILL INTERFERE WITH OUR MONEY-MAKING. // WE HAVE BECOME / A NATION OF MONEY-MAKERS. / WE THINK THAT MONEY-MAKING / IS THE GREAT END OF MAN. // OUR WHOLE IDEOLOGY / BOWS TO THIS FANTASTIC IDEA. / RELIGION, SCIENCE, / ART AND MORALS / IN AMERICA // TEND TO BE MEASURED / BY THE PROFIT THEY BRING, // AND THE TRUE VOCATION / OF AMERICAN MANHOOD / IS REGARDED / AS PROFIT-MAKING BUSINESS ENTERPRISE, / and not Social Service

35-4-268

¶ WAR IS BIG BUSINESS / AND A BUSINESS IMMENSELY PROFITABLE / TO A FEW, / BUT OF MEASURELESS DISASTER / AND DEATH OF DREAM / TO THE MANY. // BIG BUSINESS WANTS WAR / IN ORDER TO KEEP YOUR MIND / OFF SOCIAL REFORM: // IT WOULD RATHER SPEND YOUR TAXES / FOR ATOM BOMBS / THAN FOR SCHOOLS // BECAUSE IN THIS WAY / IT MAKES MORE MONEY: // IT WOULD RATHER HAVE YOUR SONS / DYING IN KOREA / THAN STUDYING IN AMERICA / AND ASKING AWKWARD QUESTIONS. // THE SYSTEM WHICH IT ADVOCATES / DEPENDS ON WAR / AND MORE WAR. //

¶ IN ORDER TO HAVE WAR, / BIG BUSINESS MUST HAVE HATE: // SO ITS PRESS / AND NEWSPAPERS / ASK YOU TO HATE COMMUNISTS // AND IF NOT COMMUNISTS, / HATE ALL WHO DO NOT HATE COMMUNISTS // INDEED HATE ALL / WHO DO NOT TAKE ORDERS / FROM THOSE WHO NOW RULE AMERICA.

35-4-269

¶ WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE WORLD, / IS THAT THOSE / WHO PROFIT FROM WAR, / ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED STATES, / HAVE GAINED CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT, / OF INFORMATION / OF A GIGANTIC PROPAGANDA? / THIS CAME ABOUT / BECAUSE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR, / WHICH WE ENTERED / WITH RELUCTANCE / AND PARTICIPATED IN / MAINLY / BY FURNISHING MATERIALS / AT A HUGE PROFIT / TO THOSE WHO CONTROLLED THEM. // THE RESULT WAS TWO FOLD: // AMERICANS CONCEIVED THE IDEA / OF CONTINUING TO PROFIT / FROM THE WORLD'S DISASTER / AND TO MOVE IN / AS SUCCESSOR OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE / AS RULER OF MOST OF MANKIND. // ON THE OTHER HAND, / RUSSIA AND OTHER NATIONS / WHO HAD BEEN THROUGH HELL / BECAUSE OF WAR, // BEGAN EXPERIMENTS / FOR REFORMING / IF NOT REPLACING THE

CURRENT METHODS/ OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION./ WE JOINED THE CAPITALISTS/OF THE WORLD/TO SUPPRESS [redacted] SOCIALIST EXPERIMENTS/ WHICH THREATENED OUR PLAN/OF WORLD INDUSTRIAL EMPIRE.// HOWEVER,/JUST AS PLANS WERE RIPE/ FOR A MASS ATTACK/ IN PARTICULAR/ ON THE SOVIETS,// THE BOTTOM FELL OUT/OF MODERN CAPITALIST INDUSTRY.// THIS WAS NO FAULT OF RUSSIA/ NOR OF SOCIALISM,/ BUT WAS DIRECTLY DUE TO THE OVERREACHING GREED/OF PRIVATE PROFIT.

BUT NO MATTER WHAT ITS CAUSE,/ THE RESULT WAS /THAT THE SOVIET EXPERIMENT GOT A BREATHING SPACE/WHILE /IN THE UNITED STATES/THE NEW DEAL WAS FORCED TO ADOPT/MANY SOCIALIST REMEDIES/ FOR POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT AND DISEASE.//WE CURBED THE PROFITS OF CAPITAL,/ WE PUT THE STATE/INTO CERTAIN INDUSTRIES/AND WE ADOPTED PLANNED INDUSTRY/LIKE THE TVA.//WE RELIEVED THE UNEMPLOYED/AND WE ESTABLISHED SOCIAL SECURITY.// WE BEGAN/TO HOUSE THE HOMELESS

¶ IN OTHER WORDS,/ THE UNITED STATES/BEGAN TO FORM/AND CARRY OUT/ITS OWN PLANS/FOR SO REORGANIZING INDUSTRY/AS TO SAVE CAPITALISM/WHEREVER IT DESERVED TO BE SAVED.

HERE THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY/TAKES ITS STAND/AS THE SUCCESSOR OF THE NEW DEAL.// IT MAINTAINS/THAT THE SOVIET UNION/HAS A RIGHT TO ADOPT/ITS OWN ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY/AND CARRY IT OUT AS IT WILL.//AND THAT ALSO/THE UNITED STATES/HAS A RIGHT TO ATTEMPT/ TO SAVE ITS OWN WAY OF LIFE//AND THAT THIS CAN BE DONE/AS THE NEW DEAL STARTED TO PROVE/ WHEN IT WAS SABOTAGED/NOT ONLY BY ITS ENEMIES/BUT MORE COMPLETELY/ BY ITS FRIENDS.//WHAT THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY asserts/DENIES/IS THAT THE PRESENT PLANS/ OF BIG BUSINESS/TO COMPEL THE WORLD/ TO ADOPT OUR PHILOSOPHY/AND OUR METHODS/ BY FORCE OF ARMS/IS NOT ONLY UN* REASONABLE/IN THE LIGHT OF OUR FAILURE/BUT IN ITSELF CAN ONLY END IN DISASTER. (to continue our own reforms)

¶ IT WOULD SEEM /THAT THE FUTILE EFFORTS/OF A SUCCESSION OF MASTER RACES/TO IMPOSE THEIR WILL/ AND POWER /UPON MANKIND/WOULD TEACH US /THAT OUR PROGRAM OF WORLD CONQUEST IS CRAZY.//THERE IS NO POSSIBLE CHANCE/FOR US TO ACCOMPLISH/ WHAT EGYPT/ PERSIA,/ GREECE, ROME,/ GREAT BRITAIN/AND HITLER/FAILED TO DO.

 45-4-153

WITH OUR LITTLE "POLICE ACTION"/IN KOREA/SHAKING OUR RESOURSES TO THE FOUNDATIONS,/ HOW LONG AND WHAT EFFORT/WILL IT TAKE/TO CONQUER CHINA,/ THE SOVIET UNION,/THE BALKANS,//NOT TO MENTION INDIA?//OUR MILITARY PLANS/ARE IDIOTIC/ AND STILL MORE SO/IF WE DEPEND ON GERMANY AND JAPAN (AND FRANCO)/TO PULL OUR CHESTNUTS OUT OF THE FIRE.// IT WILL TAKE MORE/THAN ONE/WILD MAN OF TOKIO/TO BRING THIS FANTASY INTO FACT, EVEN IF HE IS strong enough to summon the President of the U.S. to wait on him

MOREOVER,/ WE POINT OUT/THAT THE PERSONS/WHO ARE LEADING US TO ADOPT THIS POLICY/ OF FORCE AND VIOLENCE/ARE THE UPHOLDRES OF BIG BUSINESS://THAT THEY ARE PROFITING/AS NEVER BEFORE/ BY WAR AND PREPARATION FOR WAR,// AND ARE DELIBERATELY BLIND/TO THE FACT/THAT THEIR PROFIT/IS THE DISASTER OF AMERICA/AND THE WORLD.//MOREOVER, WE POINT OUT/THAT HERBERT LEHMAN/WAS TRAINED IN BIG BUSINESS/ AND TODAY DELIBERATELY/REPRESENTS ITS INTERESTS. LAST YEAR HERBERT LEHMAN/CALLED JOHN FOSTER DULLES/"A BIGOT, AN ANTI-SEMITE AND A FASCIST."//FOR THAT REASON I VOTED FOR LEHMAN INSTEAD OF DULLES.

35-4-272

 45-4-154

THIS YEAR/ SENATOR LEHMAN/WELCOMES THIS SAME DULLES/INTO "BI-PARTISAN" COLLABORATION FOR WAR.// HE VOTES FOR A CONCENTRATION CAMP/FOR COMMUNISTS/AND THOSE CALLED COMMUNIST.// HE IGNORES THE RESTORATION TO POWER/ IN GERMANY/OF THE SAME GANG/WHICH KILLED SIX MILLION JEWS.//AND ACQUIESES INTO THEIR RE-ARMING.// WHY?/ WHAT HAS CHANGED MR LEHMAN?/ HE HAS NOT CHANGED./ HE FOLLOWS AUTOMATICALLY/HIS TRAINING/IN THE SAME SCHOOL (AND ON THE SAME WALL ST)/WHICH MADE DULLES A WARMONGER AND ATTORNEY OF THE NAZIS.//AND THAT IS,/ FOREIGN INVESTMENT OF AMERICAN CAPITAL/SO AS TO MAKE ENORMOUS PROFIT/OUT OF THE POVERTY AND HELPLESSNESS/ OF ASIA AND AFRICA.//AMERICAN CAPITAL/IS POURING INTO SOUTH AFRICA/AND RHODESIA/ WE ARE THE REAL OWNERS/OF SERF-LABOR IN THE BELGIAN CONGO./ WE ARE WILD TO HIRE CHINESE FACTORY HANDS/AT 12 CENTS A DAY. /WE HELPED SHOOT DOWN THE BLACK strikers MINERS IN WEST AFRICA.//AND TO BULWARK OUR INVESTMENT/AND GUARANTEE HIGH PROFIT,/ THE POWER OF BUSINESS/JOINS HANDS WITH THE MILITARY.

He Welcomes Anders, the Anti-Semite to America

35-4-273

SOUTH AMERICA

35-4-274

¶ THUS, WE ARE TODAY/RULED BY BIG BUSINESS/AND BIG BRASS/FOR PROFIT.// A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE STEEL TRUST/HAS BEEN SECRETARY OF STATE;/ A REPRESENTATIVE OF MORGAN AND ROCKERFELLER/IS CHIEF ADVISER OF TRUMAN ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS;/ ANOTHER MORGAN MAN/HAS BEEN UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE/AND WILL BE SECOND IN COMMAND UNDER MARSHALL.// A SECRETARY OF THE NAVY/AND DEFENSE CHIEF/REPRESENTED DILLION, REID AND COMPANY,/ AND ANOTHER, BECAME SECRETARY OF WAR.// WHERE BIG BUSINESS/DOES NOT CONTROL GOVER MENT,/ MEN TRAINED FOR WAR/DO.// WE HAVE JUST REFORMED OUR DEFENSE DEPARTMENT/BY PLACING A SOLDIER AT ITS HEAD/IN DEFIANCE OF SOUND TRADITION:/HIS FIRST WORD IS UNIVERSAL Military TRAINING OF OUR CHILDREN/ FOR ALL-OUT WAR/ALL OVER THE EARTH,/ AT A COST GREATER/THAN WE EVER SPENT FOR EDUCATION,/ HEALTH,/ HOUSING AND SOCIAL UPLIFT/ALTOGETHER.// AND FOR WHAT? FOR PROFIT TO INVESTORS/WHICH IS/TODAY PILING UP/AT THE RATE OF $23,~~000,000,000~~ Thousand Million A YEAR;/ WITH THE PROSPECT/THAT THE PROFIT FOR 1950/WILL BE FOUR AND A HALF TIMES THAT OF 1939/ AND TWICE AS HIGH/AS THE ENORMOUS WAR PROFIT OF 1944. //

35-4-275

¶¶ IT IS THE THEORY/OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT,/ THAT WHEN A SITUATION/LIKE THIS ARISES,/ TWO POLITICAL PARTIES WILL EXAMINE,/ DEBATE AND DISPUTE ISSUES/ AND ACTS.//UNTIL THE PEOPLE/CAN MAKE INTELLIGENT CHOICE/OF THE PROBLEMS BEFORE THEM.// TODAY WE HAVE ONLY ONE POLITICAL PARTY/WHICH SHARES POWER/FOR THE SAME ENDS.// MEN LIKE DEWEY AND HANLEY/CAN ONLY TRY TO DO/WHAT THE DEMOCRATS HAVE ALREADY DONE;// IF THE DEMOCRATS ARE FOR WAR,/ THEY ARE FOR MORE WAR:/ IF THE DEMOCRATS/REPUDIATE THE NEW DEAL,/ THE REPUBLICANS LOATHE AND DESPISE IT://THE ONE POINT OF AGREEMENT/BETWEEN THE TWO/SO-CALLED CHIEF PARTIES/IS WAR ON ANY NATION/OR MOVEMENT/WHICH STANDS IN THE WAY/OF AMERICAN PROFIT;//AND THE SUPPRESSION/OF ALL DISCUSSION/OF THE MERITS OF THE PRESENT CRISIS// I TRY TO SPREAD IN AMERICA/NEWS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT/IN EURDPE/AND I AM THREATENED WITH JAIL.// PAUL ROBESON/ADVISES NEBROES/NEVER TO FIGHT/AGAINST BEOPLE WHO ARE STRIVING/FOR A BETTER WORLD/FOR BLACK AND WHITE,/ AND HE IS DENIED THE RIGHT/ TO MAKE A LIVING.

35-4-276

IN THIS SITUATION/THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY/TAKES ITS STAND/ON THE PROPOSITION "THERE CAN BE NO PROGRESS/WITHOUT PEACE"./ WE ARE THE ONLY NATION/IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD/ADVOCATING WAR/AND COMPELLING OTHER NATIONS/TO FIGHT./FOR THIS WE ARE HATED AND FEARED./ ~~WE~~ Our Party CALL/FOR THE IMMEDIATE SETTLEMENT/OF THE WAR IN KOREA,/WHICH AN AMERICAN SOLDIER/HAS Dually CHARACTERIZED/WHEN HE SAID "I NEVER SAW SUCH A USELESS/DAMNED WAR/IN ALL MY LIFE."/ /MEDIATION/WITH BOTH NORTH/AND SOUTH KOREA/IN CONFERENCE,/AND CHINA REPRESENTED IN THE UNITED NATIONS,/ IS THE ONLY SOLUTION./ WE ASK RESUMPTION/OF THE FREE FLOW OF TRADE/BETWEEN EAST AND WEST/AND THE UTTER OVERTHROW/OF COLONIALISM/EVEN WHEN MASKED/UNDER POINT FOUR.

TO STOP THIS PROGRAM/OF REASON AND PROGRESS,/THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POLITICAL PROFIT-MAKERS,/CALLED THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES,/ HAVE ADOPTED/THE LAST TACTICS OF DISPAIR:/ THEY HAVE MADE/NOT ONLY TRUTH/BUT CIVIL RIGHTS/A CASUALTY OF WAR./ ~~JUST WHAT DID MR. LEHMAN DO TO IMPLEMENT TRUMAN'S CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM/EXCEPT BE ABSENT/WHEN BARKLEY'S CLOSURE RULE/WAS DEFEATED.~~ THEY HAVE TURNED/YOUR ATTENTION/FROM PROGRESS AND PEACE/TO HATE AND FEAR.

35-4-277

THEY ARE MAKING IT ILLEGAL/TO THINK/OF PROGRESS/OR TO ADVOCATE PEACE/~~OR PROGRESS.~~/ EVERY PATH TO REFORM/LIKE TAXATION OF GREAT WEALTH:/ LAND DIVISION,/ FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION/ RENT CONTROL,/ RIVER DEVELOPMENT/AND FOREST PLANNING/ARE ALL CALLED COMMUNISTIC OR SOCIALISTIC/AND THEIR PROMOTERS/THREATENED WITH DISGRACE,/ JAIL OR LOSS OF LIVELIHOOD.

AND NOW/AS A LAST EXERCISE OF TYRANNY,/ WE ARE PRESENTED WITH THE MC-carran ~~bill~~ Act/THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW OF 1950./ /YOU KNOW WHAT THE THE FUGITIVE SLAVE ~~LAW~~ LAW/OF ~~1950~~ 1850/WAS: CAPITAL INVESTED IN HUMAN BEINGS/ BEGAN TO RUN AWAY: FOOLISH NORTHERNERS,/ BLACK AND WHITE,/ HELPTED IT HIDE./ THE SLAVE POWER RULED THE NATION/AS WALL STREET RULES IT TODAY./ THEY PASSED A BILL/THAT MADE KIDNAPPING OF ANY NEGRO/ POSSIBLE WITHOUT TRIAL,/ THAT MADE A MAN PROVE HIS FREEDOM/INSTEAD OF FORCING MASTERS/TO PROVE PROPERTY:/ AND TRIED TO MAKE ANTI-abolitionism in itself ~~SLAVERY OPINION~~/A CRIME./ |

 45-4-159

THIS LAW WAS SO SUCCESSFUL/THAT IN A DECADE/IT BROUGHT CIVIL WAR/AND the abolition of SLAVERY ~~WAS ABOLISHED~~ came THREE YEARS LATER.

SO TODAY,/WE ARE BIDDEN/TO HATE COMMUNISM/WHEN WHAT WE MUST HATE/IS WAR./WE ARE CALLED SUBVERSIVE/WHEN WE TRY TO THINK AND ACT/AS HUMAN BEINGS AND NOT AS PUPPETS.// IF WE ATTACK SEGREGATION/IN THE ARMY OR CIVIL LIFE/WE ARE CALLED TRAITORS TO AMERICA./// AGAINST THIS/THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY PROTESTS AND FIGHTS.// AND AS ITS CANDIDATE FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE,/I ASK YOUR VOTE/TO CURB BIG BUSINESS AND WAR/AS REPRESENTED BY HERBERT LEHMAN/WAR AND BIG BUSINESS/AS REPRESENTED BY THAT EMINENT VETERAN,/JOSEPH C HANLEY,/AND TO UP-HOLD PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS,/SABOTAGED BY HARRY TRUMAN.

TO THE SUPPORT/OF THIS PROGRAM/I WELCOME EVERYBODY/WHITE AND BLACK JEW AND GENTILE/DEMOCRAT/COMMUNIST/AND EVEN REPUBLICAN// ~~IT IS THE PLATFORM WHICH COUNTS/AND NOT THE VOTERS/PRIVATE OPINIONS~~ BROTHER MATTERS.

W. E. B. DU BOIS 9 Speak for Peace --1-- PRESS CONFERENCE [1950]

~~THE CAMPAIGN OF 1950~~ AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
HOTEL THERESA, SEPTEMBER 24, 1950

12:30 p.m.

THE GREAT ISSUE, OF THIS TIME, OF THIS NATION, OF THIS WORLD, IS PEACE; AND THE CENTEAL THEME OF THE COMPAIGN WHICH BEGINS HERE TODAY IS PEACE, NO MORE WAR. THERE ARE IN THIS NATIONTODAY POWERFUL INTERESTS WHICH ARE DETERMINED ON WAR. TO THIS END THEY ARE SUPPRESSING THE BILL OF RIGHTS SO AS TO STOP DISCUSSION, DISTORT THE FACTS AND STAMPEDE THE NATION THROUGH THE HYSTERIA OF GROUNDLESS FEAR. WHO IS IT AMONG US WHO WANTS WAR, AND WHY DO THEY WANT IT?

THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY KNOWS WHO AND WHY, AND THER ARE MANY OTHERS WHO ALSO KNOW. BUT THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY NOT ONLY KNOWS BUT IT IS GOING TO DO SOMETING ABOUT IT. THAT RIGHT OF ACTION IS THE RIGHT TO ELECT OUR LAW-MAKERS AND EXECUTIVE BY UNIVERSAL AND SECRET BALLOT.

OUR PARTY THEREFORE HAS SELECTED CANDITATES FOR GOVENOR AND LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR: FOR COMPTROLLER AND ATTORNEY-GENERAL, FOR MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK AND FOR MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL CONGRESS.

--2--

IT HAS ASKED ME TO RUN FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE. THIS IS FOR ME A NEW ROLE. ONLY ONCE IN MY LIFE HAVE I HELD PUBLIC OFFICE, AND THAT WAS WHEN IN 1928, FOR A MONTH I WAS MADE SPECIAL MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY TO LIBERIA. MY POLITICAL ACTIVITY HAS BEEN ALMOST WHOLLY CONFINED TO WRITING. IN THIS WRITING, WITH SOME SPEAKING, I TRIED FIRST TO PUT THE NEGRO VOTE IN PROPER AND EFFECTIVE RELATION TO THE NATIONAL NEEDS. IN THE FIRST ELECTION OF WOODROW WILSON, I SOUGHT TO END NEGRO SUBSERVIENCY TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. I TRIEDTO INDUCE THE BULL MOOSE MOVEMENT TO MAKE NEGRO RIGHTS A MAIN PLANK AND FOUGHT IT WHEN IT REFUSED. I OPPOSED TAFT'S "LILY-WHITE" SOUTHERN POLICY AND SUPPORTED THE THIRD PARY MOVEMENTS OF LAFOLLETTE AND HENRY WALLACE. I HAVE NEVER BEEN AN ACTIVE PARTY WORKER, BUT I HAVE BEEN AN ENROLLED MEMBER OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY UNDER THE NEW DEAL, AND LATELY OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY.

THE BASIC MOTIVE OF MY POLITICAL THOUGHT AND ACTIVITY HAS BEEN THE SECURING FOR ALL AMERICANS, CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS REGARDLESS OF RACE OR COLOR. I ASSUMED AND ASSUMED TOO EASILY, THAT ONCE COLOR DISCRIMINATION WAS DONE AWAY WITH, THE NATION AND THE WORLD WOULD BE FREE TO ATTACK AND SOLVE CERTAIN PROBLEMS OF HUMAN PROGRESS WHICH I KNEW FULL WELL CRIED FOR SOLUTION. BEHIND AND BENEATH THIS DEMAND FOR RIGHTS, THEREFORE, LAY ALWAYS THE ASSUMPTION THAT WITH THE RIGHT TO VOTE, THE RIGHT TO THINK AND SPEAK, AND THE RIGHT TO KNOW, WOULD COME, THROUGH THE VERY EXERCISE OF THESE FUNDAMENTAL PRIVILEGES, THE BASIC RIGHT OF HUMAN BEINGS TO LIVE, TO WORK: TO EAT AND BE SHELTERED, TO BE SHIELDED FROM DISEASE AND HAVE THEIR CHILDREN EDUCATED.

BUT TO MY AMAZEMENT AND FRIGHT, I HAVE LIVED TO SEE THE ERA OF PEACE WHICH I WAS TRAINED TO LOOK FORWARD TO AS THE GOAL OF CIVILIZATION TRANSFORMED INTO PLANS FOR UNIVERSAL WORLD WAR: AND A THEORY OF PROGRESS BY WAR AND MORE WAR, EACH MORE SAVAGE AND DESTRUCTIVE THAN THE LAST. I NOW

REALIZE THAT I, AS WELL AS YOU, AM FACING A CRISIS IN WHICH NO CONSIDERATIONS OF EASE OR AGE, SUFFICE TO HOLD ME BACK FROM a GREAT DUTY. THAT DUTY IS THE ONE OF TRYING TO BRING REASON AND EXPERIENCE TO BEAR UPON those of us who have GONE TEMPORARILY INSANE.

THE BASIC CAUSE OF THIS INSANITY IS THE EFFORT OF POWERFUL INTERESTS, ARMED BY CONTROL OF PRESS AND RADIO, SCHOOL AND PLATFORM, BACKED BY ALMOST UNLIMITED MONEY, TO TURN THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD FROM THE FUNDAMANTAL PROBLEM OF OUR AGE. THAT PROBLEM IS: THAT IN OUR UNPRECEDENTED ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY, WITH ITS MARVELLOUS TECHNIQUE AND WORLD-WIDE EXTENT, THE VAST MAJORITY OF MANKIND REMAIN SICK, IGNORANT AND STARVED, WHILE A FEW HAVE MORE INCOME IN GOODS AND SERVICES THAN THEY CAN USE.

IT IS NO SUFFICIENT ANSWER TO THIS FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM, TO POINT OUT THAT THE PRESENT DEGRADATION OF THE WORKER IS NOT SO GREAT AS IT ONCE WAS

OR IS MUCH LESS IN SOME LANDS THAN IN OTHERS. THE POINT IS THAT IT IS FAR TOO GREAT THAN IS NECESSARY OR DECENT AND CALLS FOR DRASTIC CURE NOW AND NOT A THOUSAND YEARS HENCE.

THIS IS THE BASIC PROBLEM OF OUR CULTURE, NO MATTER HOW MUCH WE TRY TO CONCEAL AND IGNORE IT; OR TRY TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM IT TO OTHER MATTERS. THERE ARE NO OTHER MATTERS SO IMPORTANT OR SO PRESSING. WE MAY BE LED TO YELL OUR HEADS OFF TO CONVINCE OURSELVES THAT THE PROBLEM OF THIS WORLD TODAY IS THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNISM. THAT IS DELIBERATE DECEPTION. THE PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC JUSTICE TO WORKING MEN, EXISTED BEFORE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND WOULD REMAIN IF RUSSIA WERE SWEPT FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH TOMORROW. PROPOSALS TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM BY SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM, DID NOT ORIGINATE IN RUSSIA AND WILL NOT END THERE. WHAT RUSSIA DID WAS TO ATTEMPT TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM IN A SYSTEMATIC WAY, AT A TIME WHEN THE 19th CENTURY HAD BEQUEATHED TO THE WORLD THE DOGMA THAT THE PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC JUSTICE WAS INSOLUBLE: THAT MOST MEN MUST ALWAYS BE POOR, IGNORANT AND SICK,

354-24-2

49-4-210

BECAUSE MOST MEN WERE SO INFERIOR IN GIFT AND MORALS THAT THIS WAS INEVITABLE THAT CIVILIZATION DEPENDED ON MAKING THE FEW MASTERS OF THE MANY, THE RICH THE RULERS OF THE POOR; AND THUS IN THIS WAY, AND ONLY IN THIS WAY, COULD CIVILIZATION BE BUILT AND MAINTAINED.

IS THIS TRUE? WHETHER IT IS TRUE OR NOT, WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO STOP its truth — from denying
PEOPLE AND NATIONS FROM DENYING THE NECESSITY OF POVERTY, DISEASE AND IGNORANCE; AND FROM EXPERIMENTING IN THEIR OWN WAY TO MAKE A BETTER WORLD. MOREOVER, OUR OWN DUTY IS CLEAR; AND THAT IS, NOT TO PULL DOWN OTHERS BUT RATHER TO BUILD OURSELVES UP: TO PROVE TO THE WORLD THAT THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF MANKIND CAN BE BETTERED AND THAT WE KNOW HOW TO DO THIS AND THAT WE PROPOSE TO PROVE OUR BELIEF BY ACTION. INSTEAD OF THIS, WHAT ARE WE UP TO? WE ARE TRYING TO FIGHT AN IDEA. WE ARE GOING TO MAKE NATIONS AGREE WITH US AND OUR WAY OF LIFE BY USING ATOM BOMBS, AND BOMBER PLANES, BATTLESHIPS AND ARTILLERY. And while wasting time, strength and wealth in this effort, we are doing almost nothing to implement our own theory of progress

WHY? WHY DO WE PROPOSE TO MAKE THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT FAIL, TO THROTTLE CHINA AND TO THROW THE WORLD INTO CONTINUOUS WAR? THE REASON IS CLEAR: WE FEAR THAT ANY SUCCESS OF SOCIALISM OR COMMUNISM WILL INTERFERE WITH OUR MONEY-MAKING. WE HAVE BECOME A NATION OF MONEY-MAKERS. WE THINK THAT MONEY-MAKING IS THE GREAT END OF MAN. OUR WHOLE IDEOLOGY BOWS TO THIS FANTASTIC IDEA. RELIGION, SCIENCE, ART AND MORALS IN AMERICA TEND TO BE MEASURED BY THE PROFIT THEY BRING, AND THE TRUE VOCATION OF AMERICAN MANHOOD IS REGARDED AS PROFIT-MAKING BUSINESS ENTERPRISE, and not social service.

35-42-43

WAR IS BIG BUSINESS AND A BUSINESS IMMENSELY PROFITABLE TO A FEW, BUT OF MEASURELESS DISASTER AND DEATH OF DREAM TO THE MANY. BIG BUSINESS WANTS WAR IN ORDER TO KEEP YOUR MIND OFF SOCIAL REFORM: IT WOULD RATHER SPEND YOUR TAXES FOR ATOM BOMBS THAN FOR SCHOOLS, BECAUSE IN THIS WAY IT MAKES MORE MONEY; IT WOULD RATHER HAVE YOUR SONS DYING IN KOREA THAN STUDYING IN AMERICA AND ASKING AWKWARD QUESTIONS. THE SYSTEM WHICH IT ADVOCATES DEPENDS ON WAR AND MORE WAR.

IN ORDER TO HAVE WAR, BIG BUSINESS MUST HAVE HATE: SO ITS PRESS AND NEWSPAPERS ASK YOU TO HATE COMMUNISTS AND IF NOT COMMUNISTS, HATE ALL WHO DO NOT HATE COMMUNISTS; INDEED HATE ALL WHO DO NOT TAKE ORDERS FROM THOSE WHO NOW RULE AMERICA.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE WORLD, IS THAT THOSE WHO PROFIT FROM WAR, ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED STATES, HAVE GAINED CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT, OF INFORMATION OR PROPAGANDA. gigantic and unprecedented THIS CAME ABOUT BECAUSE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR,, WHICH WE ENTERED WITH RELUCTANCE AND PARTICIPATED IN MAINLY BY FURNISHING MATERIALS, AT A HUGE PROFIT TO THOSE WHO CONTROLLED THEM. THE RESULT WAS TWO FOLD: AMERICANS CONCEIVED THE IDEA OF CONTINUING TO PROFIT FROM THE WORLD'S DISASTER AND TO MOVE IN AS SUCCESSOR OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, AS RULER OF MOST OF MANKIND. ON THE OTHER HAND, RUSSIA AND OTHER NATIONS WHO HAD BEEN THROUGH HELL BECAUSE OF WAR, BEGAN EXPERIMENTS FOR REFORMING IF NOT REPLACING THE

CURRENT METHODS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION. WE JOINED THE CAPITALISTS OF THE WORLD TO SUPPRESS THEIR SOCIALIST EXPERIMENTS, WHICH THREATENED OUR PLAN OF WORLD INDUSTRIAL EMPIRE. HOWEVER, JUST AS PLANS WERE RIPE FOR A MASS ATTACK IN PARTICULAR, ON THE SOVIETS, THE BOTTOM FELL OUT OF MODERN CAPITALIST INDUSTRY. THIS WAS NO FAULT OF RUSSIA NOR OF SOCIALISM, BUT WAS DIRECTLY DUE TO THE OVERREACHING GREED OF PRIVATE PROFIT.

BUT NO MATTER WHAT ITS CAUSE, THE RESULT WAS THAT THE SOVIET EXPERIMENT GOT A BREATHING SPACE, WHILE IN THE UNITED STATES THE NEW DEAL WAS FORCED TO ADOPT MANY SOCIALIST REMEDIES FOR POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT AND DISEASE: WE CURBED THE PROFITS OF CAPITAL; WE PUT THE STATE INTO CERTAIN INDUSTRIES AND WE ADOPTED PLANNED INDUSTRY LIKE THE TVA, WE RELIEVED THE UNEMPLOYED, AND WE ESTABLISHED SOCIAL SECURITY, and began to house the homeless.

IN OTHER WORDS, THE UNITED STATES BEGAN TO FORM AND CARRY OUT ITS OWN PLANS FOR SO REORGANIZING INDUSTRY AS TO SAVE CAPITALISM WHEREVER IT DESERVED TO BE SAVED.

HERE THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY TAKES ITS STAND AS THE SUCCESSOR OF THE NEW DEAL. IT MAINTAINS THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS A RIGHT TO ADOPT ITS OWN ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY AND CARRY IT OUT AS IT WILL. AND THAT ALSO THE UNITED STATES HAS A RIGHT TO ATTEMPT TO SAVE ITS OWN WAY OF LIFE, AND THAT THIS CAN BE DONE AS THE NEW DEAL STARTED TO PROVE, WHEN IT WAS SABOTAGED NOT ONLY BY ITS ENEMIES BUT MORE COMPLETELY BY ITS FRIENDS. WHAT THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY ~~DENIES~~ asserts IS THAT THE PRESENT PLANS OF BIG BUSINESS TO COMPEL THE WORLD TO ADOPT OUR PHILOSOPHY AND OUR METHODS BY FORCE OF ARMS IS NOT ONLY UNREASONABLE IN THE LIGHT OF OUR FAILURE, BUT XX IN ITSELF CAN ONLY END IN DISASTER.

IT WOULD SEEM THAT THE FUTILE EFFORTS OF A SUCCESSION OF MASTER RACES TO IMPOSE THEIR WILL AND POWER UPON MANKIND WOULD TEACH US THAT OUR PROGRAM OF WORLD CONQUEST IS CRAZY. THERE IS NO POSSIBLE CHANCE FOR US TO ACCOMPLISH WHAT EGYPT, PERSIA, GREECE, ROME, GREAT BRITAIN AND HITLER FAILED TO DO.

To continue our program of aggression abroad,

WITH OUR LITTLE "POLICE ACTION" IN KOREA SHAKING OUR RESOURSES TO THE FOUNDATIONS, HOW LONG AND WHAT EFFORT WILL IT TAKE TO CONQUER CHINA, THE SOVIET UNION, THE BALKANS, NOT TO MENTION INDIA? OUR MILITARY PLANS ARE IDIOTIC AND STILL MORE SO IF WE DEPEND ON GERMANY, and France JAPAN, TO PULL OUR CHESTNUTS OUT OF THE FIRS. IT WILL TAKE MORE THAN ONE WILD MAN OF TOKIO TO BRING THIS FANTASY into FACT.

MOREOVER, the American Labor Party POINTS OUT THAT THE PERSONS WHO ARE FORCING US TO ADOPT THIS POLICY OF FORCE AND VIOLENCE ARE THE UPHOLDRES OF BIG BUSINESS: THAT THEY ARE PROFITING AS NEVER BEFORE BY WAR AND PREPARATION FOR WAR, AND ARE DELIBERATELY BLIND TO THE FACT THAT THEIR PROFIT IS THE DISASTER OF AMERICA AND THE WORLD. MOREOVER, WE POINT OUT THAT HERBERT LEHMAN WAS TRAINED IN BIG BUSINESS AND TODAY DELIBERATELY REPRESENTS ITS INTERESTS. LAST YEAR HERBERT LEHMAN CALLED JOHN FOSTER DULLES "A BIGOT, AN ANTI-SEMITE AND A FASCIST." FOR THAT REASON I VOTED FOR LEHMAN INSTEAD OF DULLES.

THIS YEAR, SENATOR LEHMAN WELCOMES THIS SAME DULLES INTO "BI-PARTISAN" COLLABORATION FOR WAR; HE VOTES FOR A CONCENTRATION CAMP FOR COMMUNISTS AND THOSE CALLED COMMUNISTS; HE IGNORES THE RESTORATION TO POWER IN GERMANY OF THE SAME GANG WHICH KILLED SIX MILLION JEWS; AND ACQUIESES INTO THEIR RE-ARMING. WHY? WHAT HAS CHANGED MR LEHMAN? HE HAS NOT CHANGED. HE FOLLOWS AUTOMATICALLY HIS TRAINING IN THE SAME SCHOOL, and on the same Wall Street WHICH MADE DULLES A WARMONGER AND ATTORNEY OF THE NAZIS; AND THAT IS, FOREIGN INVESTMENT OF AMERICAN CAPITAL, SO AS TO MAKE ENORMOUS PROFIT OUT OF THE POVERTY AND HELPLESSNESS OF ASIA AND AFRICA, South America. AMERICAN CAPITAL IS POURING INTO SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA; WE ARE THE REAL OWNERS OF SERF-LABOR IN THE BELGIAN CONGO; WE ARE WILD TO HIRE CHINESE FACTORY HANDS AT 12 CENTS A DAY; WE HELPED SHOOT DOWN THE striking BLACK MINERS IN WEST AFRICA. AND TO BULWARK OUR INVESTMENT AND GUARANTEE HIGH PROFIT, THE POWER OF BUSINESS JOINS HANDS WITH THE MILITARY.

THUS, WE ARE TODAY RULED BY BIG BUSINESS AND BIG BRASS FOR PROFIT. A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE STEEL TRUST HAS BEEN SECRETARY OF STATE: A REPRESENTATIVE OF MORGAN AND ROCKERFELLER IS CHIEF ADVISER OF TRUMAN ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS; ANOTHER MORGAN MAN HAS BEEN UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE AND may BE SECOND IN COMMAND UNDER MARSHALL; A SECRETARY OF THE NAVY AND DEFENSE CHIEF REPRESENTED DILLON, REID AND COMPANY, AND ANOTHER, BECAME SECRETARY OF WAR. WHERE BIG BUSINESS DOES NOT CONTROL GOVERNMENT, MEN TRAINED FOR WAR, DO. WE HAVE JUST REFORMED OUR DEFENSE DEPARTMENT BY PLACING A SOLDIER AT ITS HEAD, IN DEFIANCE OF SOUND TRADITION; HIS FIRST WORD IS UNIVERSAL TRAINING OF OUR CHILDREN — FOR ALL-OUT WAR, ALL OVER THE EARTH, AT A COST GREATER THAN WE EVER SPENT FOR EDUCATION, HEALTH, HOUSING AND SOCIAL UPLIFT ALTOGETHER. AND FOR WHAT? FOR PROFIT TO INVESTORS WHICH IS TODAY PILING UP AT THE RATE OF $23,000,000,000 A YEAR; WITH THE PROSPECT THAT THE PROFIT FOR 1950 WILL BE FOUR AND A HALF times THAT OF 1939, AND TWICE AS HIGH AS THE ENORMOUS WAR PROFIT OF 1944.

35-4-246

IT IS THE THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, THAT WHEN A SITUATION LIKE THIS ARISES, TWO POLITICAL PARTIES WILL EXAMINE, DEBATE AND DISPUTE ISSUES AND ACTS, UNTIL THE PEOPLE CAN MAKE INTELLIGENT CHOICE OF THE PROBLEMS BEFORE THEM. TODAY WE HAVE ONLY ONE POLITICAL PARTY, WHICH SHARES POWER FOR THE SAME ENDS. MEN LIKE DEWEY AND HANLEY CAN ONLY TRY TO DO WHAT THE DEMOCRATS HAVE ALREADY DONE: IF THE DEMOCRATS ARE FOR WAR, THEY ARE FOR MORE WAR; IF THE DEMOCRATS REPUDIATE THE NEW DEAL, THE REPUBLICANS LOATHE AND DESPISE IT. THE ONE POINT OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO SO-CALLED PARTIES IS WAR ON ANY NATION OR MOVEMENT WHICH STANDS IN THE WAY OF AMERICAN PROFIT; AND THE SUPPRESSION OF ALL DISCUSSION OF THE MERITS OF THE PRESENT CRISIS. I TRY TO SPREAD IN AMERICA NEWS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN EUROPE AND I AM THREATENED WITH JAIL. PAUL ROBESON ADVISES NEGROES NEVER TO FIGHT AGAINST PEOPLE ~~WHO ARE~~ STRIVING FOR A BETTER WORLD FOR BLACK AND WHITE, AND HE IS DENIED THE RIGHT TO MAKE A LIVING.

45-4-214

IN THIS SITUATION THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY TAKES ITS STAND ON THE PROPOSITION: "THERE CAN BE NO PROGRESS WITHOUT PEACE" . WE ARE THE ONLY NATION IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD ADVOCATING WAR AND COMPELLING OTHER NATIONSTO FIGHT.FOR THIS WE ARE HATED AND FEARED. WE CALL FOR THE IMMEDIATE SETTLEMENT OF THE WAR IN KOREA, WHICH AN AMERICAN SOLDIER HAS CHARACTERIZED WHEN HE SAID "I NEVER SAW SUCH A USELESS DAMNED WAR IN ALL MY LIFE!" MEDIATION,WITH BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA IN CONFERENCE, AND CHINA REPRESENTED IN THE UNITED NATIONS, IS THE ONLY SOLUTION. WE ASK RESUMPTION OF THE FREE FLOW OF TRADE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AND THE UTTER OVERTHROW OF COLONIALISM EVEN WHEN MASKED UNDER POINT FOUR.

TO STOP THIS PROGRAM OF REASON AND PROGRESS, THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POLITICAL PROFIT-MAKERS, CALLED THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, HAVE ADOPTED THE LAST TACTICS OF DISPAIR: THEY HAVE MADE NOT ONLY TRUTH BUT CIVIL RIGHTS A CASUALTY OF WAR. JUST WHAT DID MR. LEHMAN DO TO IMPLEMENT TRUMAN'S CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM EXCEPT BE ABSENT WHEN BARKLEY'S CLOSURE RULE WAS DEFEATED. THEY HAVE TURNED YOUR ATTENTION FROM PROGRESS AND PEACE TO HATE AND FEAR.

THEY ARE MAKING IT ILLEGAL TO THINK OF PROGRESS OR TO ADVOCATE PEACE OR PROGRESS. EVERY PATH TO REFORM LIKE TAXATION OF GREAT WEALTH: ~~LAND DIVISION:~~ SOCIAL MEDICINE RENT CONTROL: RIVER DEVELOPMENT AND FOREST PLANNING ARE ALL CALLED COMMUNISTIC OR SOCIALISTIC AND THEIR PROMOTERS THREATENED WITH DISGRACE, JAIL OR LOSS OF LIVELIHOOD.

AND NOW AS A LAST EXERCISE OF TYRANNY, WE ARE PRESENTED WITH THE McCarran act--THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW OF 1950. YOU KNOW WHAT THE THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW OF 1850 WAS: CAPITAL INVESTED IN HUMAN BEINGS BEGAN TO RUN AWAY: FOOLISH NORTHERNERS, BLACK AND WHITE, HELPTED IT HIDE. THE SLAVE POWER which RULED THE NATION AS WALL STREET RULES IT TODAY PASSED A BILL THAT MADE KIDNAPPING OF ANY NEGRO POSSIBLE WITHOUT TRIAL, THAT MADE A MAN PROVE HIS FREEDOM INSTEAD OF FORCING MASTERS TO PROVE PROPERTY; AND TRIED TO MAKE ANTI-Abolitionism SLAVERY [illegible] A CRIME.

THIS LAW WAS SO SUCCESSFUL THAT IN A DECADE IT BROUGHT CIVIL WAR AND SLAVERY abolition of
WAS ABOLISHED THREE YEARS LATER.

SO TODAY, WE ARE BIDDEN TO HATE COMMUNISM WHEN WHAT WE MUST HATE IS WAR: WE ARE CALLED SUBVERSIVE WHEN WE TRY TO THINK AND ACT AS HUMAN BEINGS AND NOT AS PUPPETS. IF WE ATTACK SEGREGATION IN THE ARMY OR CIVIL LIFE, WE ARE CALLED TRAITORS TO AMERICA. AGAINST THIS THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY PROTESTS AND FIGHTS. AND AS ITS CANDIDATE FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE, I ASK YOUR VOTE TO CURB BIG BUSINESS AND WAR AS REPRESENTED BY HERBERT LEHMAN; WAR AND BIG BUSINESS AS REPRESENTED BY THAT EMINENT VETERAN, JOSEPH HANLEY, AND TO UP-HOLD PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS, which are being SABOTAGED BY HARRY TRUMAN.

To THE SUPPORT OF THIS PROGRAM, I WELCOME THE SUPPORT OF EVERYBODY WHO AGREES WITH IT, WHITE AND BLACK, JEW AND GENTILE, DEMOCRAT, COMMUNIST, AND EVEN REPUBLICAN.

100-4-248

45-4-216

PRESS CONFERENCE, HOTEL THERESA

SEPTEMBER 24, 1950

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1950

The great issue, of this time, of this nation, of this world, is PEACE; and the central theme of the campaign which begins here today is Peace, no more War. There are in this nation today powerful interests which are determined on War. To this end they are suppressing the Bill of Rights so as to stop discussion, distort the facts and stampede the nation through the hysteria of groundless Fear. Who is it among us who wants War and why do they want it?

The American Labor Party knows who and why, and there are many others who also know. But the American Labor Party not only knows but is going to do something about it. That right of action is the right to elect our lawmakers and executives by universal and secret ballot.

Our party therefore has selected candidates for governor and lieutanant-governor; for comptroller and attorney-general, for mayor of the city of New York and for members of the federal Congress.

It has asked me to run for the United States Senate. This is for me a new role. Like most men born and bred in the 19th century, I have always thought politics as a necessary career, but not the higher sort of work which a man would voluntarily choose. Largely then I avoided politics and this is the first time in my life that I have consented to stand for public office. This is because it becomes increasingly clear to me that this very recoil from political activity is the reason for that surrender of our Government to men whose prime interest is not social but personal; and for the disaster of seeing repeatedly a people with a Government which does not represent its real interests.

My standing for office then, far from being any matter of personal ambition, is rather proof th t I am willing to forego my preference in order

to discuss with the public the serious objects of public life and action. For today curiously enough, it has become suddenly impossible to express publicly what one believes and knows unless one takes advantage of the few civil rights remaining to us and runs for office in order to talk freely without going to jail. What I ask and plead therefore in this campaign is that you vote not simply for me but for me as representing the principles which I am trying to emphasize; with the deep belief that however unimportant I may be, what I am seeking to make clear and stand for is of the utmost importance to the Negro race in the United States to the whites and to the future of mankind.

35-6-114

Only once in my life have I held public office, and that was when for a month I was in 1928, made Special Minister Plenipotentiary to Liberia. My political activity has been almost wholly confined to writing. In this writing, with some speaking, I tried first to put the Negro vote in proper and effective relation to the national needs. In the first election of Woodrow Wilson, I sought to end Negro subserviency to the Republican Party. I tried to induce the Bull Moose movement to make Negro Rights a main plank and ~~xxpp~~ fought it when it refused. I opposed Taft's "lily-whtew" Southern policy and supported the third party movements of La Follette and Henry Wallace. I have never been an active party worker, but I have been an enrolled member of the Socialist Party, of the Democratic Party under the New Deal, and lately of the American Labor Party.

The basic motive of my political thought and activity has been the securing for all American, civil and political rights regardless of race or color. I assumed, and assumed too easily, that once color discrimination was done away with, the nation and the world would be free to attack and solve certain basic problems of human progress which I knew full well cried for solution. Behind and beneath this demand for rights lay always therefore the assumption that with the right to vote, the right to think and speak,

and the right to know, would come through the very exercise of these fundamental privileges: the basic right of human beings to live, to work; to eat and be sheltered, to be shielded from disease and have their children educated.

But to my amazement and fright, I have lived to see the era of peace which I was trained to look forward to as the only goal of civilization transformed into plans for universal world war; a theory of progress by war and more war, each more savage and destructive than the last. I now realize that I, as well as you, am facing a crisis in which no consideration of ease or age, suffice to hold me back from a great duty. That duty is one of trying to bring reason and past experience to bear upon those of us who have gone temporarily insane.

35-6-115

The basic cause of this insanity is the effort to powerful interests, armed by control of press and radio, school and platform, backed by almost unlimited money, to turn the attention of the world from the fundamental problem of our age.

That problem is that in our unprecedented organization of industry, with its marvelous technique and world-wide extent, the vast majority of mankind remain sick, ignorant and starved while a few have more income in goods and services than they can use.

It is no sufficient answer to this fundamental problem, to point out that the present degradation of the worker is not near so great as it once was, or much less in some lands than in others. The point is that it is far too great than is necessary or decent and calls for drastic cure now and not a thousand years hence.

This is the basic problem of our culture, no matter how much we try to conceal and ignore it; or try to divert attention from it to other matters. There are no other matters to important or so pressing. We may be led to yell our heads off to convince ourselves that the problem of the world today is the Soviet Union and Communism. That is deliberate

deception. The problem of economic justice to working men existed before the Revolution in Russia and would remain if Russia were swept from the face of the earth tomorrow. Proposals to solve this problem by socialism and communism, did not originate in Russia and will not end there. What Russia did was to attempt to solve this problem in a systematic way, at a time when the 19th century had bequathed to the world the dogma that the problem of economic justice was insoluble; that most men must always be poor, ignorant and sick, becuase most men were so inderior in gift and morals that this was inevitable; that civilization depended on making the few masters of the many, the Rich the rulers of the Poor, and thus in this way, and only in this way, could civilization be built and maintained.

35-6-116

Is this true? Whether it is true or not, we have no right to stop people and nations from denying its truth--from denying the necessity of poverty, disease and ignorance, and from experimenting in their own way to make a better world. Moreover, our own duty is clear; and that is, not to pull down others but rather to build ourselves up; to prove to the world that the economic condition of mank nd can be bettered and that we know how to do this and that we propose to prove our belief by action. Instead of this, what are we up to? We are trying to fight an Idea. We are going to make nations agree with us and our way of life by using atom bombs, and bomber planes, battleships and artillery. And while wasting time, strength, and wealth in this effort; we are doing almost nothing to implement our own theory of progress.

Why? Why do we propose to make the Russian experiment fail, to throttle China and to throw the world into continuous war? The reason is clear: we fear that any success of socialism or communism will interfere with our money-making. We have become a nation of money-makers. We think that money-making is the great end of man. Our whole ideology bows to this fantastic

idea. Religion, science, art and morals in America tend to be measured by the profit they bring, and the true vocation of American manhood is regarded as profitmaking business enterprise, and not social service.

War is Big Business and a business immensely profitable to a few, but of measureless disaster and death of dream to the many. Big business wants war in order to keep your mind off social reform: it would rather spend your taxes for atom bombs than for schools because in this way it makes more money; it would rather have your sons dying in Korea than studying in America and asking awkward questions. The system which it advocates depends on war and more war.

35-6-117

In order to have war, Big Business must have Hate; so its press and newspapers ask you to hate communists and if not communists, hate all who do not hate communists; indeed hate all who do not take orders from those who now rule America.

What has happened to the world, is that those who profit from war, especially in the United States, have gained control of government, of information, of gigantic and unprecedented propaganda. This came about because of the First World War, which we entered with reluctance and participated in mainly by furnishing materials at a huge profit to those who controlled them. The result was two-fold; Americans conceived the idea of continuing to profit from the world's disaster and to move in as successor of the British Empire as ruler of most of mankind. On the other hand, Russia and other nations who had been through Hell because of war, began experiments for reforming if not replacing the current methods of industrial organization. We joined the capitalists of the world to suppress their socialist experiments which threatened our plan of world industrial empire. However, just as plans were ripe for a mass attack, in particular on the Soviets, the bottom fell our of modern capitalist industry. This was no fault of Russia nor of

socialism, but was directly due to the overreaching greed of private profit.

But no matter what its cause, the result was that the Soviet experiment got a breathing space while in the United States the New Deal was forced to adopt many socialist remedies for poverty, unemployment and disease: we curbed the profits of capital; we put the State into certain industries and we adopted planned industry like the TVA, and we relieved the unemployed, and we established Social Security, and began to house the homeless.

35-6-118

In other words, the United States began to form and carry out its own plans for so reorganizing industry as to save capitalism whereever it deserved to be saved.

Here the American Labor Party takes its stand as the successor of the New Deal. It maintains that the Soviet Union has a right to adopt its own economic philosophy and carry it out as it will. And that also the United States has a right to attempt to save its own way of life and that this can be done as the New Deal started to prove, when it was sabotaged not only by its enemies but more completely by its friends. What the American Labor Party asserts is that the present plan of Big Business to compel the world to adopt our philosophy and our methods, by force of arms is not only unreasonable in the light of our failures to continue our own program of economic reform but impossible in itself and can only end in disaster.

It would seem that the futile efforts of a succession of master races to impose their will and power upon mankind would teach us that our program of world conquest is crazy. There is no possible chance for us to accomplish what Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, Great Britain and Hitler failed to do. With our little police action in Korea shaking our resources to the foundations, how long and what effort will it take to conquer China, the Soviet Union, the Balkans--not to mention India. Our military plans are idiotic and still more so if we depend on Germany, Japan and Franco to pull our chestnuts out of the fire. It will take more than one Wild Man of Tokyo to bring this fantasy into fact.

M Moreover the American Labor Party points out that the Persons who are forcing us to adopt this policy of force and violence are the upholders of Big Business; and they are profiting as never before by war and preparation for war, and are deliberately blind to the fact that their profit is the disaster of America and the world. Moreover, we point out that Herbert Lehman was trained in Big Business and today deliberately represents its interests. Lasy year, Herbert Lehman called John Foster Dulles "a bigot, an Anti-Semite and a Fascist." For that reason I voted for Lehman instead of Dulles. This year Senator Lehman welcomes this same Dulles into "bi-partisan" collaboration for war; he sponsors legislation for concentration camps for Communists and those called Communists; he ignores the restoration to power in Germany of the same gang which killed six million Jews, and acquiesces into their re-arming.

35-6-11-9

Why? What has changed Mr. Lehman? He has not changed. He follows automatically his training in the same school and on the same Wall Street which made Dulles a warmonger and attorney of the Nazis, and that is, foreign investment of American capital, so as to make enormous profit out of the poverty and helplessness of South America, Asia and Africa. American capital is pouring into South Africa and Rhodesia. We are the real owners of serf-labor in the Belgian Congo. We are wild to have Chinese factory hands at 12 cents a day. We helped shoot down the striking black miners in West Africa. And to bulwark our investment and guarantee high profit, the power of business joins hands with the military.

Thus, we are today ruled by Big Business and Big Brass for profit. A representative of the Steel Trust has been Secretary of State; a representative of Morgan and Rockerfeller is chief adviser of Truman on foreign affairs; another Morgan man has been under-secretary of State and may be second in command under Marshall; a Secretary of the Navy and Defense Chief represented Dillon, Reid and Company, and another m became Secretary of War.

Where Big Business does not control government, men trained for war do. We have just reformed our defense department by placing a soldier at its head in defiance of sound tradition; his first word is universal training of our children for all-out war all over the earth, at a cost greater than we ever spent for education, health, housing and social uplift altogether. And for what? For profit to investors which is today piling up at the rate of $23,000,000,000 a year; with the prospect that the profit for 1950 will be four and a half times that of 1939, and twice as high as the enormous war profit of 1944.

35-6-120

It is the theory of democratic government, that when a situation like this arises, two political parties will examine, debate and dispute issues and acts until the people can make intelligent choice of the problems before them. Today we have only one political party which shares power for the same ends. Men like Dewey and Hanley can only try to outdo what the Democrats have already done; if the Democrats are for war, they are for more war; if the Democrats repudiate the New Deal, the Republicans loathe and despise it. The one point of agreement between the two so-called parties is war on any nation or movement which stands in the way of American profit; and the suppression of all discussion of the merits of the present crisis. I try to spread in America news of the peace movement in Europe and I am threatened with jail. Paul Robeson advises Negroes never to fight against people striving for a better world for black and white, and he is denied the right to make a living.

My platform then, like the platform of every honest American who still dare believe in peace and freedom, takes its unalterable stand against war and slavery. It warns all thinking men that the cause of our present failure and disgrace is simple and sheer mass insanity. We have known individuals to go crazy. We have long viewed this as unfortuante disease, or

illusion fostered by a man's own weakness or by the wicked plots of his enemies.

We are learning all too slowly how to cope with and cure the individually insane. But mass insanity is a newer thing. To be sure we have experienced it in the race hate of the South, which we increasingly recognize as distorted mentality rather than deliberate will to harm; and while this dawning c mprehension of one of the nastiest blots on our culture has not yet cured it, it has at least let us see our way to begin to plan the long upbuilding future. But before we are well-started on this path to goodness and truth, there comes an insanity, a wild and curel madness, and truth, there comes an insanity, a wild and cruel madness, which engulfs the world, hurls us into planned and horrible murder calls to its ends every ingenuity of science and even sets at its head followers of that Prince of Peace, who once out of degradation and poverty pled with a world far less guilty than ours; while we today give our world a distortion of his words and shriek:

"Come unto me all them that labor and are heavy-laden and I will give you war."

That the civilized world today, nearly 2000 years after the birth of Christianity not mentioning those older and younger faiths, with their high hopes of reason and love of humanity--that this world today with all its triumphs which once we greeted with shouts of joy--that this world has gone crazy, no sane man can for a moment deny.

But he can pause and resting a minute from his Atom bombs, his Hydrogen horror, his propaganda of disease of body and mind, his mad destruction and wild waste of wages of the poor--pause and ask in this election season , Why? For God's sake, why? What are we yelling about? Of what are we in such deathly fear?

35-6-12)

The present Senate of the United States is a war-making body and a body hostile to Civil liberties not only in the South but in this State. You have a right in November to help change the composition of the Senate. The present Junior Senator from New York is a respectable man. He has often as Governor and Senator voted for the right. I voted for him last year. But this year the whole picture of the world has changed and Senator Lehman has supported our war program and openly condoned in some cases the invasion of our Civil Liberties.

35-6-122

As representative of finance and investing interests he could hardly do otherwise. Remember what modern investment is; it is not as it once was, the loaning of your savings to help an enterprise which you knew about and watched. It is control of goods and labor over vast areas and under conditions of which you neither know nor care. It may and often does involve slavery and disease, ignorance and cruelty. It may drive wages to starvation, declimate and ruin family and group life; it may turn vast areas from happy primitive life to centers of crime and horror. But if it earns a profit; if it does not transgress the laws of the country where the investors live and where they largely make the law, then it is legal, legitimate and respectable. This has been the history of modern finance and investment all over the world. Its path is marked by blood, war, ignorance and the subjection of most of the peoples of the world to the comfort and convenience and luxury of the few.

The fight to curb uncontrolled investment and exploitation has ~~been~~ been long and difficult and has had much success. But today and in America it is failing and resulting in a program of World War. The overwhelming influence and representation of finance capital in our legislatures in the executive and especially in the Senate of the United States must be curbed and curbed immediately. It is time that Senator Lehman be replaced by a man who is opposed to war and willing to fight for Civil

Liberties and not simply for the liberty of Corporations but liberty for the mass of working men and women.

It has been intimated however, that my candidacy is designed not really to replace Senator Lehman by a man willing to fight for peace and civil rights, but rather to elect as Senator a man even less qualified and less willing to represent progressive thought than Mr. Lehman. So far as I am concerned personally, I have but one object in this campaign and that is to win the election.

35-6-128

In a long life I never have and never expect to act as stool pigeon for any man or party. I shall not begin now. I know that every third party movement meets such accusations, which if heeded would make progress impossible. Everytime you suggest voting against a dominant party of a present official, you are met by the predict on that you are bound to fail. Upon this fear and risk, the old parties rely to hold their graft and power.

Today in this state and in the nation the Democratic and Republican parties stand for one and the same thing: war and the slave state. They cannot even phrase platforms that sound different. They can only promise to do what the other is doing better---or worse. The nation faced the same predicament and prophecy in the slavery controversy a century ago. You must vote Democratic or Whig, because the Free Soil Party had no chance: because if you failed to vote for a Democrat you help elect a Whig. But that was not true as the eventual triumph of Abraham Lincoln proved. Every defeat of a candidate for a free country does not mean defeat for what he stands for.

Even if I be defeated for Senator, the vote for me would still be a vote for civil rights and against war and eventually this program must win. If it wins this November so much the better, but if it wins ten years from today that victory must begin now.

It is the program and not the man for which you vote. The only assurance you have is that if I am elected to the Senate, no power in Hell, Earth nor Heaven will keep my mouth from speaking and voting what I conceive is the truth and right.

35-6-124

In this situation the American Labor Party takes its stand on the proposition "There can be no progress without Peace." We are the only nation in the civilized world advocating war and compelling other nations to fight. For this we are hated and feared. We call for the immediate settlement of the war in Korea, which an American soldier has characterized when he said: "I never saw such a useless damned war in all my life." Mediation with both North and South Korea in conference, and China represented in the United Nations, is the only solution. We ask resumption of the free flow of trade between East and West and the utter overthrow of colonialism even when masked under Point Four.

To stop this program of reason and progress, the allied and associated political profit-makers, called the Republican and Democratic parties, have adopted the last tactics of dispair. They have made not only truth but civil rights a casualty of war! They have turned your attention from progress and peace to hate and fear. They are making it illegal to think of progress or to advocate peace or progress. Every path to reform like taxation or great wealth; social medicine, effective rent control; river development, public housing and forest planning are all called communistic or socialistic and their promoters threatened with disgrace, jail or loss of livelihood.

And now as a last exercise of tyranny, we are presented with the McCarran Act--the Fugitive Slave Law of 1950. You know what the Fugitive Slave ~~of~~ Law of 1850 was: capital invested in human beings began to run away; foolish northerners, black and white, helped it hide. The Slave

Power which rul d the nation as Wall Street rules it today; passed a bill that made kidnapping of any Negro possible without trial, that made a man prove his freedom instead of forcing masters to prove property; and tried to make Abolutionism a crime. This law was so successful that in a decade it brought Civil War and Abolution of Slavery three years later.

So today, we are bidden to hate Communism when what we must hate is war; we are called subversive when we try to think and act as human beings and not as puppets. If we attack segregation in the army or civil life, we are called traitors to America. Against this the American Labor Party protests and fights. And as its candidate for the United States Senate, I ask you to vote to curb Big Business and War as represented by Herbert Lehman, War and Big Business as represented by that eminent veteran Joe Henley, and to puhold peace and civil rights which are being sabotaged by Harry Truman. To the support of this program I welcome everybody who agrees with it, White and Black, Jew and Gentile, Democrat, Communist and even Republican.

35-6-125

W. E. B. DU BOIS

PRESS CONFERENCE

Mass
Senate race, 1948

THE GREAT ISSUE, OF THIS TIME, OF THIS NATION, OF THIS WORLD, IS PEACE: AND THE CENTRAL THEME OF THE CAMPAIGN WHICH BEGINS HERE TODAY IS PEACE, NO MORE WAR. THERE ARE IN THIS NATION TODAY, POWERFUL INTERESTS WHICH ARE DETERMINED ON WAR. TO THIS END, THEY ARE SUPPRESSING THE BILL OF RIGHTS SO AS TO STOP DISCUSSION, DISTORT THE FACTS AND STAMPEDE THE NATION THROUGH THE HYSTERIA OF GROUNDLESS FEAR. WHO IS IT AMONG US WHO WANTS WAR, AND WHY DO THEY WANT IT?

25-2-421

ONLY ONCE IN MY LIFE HAVE I HELD PUBLIC OFFICE, AND THAT WAS WHEN FOR A MONTH I WAS IN 1928, MADE SPECIAL MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY TO LIBERIA. MY POLITICAL ACTIVITY HAS BEEN ALMOST WHOLLY CONFINED TO WRITING. IN THIS WRITING WITH SOME SPEAKING, I TRIED FIRST TO PUT THE NEGRO VOTE IN PROPER AND EFFECTIVE RELATION TO THE NATIONAL NEEDS. IN THE FIRST ELECTION OF WOODROW WILSON, I SOUGHT TO END NEGRO SUBSERVIENCY TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. I TRIED TO INDUCE THE "BULL MOOSE" MOVEMENT TO MAKE NEGRO RIGHTS A MAIN PLANK AND BOUGHT IT WHEN

IT REFUSED. I OPPOSED TAFT'S "LILY-WHITE" SOUTHERN POLICY, AND I SUPPORTED THE THIRD PARTY MOVEMENTS OF LA FOLLETTE AND HENRY WALLACE. I HAVE NEVER BEEN AN ACTIVE PARTY WORKER, BUT I HAVE BEEN AN ENROLLED MEMBER OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY UNDER THE NEW DEAL, AND LATELY OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY.

THE BASIC MOTIVE OF MY POLITICAL THOUGHT AND ACTIVITY HAS BEEN THE SECURING FOR ALL AMERICANS, CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, REGARDLESS OF RACE OR COLOR. I ASSUMED, AND ASSUMED TOO EASILY, THAT ONCE COLOR DISCRIMINATION WAS DONE AWAY WITH, THE NATION AND THE WORLD WOULD BE FREE TO ATTACK AND SOLVE CERTAIN BASIC PROBLEMS OF HUMAN PROGRESS WHICH I KNEW FULL WELL CRIED FOR SOLUTION. BEHIND AND BENEATH THIS DEMAND FOR RIGHTS, LAY ALWAYS THEREFORE THE ASSUMPTION THAT, WITH THE RIGHT TO VOTE, THE RIGHT TO THINK AND SPEAK

AND THE RIGHT TO KNOW, WOULD COME THROUGH THE VERY EXERCISE OF THESE FUNDAMENTAL PRIVILEGES: THE BASIC RIGHT OF HUMAN BEINGS TO LIVE, TO WORK, TO EAT AND BE SHELTERED, TO BE SHIELDED FROM DISEASE AND HAVE THEIR CHILDREN EDUCATED.

BUT TO MY AMAZEMENT AND FRIGHT, I HAVE LIVED TO SEE THE ERA OF PEACE WHICH I WAS TRAINED TO LOOKEDFORWARD TO AS THE ONLY GOAL OF CIVILIZATION, TRANSFORMED INTO PLANS FOR UNIVERSAL WORLD WAR WITH A THEORY OF PROGRESS BY WAR AND MORE WAR , EACH MORE SAVAGE AND DESTRUCTIVE THAN THE LAST. I NOW REALIZE THAT I, AS WELL AS YOU, AM FACING A CRISIS IN WHICH NO CONSIDERATION OR EASE OF AGE, SUFFICE TO HOLD ME BACK FROM A GREAT DUTY. THAT DUTY IS ONE OF TRYING TO BRING REASON AND LAST EXPERIENCE TO BEAR UPON THOSE OF US WHO HAVE GONE TEMPORARILY INSANE.

35-2-422

THE BASIC CAUSE OF THIS INSANITY IS THE EFFORT OF POWERFUL INTERESTS, ARMED BY CONTROL OF PRESS AND RADIO, SCHOOL AND PLATFORM, BACKED BY ALMOST UNLIMITED MONEY, TO TURN THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD FROM THE FUNDAMENTAL

PROBLEM OF OUR AGE.

THAT PROBLEM IS THAT IN OUR UNPRECEDENTED ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY, WITH IT MARVELOUS TECHNIQUE AND WORLD WIDE EXTENT, THE VAST MAJORITY OF MANKIND REMAIN SICK, IGNORANT ANS STARVED WHILE A FEW HAVE MORE INCOME IN GOODS AND SERVICES THAN THEY CAN USE.

IT IS NOT SUFFICIENT ANSWER TO THIS FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM, TO POINT OUT THAT THE PRESENT DEGRADATION OF THE WORKER IS NOT NEAR SO GREAT AS IT ONCE WAS, OR MUCH LESS IN SOME LANDS THAN IN OTHERS. THE POINT IS THAT IT IS FAR TOO GREAT THAN IS NECESSARY OR DECENT, AND CALLS FOR DRASTIC CURE NOW AND NOT A THOUSAND YEARS HENCE.

THIS IS THE BASIC PROBLEM OF OUR CULTURE, NO MATTER HOW MUCH WE TRY TO CONCEAL AND IGNORE IT: OR TRY TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM IT TO OTHER MATTERS. THERE ARE NO OTHER MATTERS SO IMPORTANT OR SO PRESSING. WE MAY BE LED TO

YELL OUR HEADS OFF TO CONVINCE OURSELVES THAT THE PROBLEM OF THE WORLD TODAY IS THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNISM. THAT IS DELIBERATE DECEPTION. THE PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC JUSTICE TO WORKING MEN EXISTED BEFORE THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA AND WOULD REMAIN IF RUSSIA WERE SWEPT FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH TOMORROW. PROPOSALS TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM BY SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM, DID NOT ORIGINATE IN RUSSIA AND WILL NOT END THERE. WHAT RUSSIA DID WAS TO ATTEMPT TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM IN A SYSTEMATIC WAY, AT A TIME WHEN THE 19th CENTURY HAD BEQUEATHED TO THE WORLD THE DOGMA THAT THE PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC J STICE WAS INSOLUBLE: THAT MOST MEN MUST ALWAYS BE POOR, IGNORANT AND SICK, BECAUSE MOST MEN WERE SO INFERIOR IN GIFT AND MORALS THAT THIS WAS INEVITABLE: THAT CIVILIZATION DEPENDED ON MAKING THE FEW MASTERS OF THE MANY, THE RICH, THE RULERS OF THE POOR: AND THUS IN THIS WAY, AND ONLY IN THIS WAY, COULD CIVILIZATION BE BUILT AND MAINTAINED.

IS THIS TRUE? WHETHER IT BE TRUE OR NOT, WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO STOP PEOPLE AND NATIONS FROM DENYING ITS TRUTH--FROM DENYING THE NECESS TY OF

POVERTY, DISEASE AND IGNORANCE, AND FROM EXPERIMENTING IN THEIR OWN WAY TO ABOLISH THEM. MOREOVER, OUR OWN DUTY IS CLEAR: AND THAT IS, NOT TO PULL DOWN OTHERS, BUT RATHER TO BUILD OURSELVES UP: TO PROVE TO THE WORLD THAT THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF MANKIND CAN BE BETTERED AND THAT WE KNOW HOW TO DO THIS AND THAT WE PROPOSE TO PROVE OUR BELIEF BY ACTION. INSTEAD OF THIS, WHAT ARE WE UP TO? WE ARE TRYING TO FIGHT AN IDEA. WE ARE GOING TO MAKE NATIONS AGREE WITH US AND OUR WAY OF LIFE BY USING ATOM BOMBS, AND BOMBER PLANES, BATTLESHIPS AND ARTILLERY. AND WHILE WASTING TIME, STRENGTH, AND WEALTH, IN THIS EFFORT: WE ARE DOING ALMOST NOTHING TO IMPLEMENT OUR OWN THEORY OF PROGRESS.

WHY? WHY DO WE PROPOSE TO MAKE THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT FAIL, TO THROTTLE CHINA AND TO THROW THE WORLD INTO CONTINUOUS WAR? THE REASON IS CLEAR: WE FEAR THAT ANY SUCCESS OF SOCIALISM OR COMMUNISM WILL INTERFERE WITH OUR OWN MONEY MAKING. WE HAVE BECOME A NATION OF MANEY MAKERS. WE THINK THAT MONEY

MAKING IS THE GREAT END OF MAN. OUR WHOLE IDEOLOGY BOWS TO THIS FANTASTIC IDEA. RELIGION, SCIENCE, ART AND MORALS IN AMERICA TEND TO BE MEASURED BY THE PROFIT THEY BRING, AND THE TRUE VOCATION OF AMERICAN MANHOOD IS REGARDED AS PROFIT MAKING BUSINESS ENTERPRISE, AND NOT SOCIAL SERVICE.

WAR IS BIG BUSINESS AND A BUSINESS IMMENSELY PROFITABLE TO A FEW, BUT OF MEASURELESS DISASTER AND DEATH OF DREAM TO THE MANY. BIG BUSINESS WANTS WAR IN ORDER TO KEEP YOUR MIND OFF SOCIAL REFORM: IT WOULD RATHER SPEND YOUR TAXES FOR ATOM BOMBS THAN FOR SCHOOLS BECAUSE IN THIS WAY IT MAKES MORE MONEY: IT WOULD RATHER HAVE YOUR SONS DYING IN KOREA THAN STUDYING IN AMERICA AND ASKING AWKWARD QUESTIONS. THE SYSTEM WHICH IT ADVOCATES DEPENDS ON WAR AND MORE WAR.

35-2-424

IN ORDER TO HAVE WAR, BIG BUSINESS MUST HAVE HATE: SO ITS PRESS AND NEWSPAPERS ASK YOU TO HATE COMMUNISTS AND IF NOT COMMUNISTS, HATE ALL WHO DO NOT HATE COMMUNISTS: INDEED HATE ALL WHO DO NOT TAKE ORDERS FROM THOSE WHO NOW RULE AMERICA.

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WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE WORLD, IS THAT THOSE WHO PROFIT FROM WAR, ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED STATES, HAVE GAINED CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT, OF INFORMATION, OF GIGANTIC AND UNPRECEDENTED PROPAGANDA. THIS CAME ABOUT BECAUSE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR, WHICH WE ENTERED WITH RELUCTANCE AND IN WHICH WE PARTICIPATED MAINLY BY FURNISHING MATERIALS AT A HUGE PROFIT FOR THOSE WHO CONTROLLED THEM. THE RESULT WAS TWO FOLD: AMERICANS CONCEIVED THE IDEA OF CONTINUING TO PROFIT FROM THE WORLD'S DISASTER AND TO MOVE IN AS SUCCESSOR OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE AS RULER OF MOST OF MANKIND. ON THE OTHER HAND, RUSSIA AND OTHER NATIONS WHO HAD BEEN THROUGH HELL BECAUSE OF WAR, BEGAN EXPERIMENTS FOR REFORMING, IF NOT REPLACING THE CURRENT METHODS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION. WE JOINED THE CAPITALISTS OF THE WORLD TO SUPPRESS THEIR SOCIALIST EXPERIMENTS WHICH THREATENED OUR PLAN OF WORLD INDUSTRIAL EMPIRE. HOWEVER, JUST AS PLANS WERE RIPE FOR A MASS ATTACK, IN PARTICULAR ON THE SOVIETS, THE BOTTOM FELL OUT OF MODERN

CAPITALIST INDUSTRY. THIS WAS NO FAULT OF RUSSIA NOR OF SOCIALISM, BUT WAS DIRECTLY DUE TO THE OVERREACHING GREED OF PRIVATE PROFIT.

BUT NO MATTER WHAT ITS CAUSE, THE RESULT WAS THAT THE SOVIET EXPERIMENT GOT A BREATHING SPACE, WHILE IN THE UNITED STATES THE NEW DEAL WAS FORCED TO ADOPT MANY SOCIALIST REMEDIES FOR POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT AND DISEASE: WE CURBED THE PROFITS OF CAPITAL: WE PUT THE STATE INTO CERTAIN INDUSTRIES, WE ADOPTED PLANNED INDUSTRY LIKE THE TVA, WE RELIEVED THE UNEMPLOYED, WE ESTABLISHED SOCIAL SECURITY, AND BEGAN TO HOUSE THE HOMELESS.

IN OTHER WORDS, THE UNITED STATES BEGAN TO FORM AND CARRY OUT ITS OWN PLANS FOR SO REORGANIZING INDUSTRY AS TO SAVE CAPITALISM WHEREEVER IT DESERVED TO BE SAVED.

HERE THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY TAKES ITS STAND AS THE SUCCESSOR OF THE NEW DEAL. IT MAINTAINS THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS A RIGHT TO ADOPT ITS OWN ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY AND CARRY IT OUT AS IT WILL. AND THAT ALSO THE UNITED

STATES HAS A RIGHT TO ATTEMPT TO SAVE ITS OWN WAY OF LIFE AND THAT THIS CAN BE DONE, AS THE NEW DEAL STARTED TO PROVE, WHEN IT WAS SABOTAGED NOT ONLY BY ITS ENEMIES BUT MORE COMPLETELY BY ITS FRIENDS. WHAT THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY ASSERTS IS THAT THE PRESENT PLAN OF BIG BUSINESS TO COMPEL THE WORLD TO ADOPT OUR PHILOSOPHY AND OUR METHODS BY FORCE OF ARMS IS NOT ONLY UNREASONABLE IN THE LIGHT OF OUR FAILURE TO CONTINUE OUR OWN PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC REFORM BUT IMPOSSIBLE IN ITSELF AND CAN ONLY END IN DISASTER.

IT WOULD SEEM THAT THE FUTILE EFFORTS OF A SUCCESSION OF MASTER RACES TO IMPOSE THEIR WILL AND POWER UPON MANKIND WOULD TEACH US THAT OUR PROGRAM OF WORLD CONQUEST IS CRAZY. THERE IS NO POSSIBLE CHANCE FOR US TO ACCOMPLISH WHAT EGYPT, PERSIA, GREECE, ROME, GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY FAILED TO DO. WITH OUR LITTLE "POLICE ACTION" IN KOREA SHAKING OUR RESOURCES TO THE FOUNDATIONS, HOW LONG AND WHAT EFFORT WILL IT TAKE TO CONQUER CHINA, THE

SOVIET UNION, IHA BALKANS--NOT TO MENTION INDIA? OUR MILITARY PLANS ARE IDOITIC AND STILL MORE SO, IF WE DEPEND ON GERMANY, JAPAN AND FRANCE TO PULL OUR CHESTNUTS OUT OF THE FIRE. IT WILL TAKE MORE THAN ONE WILD MAN OF TOKYO TO BRING THIS FANTASY INTO FACT.

MOREOVER THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY POINTS OUT THAT THE PERSONS WHO ARE FORCING US TO ADOPT THIS POLICY OF FORCE AND VIOLENCE ARE THE UPHOLDERS OF BIG BUSINESS: AND THEY ARE PROFITING AS NEVER BEFORE BY WAR AND PREPARATION FOR WAR, AND ARE DELIBERATELY BLIND TO THE FACT THAT THEIR PROFIT IS THE DISASTER OF AMERICA AND THE WORLD. MOREOVER, WE POINT OUT THAT HERBERT LEHMAN WAS TRAINED IN BIG BUSINESS AND TODAY DELIBERATELY REPRESENTS ITS INTERESTS. LASTYYEAR, HERBERT LAHMAN CALLED JOHN FOSTER DULLES "A BIGOT, AN ANTI-SEMITE AND A FASCIST." FOR THAT REASON I VOTED FOR LEHMAN INSTEAD OF DULLES. THIS YEAR SENATOR LEHMAN WELCOMES THIS SAME DULLES INTO "BI-PARTISAN" COLLABORATION FOR WAR: HE SPONSORS LEGISLATION FOR CONCENTRATION CAMPS FOR COMMUNISTS AND

25-2-426

THOSE CALLED COMMUNISTS: HE IGNORES THE RESTORATION TO POWER IN GERMANY OF THE SAME GANG WHICH KILLED SIX MILLION JEWS, AND ACQUIESCES INTO THEIR RE-ARMING.

WHY? WHAT HAS CHANGED MR. LEHMAN? HE HAS NOT CHANGED. HE FOLLOWS AUTOMATICALLY HIS TRAINING IN THE SAME SCHOOL AND ON THE SAME WALL STREET WHICH MADE DULLES A WARMONGER AND ATTORNEY OF THE NAZIS: AND THAT IS: FOREIGN INVESTMENT OF AMERICAN CAPITAL, SO AS TO MAKE ENORMOUS PROFIT OUT OF THE POVERTY AND HELPLESSNESS OF SOUTH AMERICA, ASIA AND AFRICA. AMERICAN CAPITAL IS POURING INTO SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA. WE ARE THE REAL OWNERS OF SERF LABOR IN THE BELGIAN CONGO. WE ARE WILD TO HAVE CHINESE FACTORY HANDS AT 12 CENTS A DAY. WE HELPED SHOOT DOWN THE STRIKING BLACK MINERS IN WEST AFRICA. AND TO BULWARK OUR INVESTMENT AND GUARANTEE HIGHT PROFIT, THE POWER OF BUSINESS JOINS HANDS WITH THE MILITARY.

THUS, WE ARE TODAY RULED BY BIG BUSINESS AND BIG BRASS FOR PROFIT. A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE STEEL TRUST HAS BEEN SECRETARY OF STATE: A REPRESENTATIVE OF MORGAN AND ROCKEFELLER IS CHIEF ADVISER OF TRUMAN ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS: ANOTHER MORGAN MAN HAS BEEN UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE AND MAY BE SECOND IN COMMAND UNDER MARSHALL: A SECRETARY OF THE NAVY AND DEFENSE CHIEF REPRESENTED DILLON, REED AND COMPANY, AND ANOTHER BECAME SECRETARY OF WAR.

35-2-428

WHERE BIG BUSINESS DOES NOT CONTROL GOVERNMENT, MEN TRAINED FOR WAR DO. WE HAVE JUST REFORMED OUR DEFENSE DEPARTMENT BY PLACING A SOLDIER AT ITS HEAD IN DEFIANCE OF SOUND TRADITION: HIS FIRST WORD IS "UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING" OF OUR CHILDREN, FOR ALL OUT WAR ALL OVER THE EARTH, AT A COST GREATER THAN WE EVER SPENT FOR EDUCATION, HEALTH, HOUSING AND SOCIAL UPLIFT ALTOGETHER. AND FOR WHAT? FOR PROFIT TO INVESTORS WHICH IS TODAY PILING UP AT THE RATE OF $23,000,000,000 A YEAR: WITH THE PROSPECT THAT THE PROFIT FOR 1950 WILL BE FOUR AND A HALF TIMES THAT OF 1939, AND TWICE AS HIGH AS THE ENORMOUS WAR

PROFIT OF 1944.

IT IS THE THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, THAT WHEN A SITUATION LIKE THIS ARISES, TWO POLITICAL PARTIES WILL EXAMINE, DEBATE AND DISPUTE ISSUES AND ACTS UNTIL THE PEOPLE CAN MAKE INTELLIGENT CHOICE OF THE PROBLEMS BEFORE THEM. TODAY WE HAVE ONLY ONE POLITICAL PARTY WHICH SHARES POWER FOR THE SAME ENDS. MEN LIKE DEWEY AND HANLEYCAN ONLY TRY TO OUTDO WHAT THE DEMOCRATS HAVE ALREADY DONE: IF THE DEMOCRATS ARE FOR WAR, THEY ARE FOR MORE WAR: IF THE DEMOCRATS REPUDIATE THE NEW DEAL , THE REPUBLICANS LOATHE AND DISPISE IT. THE ONE POINT OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO SO CALLED PARTIES IS WAR ON ANY NATION OR MOVEMENT WHICH STANDS IN THE WAY OF AMERICAN PROFIT: AND THE SUPPRESSION OF ALL DISCUSSION OF THE MERITS OF THE PRESENT CRISIS. I TRY TO SPREAD IN AMERICA NEWS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN EUROPE AND I AM THREATENED WITH JAIL. PAUL ROBESON ADVISES NEGROES NEVER TO FIGHT AGAINST PEOPLE STRIVING FOR A BETTER WORLD FOR BLACK AND WHITE, AND HE IS DENIED THE RIGHT TO MAKE A LIVING.

MY PLATFORM THEN, LIKE THE PLATFORM OF EVERY HONEST AMERICAN WHO STILL DARES BELIEVE IN PEACE AND FREEDOM, TAKES ITS UNALTERABLE STAND AGAINST WAR AND SLAVERY. IT WARNS ALL THINKING MEN THAT THE CAUSE OF OUR PRESENT FAILURE AND DISGRACE IS SIMPLE AND SHEER MASS INSANITY. WE HAVE KNOWN INDIVIDUALS TO GO CRAZY. WE HAVE LONG VIEWED THIS AS AN UNFORTUNATE DISEASE, OR ILLUSION FOSTERED BY A MAN'S OWN WEAKNESS OR BY THE WICKED PLOTS OF HIS ENEMIES.

25-2-429

WE ARE LEARNING ALL TOO SLOWLY HOW TO COPE WITH AND CURE THE INDIVIDUALLY INSANE. BUT MASS INSANITY IS A NEWER THING. TO BE SURE WE HAVE EXPERIENCED IT IN THE RACE HATE OF THE SOUTH, WHICH WE INCREASINGLY RECOGNIZE AS DISTORTED MENTALITY RATHER THAN DELIBERATE WILL TO HARM: AND WHILE THIS DAWNING COMPREHENSION OF ONE OF THE NASTIEST BLOTS ON OUR CULTURE HAS NOT YET CURED IT, IT HAS AT LEAST LET US SEE OUR WAY TO BEGIN TO PLAN THE LONG UPBUILDING FUTURE. BUT BEFORE WE ARE WELL STARTED ON THIS PATH TO GOODNESS AND TRUTH, THERE COMES AN INSANITY, A WILD AND CRUEL MADNESS, WHICH ENGULFS THE WORLD, HURLS US INTO

PLANNED AND HORRIBLE MURDER, CALLS TO ITS ENDS EVERY INGENUITY OF SCIENCE, AND EVEN SETS AT ITS HEAD FOLLOWERS OF THAT PRINCE OF PEACE, WHO ONCE OUT OF DEGRADATION AND POVERTY PLED WITH A WORLD FAR LESS GUILTY THAN OURS: WHILE WE TODAY GIVE OUR WORLD A DISTORTION OF HIS WORDS AND SHRIEK:

"COME UNTO ME ALL THEM THAT LABOR AND ARE HEAVY-LADEN AND I WILL GIVE YOU WAR."

THAT THE CIVILIZED WORLD TODAY, NEARLY2,000 YEARS AFTER THE BIRTH OF CHRISTIANITY, NOT MENTIONING THOSE OLDER AND YOUNGER FAITHS, WITH THEIR HIGH HOPES OF REASON AND LOVE OF HUMANITY--THAT THIS WORLD TODAY WITH ALL ITS TRIUMPHS WHICH ONCE WE GREETED WITH SHOUTS OF JOY--THAT THIS WORLD HAS GONE CRAZY, NO SANE MAN CAN FOR A MOMENT DENY.

BUT HE CAN PAUSE AND RESTING A MINUTE FROM HIS ATOM BOMBS, HIS HYDROGEN HORROR, HIS PROPAGANDA OF DISEASE OF BODY AND MIND, HIS MAD DESTRUCTION AND WILD

WASTE OF THE POOR--PAUSE AND ASK IN T IS ELECTION SEASON, WHY? FOR GOD'S SAKE, WHY? WHAT ARE WE YELLING ABOUT ? OF WAHT ARE WE IN SUCH DEATHLY FEAR?

THE PRESENT SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES IS A WAR-MAKING BODY AND A BODY HOSTILE TO CIVIL LIBERTIES NOT ONLY IN THE SOUTH BUT IN THIS STATE. YOU HAVE A RIGHT IN NOVEMBER TO HELP CHANGE THE COMPOSITION OF THE SENATE. THE PRESENT JUNIOR SENATOR, VOTED FOR THE RIGHT. I VOTED FOR HI LAST YAR. BUT THIS YEAR THE WHOLE PICTURE OF THE WORLD HAS CHANGED AND SENATOR LEHMAN HAS SUPPORTED OUR WAR PROGRAM AND OPENLY CONDONED IN SOME CASES THE INVASION OF OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES.

AS REPRESENTATIVE OF FINANCE AND INVESTING INTERESTS HE COULD HARDLY DO OTHERWISE. REMEMBER WHAT MODERN INVESTMENT IS: IT IS NOT AS IT ONCE WAS, THE LOANING OF YOUR SAVINGS TO HELP AN ENTERPRISE WHICH YOU KNEW ABOUT AND WATCHED. IT IS CONTROL OF GOODS AND LABOR OVER VAST AREAS AND UNDER CONDITIONS OF WHICH YOU NEITHER KNOW NOR CARE. IT MAY AND OFTEN DOES INVOLVE SLAVERY AND DISEASE,

IGNORANCE AND CRUELTY. IT MAY DRIVE WAGES TO STARVATION, DECIMATE AND RUIN FAMILY AND GROUP LIFE; IT MAY TURN VAST AREAS FROM HAPPY PRIMITAVE LIFE TO CENTERS OF CRIME AND HORROR. BUT IF IT EARNS A PROFIT; IF IT DOES NOT TRANSGRESS THE LAWS, XXXX OF THE COUNTRY WHERE THE INVESTORS LIVE AND WHERE THEY LARGELY MAKE THE LAW, THEN IT IS LAGAL, LEGITIMATE AND RESPECTABLE. THIS HAS BEEN THE HISTORY OF MODERN FINANCE AND INVESTMENT ALL OVER THE WORLD. ITS PATH IS MARKED BY BLOOD, WAR, IGNORANCE AND THE SUBJECTION OF MOST OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD TO THE COMFORT AND CONVENIENCE AND LUXURY OF THE FEW.

THE RIGHT TO CURB UNCONTROLLED INVESTMENT AND EXPLOITATION HAS BEEN LONG AND DIFFICULT AND HAS HAD MUCH SUCCESS. BUT TODAY AND IN AMERICA IT IS FAILING AND RESULTING IN A PROGRAM OF WORLD WAR. THE OVERWHELMING INFLUENCE AND REPRESENTATION of finance capital in our legislatures in the executive and especially

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES MUST BE CURBED AND CURBED IMMEDIATELY. IT IS TIME THAT SENATOR LEHMAN BE REPLACED BY A MAN WHO IS OPPOSED TO WAR AND WILLING TO FIGHT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES AND NOT SIMPLY FOR THE LIBERTY OF CORPORATIONS BUT LIBERTY FOR THE MASS OF WORKING MEN AND WOMEN.

35-2-431

IT HAS BEEN INTIMATED HOWEVER, THAT MY CANDIDACY IS DESIGNED NOT REALLY TO REPLACE SENATOR LEHMAN BY A MAN WILLING TO FIGHT FOR PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS BUT RATHER TO ELECT AS SENATOR A MEN EVEN LESS QUALIFIED AND LESS WILLING TO REPRESENT PROGRESSIVE THOUGHT THAN MR. LEHMAN. SO FAR AS I AM CONCERNED PERSONALLY, I HAVE BUT ONE OBJECT IN THIS CAMPAIGN AND THAT IS TO WIN THE ELECTION.

IN A LONG LIFE I HAVE NEVER AND NEVER EXPECT TO ACT AS STOOL PIGEON FOR ANY MAN OR PARTY. I SHALL NOT BEGIN NOW. I KNOW THAT EVERY THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT MEETS SUCH ACCUSATIONS, WHICH IF HEEDED WOULD MAKE PROGRESS IMPOSSIBLE. EVERYTIME YOU SUGGEST VOTING AGAINST A DOMINANT PARTY OR A PRESENT OFFICIAL,

YOU ARE MET BY THE PREDICTION THAT YOU ARE BOUND TO FAIL. UPON THIS FEAR AND RISK, THE OLD PARTIES RELY TO HOLD THEIR GRADT AND POWER.

TODAY IN THIS STATE AND IN THE NATION THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES PARTIES STAND FOR ONE AND THE SAME THING: WAR AND THE SLAVE STATE. THEY CANNOT EVEN PHRASE PLATFORMS THAT SOUND DIFFERENT. THEY CAN ONLY PROMISE TO DO WHAT THE OTHER IS DONG BETTER--or WORSE. THE NATION FACED THE SAME PREDICAMENT AND PROPHECY IN THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY A CENTURY AGO. YOU HAD TO VOTE DEMOCRATIC OR WHIG, BECAUSE THE FREE SOIL PARTY H D NOT CHANCE: BECAUSE IF YOU FAILED TO VOTE FOR A DEMOCRAT YOU HELP ELECT A WHIG. BUT THAT WAS NOT TURE, AS THE EVENTUAL TRIUMPH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN PROVED. EVERY DEFEAT OF A CANDIDATE FOR A FREE COUNTRY, DOES NOT MEAN DEFEAT FOR WHAT HE STANDS FOR.

EVEN IF I BE DEFEATED FOR SENATOR, THE VOTE FOR ME WOULD STILL BE A VOTE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS AND AGAINST WAR, AND EVENTUALLY THIS PROGRAM MUST WIN. IF IT WINS THIS NOVEMBER SO MUCH THE BETTER: BUT IF IT WINS TEN YEARS FROM

TODAY THAT VICTORY MUST BEGIN NOW.

IT IS THE PROGRAM AND NOT THE MAN FOR WHICH YOU VOTE. THEY ONLY ASSURANCE YOU HAVE IS THAT IF I AM ELECTED TO THE SENATE, NO POWER IN HELL, EARTH NOR HEAVEN WILL KEEP MY MOUTH FROM SPEAKING AND VOTING WHILE I LIVE WHAT I CONCEIVE IS THE TURTH AND RIGHT.

IN THIS SITUATION THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY TAKES ITS STAND ON THE PROPOSITION "THERE CAN BE NO PROGRESS WITHOUT PEACE." WE ARE THE ONLY NATION IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD TODAY ADVOCATING WAR AND COMPELLING OTHER NATIONS TO FIGHT. FOR THIS WE ARE HATED AND FEARED. WE CALL FOR THE IMMEDIATE SETTLEMENT OF THE WAR IN KOREA, WHICH AN AMERICN SOLDIER HAS CHARACTERIZED WHEN HE SAID: "I NEVER SAW SUCH A USELESS DAMNED WAR IN ALL MY LIFE.". MEDIATION WITH BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA IN CONFERENCE, AND CHINA REPRESENTED IN THE UNITED NATIONS, IS THE ONLY SOLUTION. WE ASK RESUMPTION OF THE FREE FLOW OF TRADE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AND THE UTTER OVERTHROW OF COLONIALISM WHEN WHEN MARKED

UNDER POINT FOUR.

TO STOP THIS PROGRAM OF REASON AND PROGRESS, THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POLITICAL PROFIT-MAKERS, CALLED THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, HAVE ADOPTED THE LAST TACTICS OF DESPAIR. THEY HAVE MADE NOT ONLY TURTH BUT CIVIL RIGHTS A CASUALYY OF WAR! THEY HAVE TURNED YOUR ATTENTION FROM PROGRESS AND PEACE, TO HATE AND FEAR. THEY ARE MAKING IT ILLEGAL TO THINK OF PROGRESS OR TO ADVOCATE PEACE OR PROGRESS. EVERY PATH TO REFORM LIKE TAXATION OF GREAT WEALTH: SOCIAL MEDICINE, INCITIVE RENT CONTROL, RIVER DEVELOPMENT, PUBLIC HOUSING AND FOREST PLANNING, ARE ALL CALLED COMMUNISTIC OR SOCIALISTIC AND THEIR PROMOTERS THREATENED WITH DISGRACE, JAIL OR LOSS OF LIVELIHOOD.

AND NOW AS A LAST EXERCISE OF TYRANNY, WE ARE PRESENTED WITH THE MCCARRAN ACT--THEFUGITIVE SLAVE LAW OF 1950. YOU KNOW WHAT THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW OF 1850 WAS: CAPITAL INVESTED IN HUMAN BEINGS BEGAN TO RUN AWAY: FOOLISH NORTHERNERS

23-2-432

BLACK AND WHITE, HELPED IT HIDE. THE SLAVE POWER WHICH RULED THE NATION AS WALL STREET RULES IT TODAY, PASSED A BILL THAT MADE KIDNAPPING OF ANY NEGRO POSSIBLE WITHOUT TRIAL, THAT MADE A MAN PROVE HIS FREEDOM INSTEAD OF FORCING MASTERS TO PROVE PROPERTY: AND TRIED TO MAKE ABOLITIONISM A CRIME. THIS LAW WAS SO SUCCESSFUL THAT IN A DECADE IT BROUGHT CIVIL WAR, AND ABULITION OF SLAVERY CAME THREE YEARS LATER.

35-2-433

SO TODAY, WE ARE BIDDEN TO HATE COMMUNISM WHEN WHAT WE MUST HATE IS WAR: WE ARE CALLED SUBVERSIVE WHEN WE TRY TO THINK AND ACT AS HUMAN BEINGS AND NOT AS PUPPETS. IF WE ATTACK SEGREGATION IN THE ARMY OR CIVIL LIFE, WE ARE CALLED TRAITORS TO AMERICA. AGAINST THIS THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY PROTESTS AND FIGHTS. AND AS ITS CANDIDATE FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE, I ASK YOU TO VOTE TO UPEB BIG BUSINESS AND WAR AS REPRESENTED BY HERBERT LEHMAN: WAR AND BIG BUSINESS AS REPRESENTED BY THAT EMINENT VETERAN ROE HANLEY: AND TO UPHOLD PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS, WHICH ARE BEING SABOTAGED BY HARRY TRUMAN. TO THE SUPPORT OF THIS

PROGRAM I WELCOME EVERY ODY WHO AGREES WITH IT, WHITE AND BLACK: JEW AND GENTILE: DEMOCRAT, COMMUNIST, AND EVEN REPUBLICAN.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1950

The great issue, of this time, of this nation, of this world, is Peace; and the central theme of the campaign which begins here today is Peace, no more War. There are in this nation today powerful interests which are determined on War. To this end they are suppressing the Bill of Rights so as to stop discussion, distort the facts and stampede the nation through the hysteria of groundless Fear. Who is it among us who wants War and why do they want it?

The American Labor Party knows who and why, and there are many others who also know. But the American Labor Party not only knows but it is going to do something about it. That right of action is the right to elect our lawmakers and executives by universal and secret ballot.

35-4-159

Our party therefore has selected candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor; for comptroller and attorney-general, for mayor of the city of New York and for members of the federal Congress.

It has asked me to run for the United States Senate. This is for me a new role. Only once in my life have I held public office, and that was when, for a month in 1920, I was made Special Minister Plenipotentiary to Liberia. My political activity has been almost wholly confined to writing. In this writing, with some speaking, I tried first to put the Negro vote in proper and effective relation to the national needs. In the first election of Woodrow Wilson, I sought to end Negro subserviency to the Republican Party. I tried to induce the Bull Moose movement to make Negro Rights a main plank and fought it when it refused. I opposed Taft's "lily-white" Southern policy and supported the third party movements of La Follette and Henry Wallace. I have never been an active party worker, but have been an enrolled member of the Socialist Party, of the Democratic party

under the New Deal, and lately of the American Labor Party.

The basic motive of my political thought and activity has been the securing for all Americans, civil and political rights regardless of race or color. I assumed and assumed too easily, that once color discrimination was done away with, the nation and the world would be free to attack and solve certain basic problems of humam progress which I knew full well cried for solution. Behind and beneath this demand for rights lay always therefore the assumption that with the right to vote, ~~the right~~ to work, the right to think and speak, ~~the right to travel~~ and the right to know, would come through the very exercise of these fundamental privileges, the basic right of human beings to live, to work; to eat and be sheltered, to be shielded from disease and have their children educated. ¶ But to my amazement and fright, I have lived to see the era of Peace which I was trained to look forward to as the only goal of Civilization transformed into plans for universal world war; and a theory of progress by war and more war, each more savage and destructive than the last. I now realize that I, as well as you, am faced by a problem and a crisis in which no considerations of ease or age, suffice to hold me back from a great duty. That duty is the one of trying to bring reason and past experience to bear upon a people gone temporarily insane. ¶ The basic cause of this insanity is the effort of powerful interests, armed by control of press and radio, school and platform, backed by almost unlimited money, to turn the attention of the world from the fundamental problem of our age. That problem is that in our unprecedented organization of industry, with its marvellous technique and world-wide extent, the vast majority of mankind remain sick, ignorant and starved, while a few have more income in goods and services than they can use. It is no sufficient answer to this fundamental problem, to point out that the present degradation of the worker is not near so great as it once was, or much less in some lands than in

35-4-160

¶ in Copy

There are no others matters so important or so pressing

others. The point is that it is far too great than is necessary or decent and calls for drastic cure now and not a thousand years hence.

This is the basic problem of ~~civilization~~ our culture, no matter how much we try to conceal and ignore it, or try to divert attention from it to other matters. We may be led to yell our heads off to convince ourselves that the problem of this world today is the Soviet Union and Communism. That is deliberate deception. The problem of economic justice to working men existed before the Russian revolution and would remain if Russia were swept from the face of the earth tomorrow. Proposals to solve this problem by socialism and communism, did not originate in Russia and will not end there. What Russia did was to attempt to solve this problem in a systematic way, at a time when the 19th century had bequeathed to the world the dogma that the problem of economic justice was insoluble; that most men must always be poor, ignorant and sick, because most men were so inferior in gift and morals that this was inevitable; that civilization depended on making the few masters of the many, the Rich the rulers of the Poor, and thus in this way, and only in this way, could civilization be built and maintained.

35-4-1101

Is this true? Whether it is true or not, we have no right to stop people and nations from denying the necessity of poverty, disease and ignorance, and from experimenting in their own way to make a better world. Moreover, our own duty is clear and ~~pressing~~ that is not to pull down others but rather to build ourselves up; to prove to the world that the economic condition of mankind can be bettered and that we know how to do this and ~~are starting~~ we propose to prove our belief by action. Instead of this, what are we up to? We are trying to fight an Idea. We are going to make nations agree with us and our way of life by using atom bombs, and jet planes,

battleships and artillery.

Why? Why do we propose to ~~overthrow~~ make the Russian experiment fail, to throttle China and to throw the world into continuous war? The reason is clear: any success of socialism or communism will we fear that interfere with our money-making. We have become a nation of money-makers. We think that money-making is the great end of man. Our whole ideology bows to this fantastic idea. Religion, science, art and morals in America tend to be measured by the profit they bring, and the true ~~end~~ vocation of American man is profit-making business enterprise.

35-4-1602

War is Big Business and a business immensely profitable to a few, but of measureless disaster and death of dream to the many. What has happened to the world, is that those who profit from war, especially in the United States, have gained control of government; This came about because of the First World War, which we entered with reluctance and participated in mainly by furnishing materials at a huge profit to those who controlled them. The result was two-fold; Americans conceived the idea of continuing to profit from the world's disaster and to move in as successor of the British Empire as ruler of most of mankind. On the other hand, Russia and other nations who had been through Hell because of war, began experiments for reforming if not replacing the current methods of industrial organization. We joined the capitalists of the world to suppress their socialist experiments which threatened our plan of world industrial empire. However, just as plans were ripe for a mass attack on the Soviets, in particular, the bottom fell out of modern capitalist industry. This was no fault of Russia nor of socialism, but was directly due to the overreaching greed of private profit.

But no matter what its cause, the result was that the Soviet experiment got a breathing space while in the United States the New Deal

Big Business wants war ino order to keep your mind off social reform; it rather spend your taxes for atom bombs than for schools because in this way it makes more money; it rather have your sons dying in Korea than studying in America and asking awkward questions. The system which it advocates depends on war and more war.

In order to have war, Big busines must have Hate; so its press and newspapers ask you to hate communists and if not communists , hate all who do not hate communists indeed hate all who do not take orders from those who now rule America

was forced to adopt many socialist remedies for poverty, unemployment and ~~despair~~ despair: we curbed the profits of capital; we put the State into certain industries and we adopted planned industry like the TVA, and we relieved the unemployed and we established Social Security

In other words, the United States began to form and carry out its own plans for so reorganizing industry as to save capitalism wherever it deserved to be saved.

35-4-163

Here the American Labor Party takes its stand as the successor of the New Deal. It maintains that the Soviet Union has a right to adopt its own economic philosophy and carry it out as it will. And that also the United States has a right to attempt to save its own way of life and that this can be done as the New Deal started to prove, when it was not only by its enemies but more completely sabotaged ~~by~~ its friends. ~~But~~ What the American Labor Party denies is that the present plan of Big Business to compel the world to adopt our philosophy and our methods by force of arms is not only impossible unreasonable in the light of our own failures and ~~idiotic~~ in deals and can only end in disaster.

Moreover, we point out that the persons who are forcing us to adopt this policy of force and violence are the upholders of Big Business; that they are profiting as never before by war and preparation for war, and are deliberately blind to the fact that their profit is the disaster of America and the world. Moreover, we point out that Herbert Lehman was trained in Big Business and today deliberately represents ~~the~~ its interests ~~of Big Business.~~ Last year Herbert Lehman called John Foster Dulles "a bigot, an Anti-Semite and a Fascist". For that reason I voted for Lehman instead of Dulles. This year Senator Lehman welcomes this same Dulles into "bi-partisan" collaboration for war; he votes for a concentration camp for Communists & Their Collect. Communists; he ignores the restoration to power in Germany of the same gang which killed six million Jews, and acquiesces into their re-arming.

would seem that the futile efforts of a succession of master races to impose their
ll and power upon mankind would teach us that our progra m of world conquest is
crazy. There is no possible chance for us to accomplish what Egypt, Persia, Greece,
e, Great Britain and Hitler failed to do. With our little "police action" in Korea
shaking our resourses to the foundations, how long and what effort will it take to
nquer China , the Soviet Union, the Balkans, not to mention India/? Our military plans
e idiotic and still more ~~idiotic~~ so if we depend on G ermany and Japan to pull our chest-
uts out of the fire. It will take more than one Wild Man of Tokio to bring this fantasy
fact.

Why; what has changed Mr. Lehman? He has not changed. He follows automatically his training in the same school which made Dulles a warmonger and attorney of the Nazis, and that is, foreign investment of American capital so as to make enormous profit out of the poverty and helplessness of Asia and Africa. And to bulwark our investment and guarantee high profit, the power of business joins hands with the military.

Thus, we are today ruled by Big Business and Big Brass for profit. A representative of the Steel Trust has been Secretary of State; a representative of Morgan and Rockerfeller is chief adviser of Truman on foreign affairs; another Morgan man has been under-secretary of State and will be second in command under Marshall. A secretary of the Navy and Defense chief represented Dillon, Reid and Company, and another became Secretary of War. Where Big Business does not control government, men trained for war do. We have just reformed our defense department by placing a soldier at its head, in defiance of sound tradition; his first word is universal training of our children for all-out war all over the earth, at a cost greater than we ever spent for education, health, housing and social uplift altogether. And for what? For profit to investors which is today piling up at the rate of $23,000,000,000 a year; with the prospect that the profit for 1950 will be four and a half that of 1939, and twice as high as the enormous war profit of 1944.

It is the theory of democratic government, that when a situation like this arises, two political parties will examine, debate and dispute issues and acts, until the people can make intelligent choice of the problems before them. Today we have only one political party which shares power for the same ends. Men like Dewey and Hanley can only try to outdo what the Democrats have already done; if the Democrats are for war, they are for more war; if the Democrats repudiate the New

American capital is flowing into South Africa and Rhodesia. We are the real owners of Belgian Congo. We are ready to arm Chinese fascist hands at 12 cents a day. Watchful Shirt down the block workers in West Africa

Deal, the Republicans loathe and despite it; the one point of agreement between the two so-called parties is war on any nation or movement which stands in the way of American profit, and the suppression of all discussion of the merits of the present crisis. I try to spread in America the peace movement in Europe and I am threatened with jail. Paul Robeson advises Negroes never to fight against people who are striving for a better world for black and white, and he is denied the right to make a living.

In this situation the American Labor Party takes its stand on the proposition "There can be no progress without Peace." We call for the immediate settlement of the war in Korea, which an American soldier has characterized when he said "I never saw such a useless damned war in all my life". Mediation with both North and South Korea in conference, and China represented in the United Nations, is the only solution. We ask resumption of the free flow of trade between east and west and the utter overthrow of colonialism even when masked under Point Four.

To stop this program of reason and progress, the allied and associated political profit-makers, called the Republican and Democratic parties, have adopted the last tactics of despair; they have turned your attention from progress and peace to hate and fear. They are making it illegal to think of progress or to advocate peace or progress. Every path to reform, like taxation of great wealth; land division; rent control; river development and forest control are all called communistic or socialistic and their promoters threatened with disgrace, jail or loss of livelihood. And now as a last exercise of tyrranny, we are presented with the McCarren bill -- the Fugitive Slave law of 1950. You know what the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was: capital invested in human beings began to run away; foolish northerners, black and white, helped it hide. The Slave Power ruled the nation as Wall Street rules it today; they

passed a bill that made kidnapping of any Negro possible without trial, that made a man prove his freedom instead of forcing masters to prove property, and ~~stopped all action against slavery in the North.~~ This law was so successful that in a decade slavery was abolished. Then years later

So today, we are bidden to hate Communism when what we must hate is war; we are called subversive when we try to think and act as human beings and not as puppets. If we attack segregation in the army or civil life, we are called traitors to America. Against this the American Labor Party protests and fights. And as its candidate for the United States Senate, I ask you vote to curb Big Business and war as represented by Herbert Lehman, War and Big Business as represented by that eminent veteran, Joseph Hanley, and Civil rights sabotaged by Harry Truman.

35-4-1606

35-6-160

(6) Wilfully distorting the word he once gave to the poor, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy-laden and I will give you War".

[FRAGMENT]

45-7-222 crw

Europe 1892

~~PEACE AND THE IRON CURTAIN~~

for Lochard

I HAVE HAD THIS YEAR AND LAST OPPORTUNITY TO COMPARE THE TWENTIETH CEN TURY AND THE NINETEENTH IN THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD CIVILIZATION AND PROGRESS. IN THE LAST DECADE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY I VISITED THE LEADING NATIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE INCLUDING POLAND AND AUSTRO HUNGARY. THIS YEAR AND LAST I HAVE BEEN IN THE SOVIET UNION POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA AS WELL AS FRANCE. I SPENT A WEEK IN PRAGUE WHICH I SAW FIRST IN 1893 AND THIS TIME TRAVELLED WEST TO SLO VAKIA. I WAS THREE WEEKS IN FRANCE. in 1945, a month in England

IN 1892 TO 1894, EUROPE BELIEVED IN PEACE AND PROGRESS. BUT PEACE MEANT PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING AMONG THE GREAT EUROPEAN POWERS. AND THEIR UNITED EFFORT TO KEEP IN SUBJECTION POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. THIS WAS NOT REAL PEACE BUT CONTINUAL WAR AND PREPARATION FOR WAR. I REALIZED THIS WHEN IN 1893 THE GERMAN EMPEROR MET THE CROWN PRINCE OF ITALY ON THE TEMPLEHOFER FELD IN BERLIN. I SAW THAT MIGHTY EXHIBITION OF POWER AND WORLD DOMINION. I SAW THE LUXURY OF LONDON PARIS BERLIN ROME AND VIENNA. PROGRESS WAS THERE AND INEVITABLE. BUT PEACE WAS A DREAM.

Since 1945 SINCE 1945 IHAVE SEEN THIS SAME EUROPE AFTER A REVOLUTION MORE TREMEN DOUS THAN THE FALL OF ROME

45-7-223

THERE IS STILL IN THIS WORLD THE WILL TO PEACE. ENGLAND SHRINKS AT THE IDEA OF WAR. THE FRENCH SIMPLY WILL NOT FIGHT AGAIN UNDER ANY CIRCUNSTANCES. I DO NOT BELIEVE ITALY CAN BE FORCED INTO ANY WAR TODAY EXCEPT CIVIL WAR. THE DREAM OF ANOTHER GERMAN ARMY IN WEST GERMANY OR EAST IS CRAZY FOR THE SIMPLE REASON THAT THE FIGHTING MEN OF GERMANY ARE DEAD.

The Iron Curtain BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN IN THE SOVIET UNION IN POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN AUSTRIA HUNGARY ROMANIA, BULGARIA AND YUGOSLAVIA THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT OVERWHELMINGLY THESE NATIONS WANT PEACE. IF IT IS ANSWERED THAT THEY ARE ALL PREPARED FOR WAR THE ~~ANSWER~~ REASON IS CLEAR: DURING THE LAST ~~35~~ 35 YEARS EASTERN EU ROPE HAS BEEN INVADED BY EVERY EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN NATION AND IS TODAY OPENLY MENACED WITH FURTHER INVASION.

BUT PEACE IN 1950 HAS A DIFFERENT CONNOTATION THAN IN 1890. IT IS A QUESTI TION OF UNIVERSAL PEACE, OF PEACE IN EUROPE ASIA AFRICA AND AMERICA. AND IT IS PEACE WITH A DEFINITE OBJECT. THAT IS PEACE FOR PROGRESS. AND PROGRESS AND PEACE ~~IS~~ are NOT SIMPLY NOR MAINLY A QUESTION OF RUSSIA. IT HAS DEEPER FAR DEEPER FOUNDATIONS AND RE STS ON A TRUTH WHICH EVERY HUMAN BEING RECOGNIZES IF HE HAS ANY INTELLIGENCE. AND THAT IS THE FACT. THAT IN ORGANIZED HUMAN WORK TODAY WITH ALL OUR MIRACULOUS TECHNIQUE

#3 45-7-224

A FEW PERSONS GET MORE GOODS/THAN THEY NEED?// WHILE THE MAJORITY OF WORKERS GET LESS/ THAN THEY MUST HVE FOR SURVIVAL// THIS PROBLEM DID NOT BEGIN IN RUSSIA/ WAS NOT FIRST PROMULGATED FROM RUSSIA/ AND WILL REMAIN/IF RUSSIA IS SWEPT FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH TOMORROW// IT FACES MANKIND/AND WILL FACE IT/UNTESS SETTLED JUSTLY.

Poverty/ THE NINETEENTH CENTURY SAID/ THE POVERTY IGNORANCE AND DISEASE/OF THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF MANKIND/ IS UNFORTUNATE BUT INEVITABLE./ WE CAN ALLEVIATE IT BUT NEVER ABOLISH IT// THE TWENTIETH CENTURY KNOWS/ THAT THE DEGRADATION OF THE MASS OF MEN/IS BOTH UNFORTUNATE/AND UNNECESSARY./ IT IS OUR MISFORTUNE TODAY/ THAT THE WORLD IS SPLIT/ INTO TWO BITTER/AND INCREASINGLY HOSTILE CAMPS/AS TO WHAT CAN BE DONE/TO SOLVE THIS WORLD ECONOMIC PROBLEM.

IF YOU WANT TO KNOW/WHAT AN INCREASING NUMBER/ OF HUMAN BEINGS/BELIEVE AS TO THIS SOLUTION/STEP BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN// THEY MAY BE WRONG./ THEY MAY BE DECEIVED./ BUT AS TO THEIR PRESENT BELIEF/THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION.// IN LANDS LIKE CZECHOSLOVAKIA/ THE ENTHUSIASM FOR THEIR WAY OF LIFE/FOR THEIR PLANS FOR THE FUTURE/ IS LIKE A FRESH BREEZE/TO ONE COMING FROM THE FEAR/ AND REACTION OF AMERIC . I FLEW ONE HUNDRED MILES WEST FROM PRAGUE/ AND DROVE FIFTY MILES FURTHER/ AMID THE WILD AND BEAUTIFUL

45-7-225

Rozambrok

mountains of Slovakia/TO THE INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICURAL ~~CENTER~~ Town/ ROZEMBRUK.// WE WERE ~~THREE~~ 3 BESIDE OUR HOSTS/AN ENGLISHMAN/AN ITALIAN AND MYSELF.// WE WERE GREETED WITH FLOWERS/AND WORDS OF WELCOME.// WE SWEPT THROUGH CROWDED STREETS INTO THE ~~CITY~~ Town HALL/ AND THEN OUT ONTO A PLATFORM/WHERE 12 THOUSAND PERSONS/ THE WHOLE POPULATION/CROWDWED INTO THE VILLAGE SQUARE TO GREET US./ FOUR HOURS THEY STOOD/PACKED TOGETHER/TO LISTEN TO US/AND TRANSLATIONS OF OUR SPEECHES// MAYOR AND PRIEST/TEACHER AND SOLDIER/WELCOMED US./ IT WAS NOT ALL UNANIMITY/ ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE CROWD/ STOOD MANY WHO WERE SILENT/DURING THE CHEERS// BUT THERE COULD BE NO DOUBT/ ROZEMBROK BELIEVES IN ITS GOVERNMENT/AND ITS PLANS FOR THE FUTURE.

Plans THOSE PLANS/INCLUDE EDUCATION/SANITATION/BETTER FARMING/NEW INDUSTRY/~~WEST~~ ALSO IMPROVEMENT OF ROADS/ RIVERS AND FORESTS/NO UNEMPLOYMENT/AND WORK ACCORDING TO ABILITY// NOBODY/LEAST OF ALL/A CHANCE AND HASTY VISITOR LIKE MYSELF/CAN SAY HOW SUCH VAST PLANS/CALLING FOR HARD WORK ~~XXX~~ AND SACRIFICE/ FOR DECADES AND CENTURIES/WILL SUCCEED OR ~~FAIL~~ BE MODIFIED AND ADAPTED// BUT WHAT ANY STRANGER CAN SEE/IS THE VIBRANT BELIEF/ THE UNLOOSING OF ENERGY/AND EXPRESSION.//THE ART OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA/IS A NEW AND LIVING THING/BORN FROM THE HEARTS OF THE MASS

I WENT ONE NIGHT TO SEE THE WORKINGMAN IS a central figure. There are more book shops than saloons. No child is out of school.

45-7-226

RUMANIANS PEASANTS DANCE IN A PRAGUE THEATRE IN THE FRONT ROW OF ORCHESTRA STALLS WERE SEATED YOUNG MINING CADETS JUST TRAINED TO BRING SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION INTO MINING. AND THEN THE BEAUTIFUL UTTERLY UNSOPHISTICATED DANCING OF THESE YOUNG FOLK WAS AN UNFORGETTABLE EXPERIENCE. IN THE MIDST AND CHARACTERISTICALLY THE PROGRAM WAS INTERRUPTED AND THE RUMANIAN CONSUL TALKED A HALF HOUR ON THE FARREACHING ECONOMIC PLANNING OF HIS COUNTRY.

WHAT NOW THE NATIONS BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN ARE ASKING AND ASKING SINCERELY IS PEACE FOR THEIR ECONOMIC EXPERIMENTS IN REBUILDING THEIR WHOLE ECONOMY. TO THEIR DEMAND MUST BE ADDED THE VOICES OF THE MASSES OF WESTERN EUROPE WHO ARE SAYING: WHETHER THE COMMUNIST PROGRAM OF REFORM IS RIGHT OR WRONG MILITARY COMPULSION TO MAKE THEM CHANGE IS FUTILE. INSTEAD OF ARMIES WE NEED OURSELVES TO SPEND OUR INCOME FOR REFORM FOR HIGHER WAGE AND EMPLOYMENT FOR SANITATION AND SOCIAL MEDICINE FOR EDUCATION.

THE ATTEMPT IN WESTERN EUROPE TO RESTORE THE PRE-WAR ECONOMY IS A DANGEROUS EFFORT. I WANDERED BY ACCIDENT INTO A PARIS RESTAURANT LOOKING OUT ON NOTRE DAME. I WANTED BUT A LIGHT LUNCH BUT HAD CHANCED ON AN EXPENSIVE RESTAURANT OF AN OLDER PARIS. THERE WERE SINGLE DISHES ON THAT MENU WHICH COST MORE THAN

THE AVERAGE PARIS WORKER GETS IN A WEEK TO RAISE A FAMILY. I WATCHED IN A CERTAIN FACINATION THE COOKING OF A FOWL BY THE CHEF FOR A GAY FAMILY PARTY AND I REMEMBERED THE THOUSANDS OF COMMUNISTS WHO ON SEPTEMBER 3, GATHERED IN THE WOODS OF VINCENNES FOR THIER ANNUAL FESTIVAL. THEY COOKED AND SANG IN THE RAIN THEY CROUCHED UNDER TREES AND IMPROVISED TENTS TO SAY WE WILL NOT FIGHT WE MUST HAVE WORK AND DECENT WAGE. I SAID THIS IS NO ATTACK ON CIVILIZATION. THAT ATTACK TOOK PLACE IN MY CHARMING RESTAURANT.

ON THE OTHER HAND THE THESIS WHICH WE SEE TRIUMPHING IN THE UNITED STATES IS THAT WHILE WE RECOGNIZE THE INEQUALITIES AND INJUSTICES OF THE PRESENT ECONOMIC SYSTEM WE ALSO KNOW THE ANSWERS AND WE KNOW THESE ANSWERS SO COMPLETELY THAT WE CONCEIVE IT OUR RIGHT AND DUTY TO COMPELL THE WORLD TO DO AS WE DO. FOR THAT END WE ARE INTRODUCING INTO AMERICA PRECISELY THSOE METHODS OF COERCION WHICH WE ACCUSE OTHER COUNTRIES OF USING. WE HAVE CURBED FREE SPEECH WE HAVE NO FREE PRESS AND WE ARE PUTTING PERSONS IN JAIL WHO ARE GUILTY OF NO CRIME. ABOVE ALL WE ARE WAGING WAR AND PREPARING FOR A THIRD WORLD WAR ON A SCALE WHICH PROMISES TO BANKRUPT OUR ECONOMY. IT IS THEREFORE THE BOUNDEN DUTY OF AMERICANS OF VISION TO WORK FOR PEACE. THIS DOES NOT INVOLVE ACCEPTANCE OF COMMUNISM

45-7-228

but it DOES INVOLVE/PEACEFUL GRANTING TO OTHERS/OF THE RIGHT OF EXPERIMENT/AND CHOICE/IN THE REFORMING OF THEIR SOCIAL SYSTEM.// WE WANT WAR/BECAUSE OUT OF RECENT WARS/WHICH WE HAVE WAGED/WITH COMPARATIVELY LITTLE SUFFERING/WE HAVE REAPED/AS A NATION/WEALTH AND POWER//AND WE THINK BY FURTHER WAR/WE CAN RULE THE EARTH.// THIS IS A TRAGIC AND SILLY MISTAKE/ ONCE WE ASSURE THE WORLD/THAT NO NATION/NEED FEAR AGGRESSION FROM US/~~XX~~ SO LONG AS THEY WISH PEACEFULLY/TO WORK OUT THEIR OWN THEORY/OF SOCIAL REFORM;// ONCE WE CAN ASSURE AMERICANS/THAT THEY NEED NEED FEAR NO ATTEMPT/TO COMPELL THEM TO ADOPT/ANY ECONOMIC SYSTEM/WHICH THEIR INTELLIGENT EXPERIMENT/DOES NOT LEAD THEM TO ADOPT/THEN THE WORLD CAN HAVE PEACE AND CIVILIZATION/CAN AGAIN BEGIN.

Reform

THE BASIC POSTULATE/OF ECONOMIC REFORM/IS THE THEORY/TAHT THE STEPS TOWARD SUCH REFORM/ARE MATTERS OF LONG/PAINFUL AND HONEST EXPERIMENT//THAT THE FIRST MOVEMENT/TOWARD SUCH EXPERIMENT IS PEACE/ and THAT THIS IS RECOGNIZED BY THE COUNTRIES BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN//THAT COMMUNISTS ARE NOT WARMONGERS/THEY NEED PEACE TO SURVIVE// THAT THE WARMONGERS/CONSIST OF TWO GROUPS OF MEN:

THOSE WHO/IN RUSSIA AND THE BALKANS/AND CHINA/HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF THEIR POWER TO MAKE MONEY OUT OF POVERTY.

AND THOSE PROFIT MAKERS/IN AMERICA/WHO WANT TO EXTEND THE SYSTEM

and believe we will get the advantage from strategy. We dreams of hundreds of millions of people

45-7-229

WHICH HAS RUINED THE MODERN WORLD.// PEACE AND UNINTERRUPTED PEACE/IS THE KEY TO ANY CIVILIZED FUTURE.

Mailed Sept 13, 1945

45-7-208

Sent to Lockard for Column Sept 13, 1945

PEACE

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Copy

WHEN STEPHEN DECATUR SAID: " MY COUNTRY RIGHT OR WRONG", HE DID NOT MEAN, AND AS A LYOAL AMERICAN, HE COULD NOT HAVE MEANT THAT HE WAS GOING TO AGREE WITH THE WRONG WHICH HIS COUNTRY WAS DOING OR ADVOCATE IT OR DEFENT IT. IT IS MUCH MORE LOGICAL THAT DECATUR MEANT THAT JUST BECAUSE HIS COUNTRY WAS WRONG, HE DID NOT BECOME AUTOMATICALLY THE CITIZEN OF ANY OTHER COUNTRY. HE WAS STILL AN AMERICAN, HAD A RIGHT TO HIS AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP AND ALSO RETAINED THE RIGHT TO TRY BY EVERY LEGAL AND LEGITIMATE SCHEME TO MAKE HIS COUNTRY TURN TO THE RIGHT INSTEAD OF THE WRONG. YET DELIBERATE MISINTERPRETATION OF THIS PHRASE, HAS LONG LED MANY AMERICANS TO DO CONTRADICTORY AND EVEN TERRIBLE THINGS. IT IS SAID FOR INSTANCE, THAT ROBERT E. LEE, THE GREAT LEADER OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY, DID NOT BELIEVE IN SLAVERY AND DID NOT

WANT TO PERPETUATE IT. YET BECAUSE HIS COUNTRY OR THE SECTION OF THE COUNTRY WITH WHICH HE HAD THE STRONGEST TIES DECIDED TO FIGHT FOR SLAVERY AND MAKE IT THE BASIS OF A NEW GOVERNMENT, ROBERT E. LEE OBEYED THEIR SUMMONS AND FOR FOUR YEARS FOUGHT VALIANTLY FOR THE RIGHT TO BUY AND SELL HUMAN BEINGS. IT WAS NO FAULT OF LEE'S THAT WE ARE NOT STILL A SLAVE STATE. IN SOMETHING OF THE SAME WAY, ABRAHAM LINCOLN WAS PERFECTLY WILLING TO CONDONE AND ACCEPT AND PROTECT SLAVERY IN ORDER TO STOP THE CIVIL WAR. HE TURNED TO EMANCIPATION NOT AT FIRST AS A HUMANITARIAN MEASURE BUT AS A WAY TO STOP WAR. HE BECAME A FRIEND OF NEGROES WHEN HE REALIZED THAT ONLY BY USE OF NEGRO TROOPS COULD THE WAR BE ENDED. IN BOTH OF THESE CASES WHEN THE WRONG WHICH THESE MEN WERE EXCUSING SUDDENLY BECAME CLEAR TO ALL HONEST FOLK, BOTH LEE AND LINCOLN OPPOSED SLAVERY AND TRIED TO DO WHAT THEY COULD FOR A FREE COUNTRY. YET THEIR ATTITUDE AND THEIR ACTION HAD MADE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO MAKE AND KEEP THE

PEACE. SO IT IS TODAY. WE ARE FIGHTING A WAR THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE INCLUDING MYSELF BELIEVE TO BE FUNDAMENTALLY UNJUST. WE BELIEVE THAT THE THINGS FOR WHICH THE NORTH KOREANS ARE FIGHTING ARE EXACTLY THE THINGS FOR FOR WHICH AMERICANS FOUGHT IN 1776, THE FRENCH FOUGHT IN 1789, AND THE HAITIANS IN 1800, THAT IS AUTONOMY AND SELF RULE. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT BECAUSE OF THIS FIRM AND FUNDAMENTAL BELIEF WE ARE GOING TO JOIN THE NORTH KOREAN ARMY OR HELP KILL THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS, WHO LARGELY THROUGH NO CHOICE OF THEIR OWN ARE FIGHTING AGAINST THE PEOPLE WHO WANT TO BE FREE: BUT IT DOES MEAN THAT WE WILL STATE OUR POSITION AND THAT TEMPERATELY BUT CLEARLY, WE WILL DECLARE THAT THIS NATION WITHOUT THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS HAS BEEN FORCED INTO A WAR WE DO NOT WANT AND THAT THE END OF THE WAR MAY BE THE DESTRUCTION OF CIVILI-ZATION: AN IN ANY CASE INEVITABLY THE SETTING BACK OF HUMAN CULTURE DECADES IF NOT HUNDREDS OF YEARS.

ALTHOUGH WAR THEN HAS BEEN FORCED UPON US NOT BY THE KIND OF DEMOCRACY

AND DEMOCRATIC PROCESS WHICH WE HAVE BEEN BLATENTLY DEFENDING BEFORE THE WORLD, YAT WE IN OPPOSITION TO THAT WAR PROPOSE TO APPEAL TO THIS SAME DEMOCRACY. DESPITE ALL THREATS TO OUR FREEDOM AND OUR JOBS, WE ARE GOING TO STAND UP BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND SAY, WE ARE DOING SOMETHING WHICH IS WR NG AND UNJUST AND EVEN IF IT WERE TRUE THAT THE NORTH KOREANS WERE WRONG IN THEIR METHODS OR FIRST IN AGGRESSION IT WOULD STILL NOT BE THE FUNCTION OR RIGHT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO TRY TO CRUSH THEM BY FORCE OF ARMS . EVEN IN THE PAST WHEN WE HAVE BEEN A GREAT AND OVERWHELMING POWER ATTACKING A SMALL PEOPLE, WE HAVE SAID VIRTUOUSLY THAT THE SMALL POWER HAS A RIGHT TO RESIST. WHATEVER LOGIC THERE WAS IN THAT KIND OF ATTITUDE, CERTAINLY WHEN A SMALL POWER IS ATTACKED BY A POWER OF OVERWHELMING RESOURCES, IT IS SILLY FOR THE GREAT POWER TO TALK OF SELF DEFENSE. WHAT IT IS PERSUING IS OFFENSE, SUBJECTION AND DESTRUCTION. WE ARE RELYING UPON THE ABSURB IDEA, VOICED BY A GREAT GENERAL AND COLLEGE PRESIDENT THAT "WE CAN LICK THE WORLD."

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WE FIND THAT IT IS GOING TO BE NO SIMPLE MATTER EVEN TO LICK KOREA, AND IF THAT IS TRUE WE HAVE AGAINST US, NOT ONLY THE MORAL CONDEMNATION OF THE THINKERS OF THE WORLD, BUT ALSO THE COST IN BLOOD AND MONEY WHICH THIS PATH OF CONQUEST OPENS BEFORE US.

THERE IS YET TIME TO THINK, THERE IS YET TIME TO BRING PERSUASION UPON OUR NEIGHBORS, UPON OUR REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS, UPON THE NATION AS A WHOLE. IT WOULD BE WRONG AND UN-AMERICAN FOR ANY PERSON WHO BELIEVES IN THE INJUSTICE OF THE KOREAN WAR TO SIT SILENT AT THIS TIME. THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER WHICH I REPRESENT, ASKS ONLY THAT THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA KNOW WHAT THE REST OF THE WORLD IS THINKING AND DOING ABOUT PEACE: AND FURTHER WE HAVE BEEN DISTRIBUTING THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AGAINST THE USE OF ATOMIC BOMBS. I AM GRATIFIED THAT EVEN THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, DECLARES THAT IN THIS WAR AT LEAST HE HAS AS YET NO PLAN OF USING THE ATOMIC BOMB. IT WOULD BE A FINE GESTURE ON HIS PART IF HE SIGNED THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL AND THUS TOLD

45-7-213 THE WORLD THAT SIMPLY BECAUSE THE UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS HAS PUT MILLIONS

OF SIGNATURES TO THIS DOCUMENT, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, NEVERTHELESS IS PROUD TO JOIN THEM FOR A GREAT AND JUST END.

IT IS OUR BOUNDED DUTY TO STOP THIS FIGHTING IN KOREA, NOT BY GREATER, BROADER AND LONGER BATTLES BUT BY CONCILIATION AND COMPROMISE: BY HONEST INQUIERY INTO THE FACTS AND CONDITIONS AND BY OUR UNALTERABLE DETERMINATION TO KET KOREA HAVE THE GOVERNMENT WHICH KOREANS WANT.

GOLDEN GATE CASION
OCTOBER 5, 1950

35-6-210

HARLEM IN THE CAMPAIGN

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

HARLEM/ IS ONE OF THE MOST WIDELY KNOWN/ LOCALITIES ON EARTH.// IN EUROPE, ASIA, AND AFRICA/ THE AVERAGE MAN/ HAS HEARD OF HARLEM/ AND HAS SOME IDEA OF ITS SIGNIFICANCE/ AS A CENTER,/ NOT SIMPLY OF NEGRO EXPRESSION/ BUT OF A NEW CONCEPT OF DEMOCRATIC POWER.// NATURALLY THE MEANING OF HARLEM/ HAS GREATLY CHANGED IN THE COURSE OF TIME.// AT THE CLOSE OF THE CIVIL WAR,/ THERE WERE ONLY 15,000 NEGROES/ IN THE WHOLE CITY OF NEW YORK/ AND NONE IN THE EMPTY FARMING DISTRICT/ TO THE NORTH OF 14th STREET.

BY THE BEGINNING OF THE CENTURY/ THE CENTER OF NEW YORKS' NEGRO PUPULATION/ LAY AT 53rd STREET.// IT WAS THERE/ THAT THE MUSIC AND DRAMA/ WHICH AFTERWARD MADE HARLEM FAMOUS/ BEGAN;// AND BETWEEN 1900 and 1910/ PHIL PEYTON THE NEGRO

REAL ESTATE MAN/ BEGAN THE OPENING OF HARLEM/ TO THE CROWDED NEGRO POPULATION IN THE WEST SIDE/ BELOW 53rd STREET.

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IT WAS THEFIRST WORLD WAR/ WITH ITS STOPPAGE OF FOREIGN IMMIGRATION/ AND NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR WORK/ THAT BROUGHT THE GREAT INFLUX OF NEGROES/ INTO THIS AREA OF NEW YORK.// THE BLACK COMMUNITY OF 60,000/ WHICH HAD GATHERED HERE BY 1910/ BECAME A HUNDRED THOUSAND BY 1920/ AND DOUBLED EACH DECADE/ TO 200,000 IN 1930/ AND 400,000 IN 1940.// PROBABLY TODAY HARLEM AND ADJACENT AREAS CONTAIN/ MORE THAN A HALF MILLION PERSONS/ OF NEGRO DESCENT.// PERHAPS THE LARGEST NEGRO CITY COMMUNITY/ IN THE WESTERN WORLD.

IN ITS EARLIER YEARS,/ FROM 1900 to 1920/ HARLEM CONNOTED NEGRO ART/ IN MUSIC AND THEATER/ WITH WILLIAMS AND WALKER,/ COLE AND JOHNSON,/ WILL MARION COOK/ SISSLE AND BLAKE/ AND FLORENCE MILLS.// HITHER CAME THE BLUES FROM MEMPHIS/ AND JAZZ WITH JIM EUROPE.// THE WORLD LOOKED ON HARLEM/ AS A PLAYGROUND AND SLUM/ WHICH THE RICH AND CURIOUS/ VISITED,/ AND WHICH SENT ITS SINGERS AND DANCERS

AROUND THE WORLD.// BUT BEYOND AND BENEATH THIS HARLEM,/ WAS A CROWDED LABYRINTH OF HOMES AND WORKERS/ WITH POVERTY, DISEASE AND CRIME.// WITH ALL THAT SWELL AND PULSE OF LIVING/ THAT MAKES LIFE IN A GREAT CITY.// OUT OF THIS CAME,/ IN THE TWENTIES,/ ATTEMPTS AT EXPRESSION,/ AT WRITING AND ACTING:// POETS, NOVELISTS AND PLAY-WRIGHTS/ BEGAN TO APPEAR/ AND A NEGRO LITERATURE/ WHICH WAS A PART/ AND AN IMPORTANT PART/ OF AMERICAN LITERATURE.// ALSO THERE CAME CRIME/ WITH GAMBLING AND PROSTITUTION,/ ASSAULT AND THEFT/ AND THIS MADE AN IDEAL STAMPING-GROUND/ FOR POLITICS/ IN THE LOWER SENSE OF THAT TERM.// HERE AMONG THE POOR AND DEPRESSED, VOTES COULD BE BOUGHT CHEAPLY/ AND BOTH TAMMANY/ AND THE REPUBLICAN MACHINES/ SOON BEGAN/ TO DISBURSE CONSIDERABLE FUNDS/ TO CONTROL THE HARLEM VOTE.// THIS WAS PAID FOR/ IN CASH/ AND FOLLOWED BY A FEW OFFICES AND JOBS/ AND SALE OF THE RIGHT TO dedim LIQUOR/ AND WOMEN/ AND THE NUMBERS.

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THEN CAME THE DEPRESSION/ OF THE THIRTIES/ AND HARLEM SANK IN POVERTY,/ RELIEF, DESTITUTION AND CRIME.// THE LITERARY RENASSIANCE/ DISAPPEARED IN A GRIM FIGHT/ TO LIVE AND SURVIVE:// AND BY THE ADVENT OF THE FORTIES,/ THERE CAME TO

HARLEM/ A NEW SENSE/ OF THE POWER AND MEANING OF LIFE/ IN THIS SECTION.// BORN OF STRUGGLE/ AND OF A GROWTH OF INTELLIGENCE AND PLANNING.// POLITICS TOCK ON NEW MEANING/ AND NO LONGER MEANT SIMPLY/ PAY FOR VOTES OR FOR THE PRIVILEGE OF BREAKING THE LAW.// THE HARLEM NEGRO BEGAN TO DEMAND REPRESENTATION/ IN GOVERNMENT/ AND REPRESENTATION/ BY MEN OF HIS OWN CHOOSING/ AND NOT SIMPLY BY THOSE CHOSEN/ AND THRUST OVER HIM.// POLITICAL MACHINERY/ BEGAN TO PASS INTO HIS HANDS/ AND HE ENTERED THE CITY GOVERNMENT,/ THE POLICE FORCE,/ THE CIVIL SERVICE, THE STATE LEGISLATURE/ AND THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.// ~~BUT HE WAS CONTENT TO SHARE POWER/ AND NOT YET READY/ TO USE IT FOR ITS ENDS.~~

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DURING THIS TIME/ HARLEM THOUGHT OF ITSELF/ AS A NEGRO COMMUNITY/ DEALING MAINLY/ WITH THE PROBLEMS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO.// ALTHOUGH A COMMUNITY OF WORKERS,/ IT DID NOT CONCEIVE ITSELF/ AS PART OF THE LABOR PROBLEM/ OF THE CITY OR NATION.// ~~HARLEM DID NOT ASK TO GUIDE GREAT DEMOCRACY,/ ONLY TO SHARE IT~~

~~ON THE SAME TERMS AS OTHER FOLK SHARED IT.~~ HARLEM

ALTHOUGH A PART OF THE AMERICAN EXPRESSION OF DEMOCRACY, IT WANTED TO BE A PART OF THAT DEMOCRACY, FOR WHICH OTHERS DID THE THINKING AND GUIDING. THIS WAS NATURAL FOR A GROUP BROUGHT UP WITH A SLAVE PSYCHOLOGY, WHOSE HIGHEST AMBITION, QUITE NATURALLY, WAS TO SHARE AND NOT TO GUIDE: TO BE RECOGNIZED AND NOT TO DICTATE. BUT HARLEM LIVED IN A CHANGING AGE, IN AN AGE WHEN THE BURDEN OF GOVERNING WAS SHIFTING FROM THE PRIVILEGED TO THE MASS: FROM THE OWNER OF PROPERTY TO THE CREATOR OF VALUE. THIS MEANT OFTEN, AS MEN FEARED IT WOULD, TRANSFER OF POWER FROM INTELLIGENCE TO IGNORANCE, AND FROM EXPERIENCE TO UNCERTAINTY: YET AT THE SAME TIME, IT WAS BRINGING A NEW THING INTO THE WORLD: A BROAD SENSE OF UNSELFISH CARE FOR THE MASS OF HUMANITY, INSTEAD OF THE FIERCE STRUGGLE OF THE SMART TO SURVIVE AT ANY COST; AND A FEELING OF THE UNITY OF MANKIND ACROSS LINES OF RACE AS WELL AS CLASS. THUS THE HARLEM VOTER GRADUALLY BEGAN TO FEEL HIMSELF NOT SIMPLY AS SYMBOL OF

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A RACE, BUT AS PART OF A PEOPLE; NOT SIMPLY AS A CENTER FOR ENTERTAINING THE RICH, BUT MUCH MORE AS A COMMUNITY OF CITIZENS WHOSE DUTY IT WAS TO HELP MAKE A NEW NATION AND A NEW WORLD.

TO ILLUSTRATE MY MEANING, I REMEMBER HOW A QUARTER OF A CENTURY AGO, I STARTED A LITTLE THEATER IN THE BASEMENT OF THE 135th STREET LIBRARY, TO LET HARLEM PORTRAY AND ENTERTAIN AND EXPRESS ITSELF. YOUNG AARON DOUGLAS PAINTED THE SCENERY. THE SO-CALLED KRIGWA PLAYERS WROTE THEIR OWN PLAYS AND ACTED THE PARTS AND FURNISHED THEIR OWN AUDIENCES. AFTER HESITATION WE ENTERED A NATION-WIDE CONTEST OF LITTLE THEATRES DOWNTOWN AND WON SECOND PRIZE. THAT RUINED US. BROADWAY BECKONED TO OUR ACTORS AND THEY FLED TO MONEY MAKING AND SHOW-OFF, INSTEAD OF STICKING TO THE FAR FINER TASK OF BUILDING A COMMUNITY WHICH THROUGH DRAMA COULD TAKE ITS RIGHTFUL PLACE IN THE BUILDING OF A NATION. THEN THE DEPRESSION FINISHED OUR VENTURE AND NOW A NEW WORLD LOOKS AT HARLEM IN THIS CRISIS OF MODERN CIVILIZATION!

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IT SEES IT NOT ~~SIMPLY~~ AS AN ENTERTAINMENT CENTER BUT AS ONE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT TESTING GROUNDS FOR MODERN DEMOCRACY WHERE THE REPRESENTATIVES OF A GREAT PEOPLE HAVE A CHANCE TO GUIDE THE WORLD IN A DAY WHEN AS PERHAPS NEVER BEFORE THE WORLD NEEDS GUIDANCE.

AND IT IS A BATTLE, MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT - THE LAST GREAT BATTLE OF THE WEST, CENTERED ABOUT A NEW DEVELOPMENT OF THE GRAVE AND UNANSWERED QUESTION: WHERE IN THE STATE - IN THE ORGANIZED COMMUNITY - DOES THE REAL ULTIMATE POWER LIE, THE POWER OF POLICE CONTROL, OF THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK AND WAGE? OF THE CONTENT AND RANGE OF EDUCATION? OF THE OWNERSHIP AND DISTRIBUTION OF PROPERTY? IN THESE MATTERS OF UNIVERSAL POWER, WHERE AND WHOSE IS THE ULTIMATE CONTROL?

WE KNOW HOW HISTORICALLY THIS POWER AT FIRST RESTED NATURALLY IN THE FATHER OF THE FAMILY; THEN AS THE FAMILY MULTIPLIED, IT WAS SHARED BY A COUNCIL OF ELDERS AND THE ~~[illegible]~~ LEADER WHO STOOD AT THEIR HEAD BY CHOICE OR SELF-ASSERTION.

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BUT AS FAMILIES AND CLANS GREW TO TRIBES AND NATIONS, THE POWERS AND IDENTITY OF RULERS VARIED BY CHANCE AND STRENGTH, UNTIL THE RIGHT TO RULE BECAME TANGLED, HIDDEN AND OFTEN INCAPABLE OF ANY CLEAR EXPLANATION OR UNDERSTANDING.

THEN MEN HAD TO CLEAR AWAY THE UNDERBRUSH AND RATIONALIZE GOVERNMENT: FIRST INTO ROYAL RULE "BY THE GRACE OF GOD" UNTIL KINGS MISTOOK THEMSELVES FOR GOD AND WERE BEHEADED; UNTIL CERTAIN CITIZENS, DISTINGUISHED BY BIRTH, ABILITY OR WEALTH MONOPOLIZED THE RIGHT TO RULE THE STATE. THIS OFTEN DEGENERATED INTO A RULE OF SELF-INTEREST AND PRIVILEGE ~~AND~~ BUT IN EUROPE IN THE 18th AND EARLY 19th CENTURIES, MEN GROWN RICH BY REASON OF NEW DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS, TOOK OVER THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT, YIELDING THE WORKING CLASS SOME LIMITED RIGHTS TO SHARE THEIR POWER. IN THE LATTER PART OF THE 19th CENTURY THIS RULE OF THE RICH AND PROPERTY HOLDING CLASSES WITH INCREASED NUMBERS OF WORKERS SHARING POLITICAL POWER, BROUGHT THE WHOLE WORLD UNDER THE CONTROL OF EUROPE THROUGH A NEW SCIENCE AND TECHNIQUE AND REDUCED TO SUBSERVIENCE

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THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD/OUTSIDE EUROPE// THIS WAS SCARCE ACCOMPLISHED/WHEN IN THE 20th CENTURY/THE WORLD BURST INTO FLAME.//IN A CONFUSED AND RAPIDLY CHANGING SERIES OF WARS:/ FIRST A WAR TO REDISTRIBUTE THE COLONIES/OF ASIA AND AFRICA/AMONG THE EMPIRES OF EUROPE:/(THEN TO PREVENT BY FORCE/THE WORKING CLASSES/FROM CONTROLING THE PROPERTY/AND CURTAILING THE POWERS OF THE RICH:/ AND FINALLY/THE ATTEMPT OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLE THEMSELVES/TO WHOLLY ESCAPE THE CONTROL OF EUROPE.

THIS IS THE MUDDLED WORLD/IN WHICH WE FIND OURSELVES TODAY:// ITS BASIC PROBLEMS OF PROPERTY, WAGE/ POWER AND PRIVILEGE/ARE INCREASINGLY CLEAR:/ THE ANSWER TO THESE PROBLEMS/IS NOT WAR:/AND THE INTERESTS INVOLVED/ARE NOT SIMPLY NOR MAINLY/ THE INTERESTS OF THE RICH,/NOR OF INDUSTRY IN ITSELF.// A NEW ERA OF POWER,/ HELD AND EXERCISED BY THE WORKING CLASSES/THE WORLD OVER/ IS DAWNING/AND WHILE ITS EVENTUAL FORM/IS NOT YET CLEAR,/ ITS PROGRESS CANNOT BE HELD BACK/BY ANY POWER OF MAN.///IT IS FACING THIS PROBLEM/THAT HARLEM STANDS TODAY/AND IN ITS LIGHT/ WE MUST ACT AND VOTE.// FIRST THEN PEACE AND

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CIVIL RIGHTS,/THEN STUDY, EDUCATION AND PUBLIC INFORMATION/IN A PRESS FREE FROM THE CONTROL/ OF BIG BUSINESS/IS OUR PROGRAM.

IT MAY SEEM NONSENSE/ TO A PROVERBIALLY MODEST GROUP/TO CONCEIVE THAT THEY/WHO HAVE ALWAYS FOLLOWED/ LISTENED AND ASKED/SHOULD TODAY/ WITH A CERTAIN SUDDENNESS/BE ORDERED TO LEAD/ TO INFORM AND SPEAK OUT IN CLEAR/ FIRM TONES.// YET THIS IS FAR MORE TRUE/THAN YOU THINK.//THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD/ARE TODAY WATCHING HARLEM/AND AMERICAN NEGROES/ WITH FASCINATED INTEREST.// TODAY IN CHINA,/ INDIA, INDONESIA/AND THE PHILLIPINES.//THROUGH THE LENGTH AND BREADTH OF AFRICA//IN THE CARIBBEAN AND THE SOUTH SEAS/ IN THE NEAR EAST/AND SOUTH AMERICA/ MEN ARE ASKING--MANY HAVE ASKED ME PERSONALLY--WHAT IS THIS DARK GROUP/OF 15 MILLION AMERICANS/THINKING AND ADVISING?// THE GROUP WHICH HAS FOUGHT/AND FACED EUROPE AND AMERICA/ HAND TO HAND/FOR THREE AWFUL CENTURIES // UNTIL TODAY,/WHILE NOT YET FREE,/THEY STILL STAND/WITH TWO MILLION BALLOTS IN

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THEIR HANDS/AND BRAINS IN THEIR HEADS/TO VOTE AS MODERN MEN/AND NOT AS PURCHASED SLAVES.//WHAT DO THEY THINK AND ADVISE/IN THIS CRISIS OF THE MODERN WORLD.//WHERE DOES HARLEM STAND/IN THE BATTLE FOR PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS?

YOUR ANSWER/SHOULD BE CALM AND CLEAR://HARLEM STANDS FOR PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS:/FOR PEACE AMONG ALL NATIONS,/BEFORE AND BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN,/FOR CIVIL RIGHTS FOR ALL MEN,/CHINESE, AND KOREANS,/RUSSIANS AND POLES,/BLACK, BROWN AND YELLOW PEOPLES,/AS WELL AS FOR ENGLISHMEN AND AMERICANS.

omit

THERE WAS A DAY/WHEN MOST MEN BELIEVED/THAT PROGRESS DEPENDED ON WAR: THAT BY WAR/AND MAINLY BY WAR/HAD MODERN MEN GAINED FREEDOM,/RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY.//WE BELIEVED THIS/BECAUSE WE WERE TAUGHT THIS/IN OUR LITERATURE AND SCIENCE,/IN CHURCH AND SCHOOL,/ON PLATFORM AND IN NEWSPAPER.// IT WAS ALWAYS A LIE/AND AS WAR HAS BECOME UNIVERSAL/AND SO HORRIBLE AND DESTRUCTIVE/THAT EVERYBODY RECOGNIZES IT/AS MURDER, CRIPPLING,/INSANITY AND STARK DEATH OF HUMAN CULTURE,//WE REALIZE THAT THERE/IS SCARCE A VICTORY/FORMERLY CLAIMED BY

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omit

WAR,/WHICH MANKIND MIGHT NOT HAVE GAINED/MORE CHEAPLY/AND MORE DECENTLY AND EVEN MORE COMPLETELY/BY METHODS OF PEACE.//IF THAT WAS TRUE IN THE PAST,/IT IS SO CLEAR AND INDISPUTABLE TODAY/THAT NO SANE BEING DENIES IT.//AND YET/OF ALL NATIONS OF EARTH/TODAY/THE UNITED STATES/ALONE WANTS WAR,/PREPARES FOR WAR,/FORCES OTHER NATIONS TO FIGHT/AND ASKS YOU AND ME TO IMPOVERISH OURSELVES/GIVE UP HEALTH/AND SCHOOLS,/SACRIFICE OUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS/TO A JIM-CROW ARMY/AND COMMIT SUICIDE/FOR A WORLD WAR/THAT NOBODY WANTS/BUT THE RICH AMERICANS/WHO PROFIT BY IT.//THIS IS THE REASON FOR THIS MEETING:/FOR THIS CAMPAIGN,/FOR MY CANDIDACY/FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE.//I WANT PROGRESS;/I WANT EDUCATION;/I WANT SOCIAL MEDICINE:/I WANT A LIVING WAGE/AND OLD AGE SECURITY:/I WANT EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL/AND RELIEF FOR THE UNEMPLOYED/AND SICK;/I WANT PUBLIC WORKS,/PUBLIC SERVICES/AND PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS.//AND BECAUSE I KNOW AND YOU KNOW/THAT WE CANNOT HAVE THESE THINGS/AND AT THE SAME TIME FIGHT,

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DESTROY AND KILL ALL AROUND THE WORLD/IN ORDER TO MAKE HUGE PROFITS FOR BIG BUSINESS.//FOR THAT REASON,/I TAKE MY STAND BESIDE THE MILLIONS/IN EVERY NATION AND CONTINENT/AND CRY PEACE--NO MORE WAR!, NO MORE ~~AND THE~~ RULE OF BRASS HATS IN OUR GOVERNMENT AND [redacted].// LET US STOP THE ANTICS/OF THE WILD MAN OF TOKIO,/WHO IS DETERMINED OF HIS OWN WILL/TO FIGHT CHINA AND RUSSIA//AND of THE EISENHOWERS/WHO DECLARE/OPENLY IN PUBLIC HEARING/, "WE CAN LICK THE WORLD!"

IF WAR/WERE A MATTER OF CAREFUL STUDY/AND GRAVE DECISION,//OF PRAYERFUL THOUGHT/AND SOLEM DELIBERATION/WE MIGHT TAKE ITS FEARFUL OUTBREAK/AS AT LEAST/NO MORE THAN HUMAN ERROR,/SOON TO BE STOPPED/BY DECENCY AND COMMONSENSE.// BUT/WHEN DID YOU EVER VOTE FOR WAR?/YOU WHO HAVE SPENT/MOST OF YOUR LIVES IN A FIGHTING/MURDERING WORLD?//WHEN DID YOU EVER HAVE A CHANCE TO DECIDE THIS MATTER OF MAIMING AND MURDER?/NEVER!/AND YOU NEVER WILL/AS LONG AS AN EXECUTIVE/ON HIS OWN INITIATIVE/CAN START A LITTLE 'POLICE ACTION'/WHICH COSTS THE LIVES AND HEALTH/OF 20,000 AMERICAN BOYS/IN ORDER THAT/BIG BUSINESS CAN INTERFERE/INTO THE GOVERNMENTS OF ASIA/AND REAP MILLIONS/~~A PRETTY~~

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BATCH OF SCOUNDRELS/WE ARE SUPPORTING/IN ORDER TO MAKE MONEY FOR PERSONS/WHO ALREADY HAVE MORE/THAN THEY CAN SPEND.//CHIANG KAI- SHEK AND SIGHMAN RHEE, QUIRINAL, BAO-DAI,/THE RULERS OF PERSIA AND GREECE,/BUDENZ AND BENTLY, ANDERS, AND A HOST OF ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED SPIES,/THIEVES AND LIARS.// THE PEOPLE OF COMMUNITIES/LIKE HARLEM/FOOT THE BILL/AND SACRIFICE THEIR CHILDREN/FOR THIS PRECIOUS PRIVILEGE.

IN ORDER TO STOP YOU/FROM DISCUSSING/OR VOTING ON WAR,/WE HAVE ERECTED AGAIN IN AMERICA,/A SLAVE STATE:/JUST AS A CENTURY AGO/WE MADE THE DISCUSSION OF NEGRO SLAVERY/ILLEGAL.//IT IS POSSIBLE TODAY/THAT AN HONEST AMERICAN, WITHOUT COMMITTING A CRIME/OR AN ILLEGAL ACT,/CAN BE JAILED AND IMPOVERISHED/IF HE TALKS PEACE,/HIGHER WAGE OR CIVIL RIGHTS.//THIS MAY BE DONE/EVEN WITHOUT TRIAL OR HEARING;//AND ANY PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF THE CASE/CAN BE ABSOLUTELY STOPPED.//I AM A CANDIDATE FOR PUBLIC OFFICE TODAY,/BECAUSE ONLY/IN A CAMPAIGN LIKE THIS/CAN I DISCUSS PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS/ON THE PLATFORM,/OVER

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RADIO OR IN THE PUBLIC PRESS.// THIS IS LIBERTY, THIS IS AMERICA. ONE RIGHT STILL IS LEFT US AND THAT IS THE BALLOT.// OUTSIDE OF MISSISSIPPI, GEORGIA AND THEIR SISTER STATES, WHO BECAUSE OF DISFRANCHISEMENT HOLD ALL POSITIONS OF POWER IN CONGRESS, with neither Lehman nor Hanley protesting

HERE IN NEW YORK, YOU CAN VOTE FOR PEACE, PROVIDED OF COURSE YOUR EMPLOYER DOES NOT KNOW IT, AND HE NEED NOT KNOW IT.// LEGALLY IT IS NONE OF HIS BUSINESS HOW YOU VOTE.// YOUR VOTE IS SECRET. IT MAY NOT BE TOMORROW, BUT IT IS TODAY.// ONLY THREE NIGHTS AGO, GOVERNOR DEWEY TURNED THE OLD ABRAHAM LINCOLN STOP ON THIS PLATFORM AND TOLD HIS AUDIENCE WHAT MUST HAVE BEEN REAL NEWS TO THEM, HOW HE AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAD BOUGHT AND PAID FOR YOUR VOTES.// HE TOLD YOU HOW HE FAVORED THE F.E.P.C. BUT FORGOT TO REMIND YOU HOW LONG HE STALLED ON IT AND DUCKED UNTIL HE HAD TO YIELD. HE RIGHTLY CHARGED TRUMAN WITH FAILING TO KEEP HIS CIVIL RIGHTS PROMISES BUT DID NOT MENTION THAT REPUBLICAN LEADER VANDERBURG WAS HIS RIGHT HAND MAN TO CLINCH THE JOB. HE MENTIONED HOUSING BUT NOT IN STYVESANT TOWN.// HE DEPLORED FAILURE TO PASS

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ANTI-POLL TAX AND ANTI-LYNCHING LEGISLATION BY DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSES WHICH ACTED EXACTLY LIKE REPUBLICAN CONGRESSES.// INDEED ANY ATTEMPT OF REPUBLICANS OR DEMOCRATS TO ASSESS GUILT FOR ANTI-NEGRO BIAS IS MERELY EXERCISE IN THE POT CALLING THE KETTLE BLACK.// I ASK HARLEM TO VOTE OVERWHELMINGLY FOR PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS AGAINST DEWEY, HANLY LYNCH. & Lehman

THE UNITED STATES SENATE IS PROBABLY THE MOST POWERFUL LEGISLATIVE BODY ON EARTH.// SENATORS ARE ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE FOR SIX YEAR TERMS AND THEY REPRESENT IN THEORY ALL THE PEOPLE.// BUT IN FACT THE CHIEF INTERESTS OF CERTAIN PEOPLE.// THESE INTERESTS ARE NOT EQUALLY DISTRIBUTED.// BUSINESS AND BANKING, LAW AND MANUFACTURING, COMMERCE AND THE LEARNED PROFESSIONS ARE OVER REPRESENTED BY TRAINED AND TALENTED MEN.// BUT LABOR AND SERVANTS, FARMERS AND WOMEN, THE POOR AND UNFORTUNATE, HAVE SMALL VOICE OR THOUGHT IN THE BODY, AND 15 MILLION NEGROES HAVE NO VOICE AT ALL.// IN NOVEMBER, NEW YORK WILL CHOOSE A SENATOR FROM THREE CANDIDATES: ONE IS A RESPECTABLE CITIZEN, WHO

SPEAKS FOR PROPERTY AND INVESTMENT [AND for THE MILITARY FORCES,] AND WHO EXPRESSED THIS WEEK HIS FEAR OF PEACE// THESE INTERESTS ARE ALREADY OVER REPRESENTED IN THE SENATE/ THEY DO NOT NEED MORE LEHMANS// ANOTHER CANDIDATE] IS A HACK POLITICIAN/ WHO REPRESENTS ~~NEW~~ YOUR PUBLIC LIFE AT ITS LOWEST/ HE HAS NO BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE/ WHERE HE WOULD STAND SHOULDER TO SHOULDER] WITH WAR-MONGERS AND PROFITEERS.— with Dewey + Dulles ~~Johnson~~

I AM A THIRD CANDIDATE.//]THINK THE MATTER OVER CAREFULLY,]WHICH OF THESE THREE MEN/WOULD BEST VOICE/THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE/ REPRESENTED HERE TODAY.

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HARLEM IN THE CAMPAIGN

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Harlem Is one of the most widely known localities on earth. In Europe, Asia, and Africa the average man has heard of Harlem and has some idea of its signigicance as a center, not simply of Negro expression but of a new concept of Democratic power. Naturally the meaning of Harlem has greatly changed in the course of time. At the close of the Civil War, there were only 15,000 Negroes in the whole city of New York and none in the empty farming district to the north of 14th Street.

By the beginning of the century the center of New Yorks' Negro population lay at 53rd Street. It was there that the music and drama which afterward made Harlem famous began; and between 1900 and 1910, Phil Peyton the Negro real estate man began the opening of Harlem to the crowded Negro population in the west side below 53rd Street.

It was the First World War with its stoppage of foreign immigration and new opportunities for work that brought the great influx of Negroes into this area of New York. The black community of 60,000 which had gathered here by 1910, became a hundred thousand by 1920 and doubled each decade to 200,000 in 1930 and 400,000 in 1940. Probably today Harlem and adjacent areas contain more than a half million persons of Negro descent; perhaps the largest Negro city community in the Western world.

In its earlier years, from 1900 to 1920, Harlem connoted Negro art in music and theater with Williams and Walker, Cole and Johnson, Will Marion Cook, Sissle and Blake and Florence Mills; hither came the blues from Memphis and Jazz with Jim Europe. The world looked on Harlem as a playground and slum which the rich and curious visited and which sent its singers and dancers around the world. But beyond and beneath this Harlem, was a crowded labyrinth of homes and workers; with poverty, disease, with all that swell and pulse

of living that makes life in a great city. Out of this came, in the twenties, attempts at expression, at writing and acting: poets, novelists and playwrights began to appear and a Negro literature whichwas a part and an important p rt of American literature. Also here came crime with gambling and prostitution, assault and theft and this made an ideal stamping-ground for politics in the lower sense of that tern. Here among the poor and depressed, votes could be bought cheaply and both Tammany and the Republican machines soon began to disburse considerable funds to control the Harlem vote. This was paid for in cash and followed by a few offices and jobs and sale of the right to deal in liquor and women and the numbers.

Then came the depression of the thirties and Harlem sank in poverty, destitution and crime; the literary renassiance disappeared in a grim fight to live and survive: and by the advent of the forties there came to Harlem a new sense of the power and meaning of li e in this section; born of struggle and of a growth of intelligence and planning. Politics took on new meaning and no longer meant simply pay for votes or for the privilege of breaking the l w. The Harlem Negro began to demand repres ntation in government and representation by men of his own choosing and not simply by those chosen and thrust over him. Political machinery began to pass into his hands and he enterd the city government, the police force, the civil service, the state legislature and the national congress.

During this time Harlem thought of itself as a Negro community dealing mainly with the problems of the American Negro. Althougha community of workers, it did not conceive itself as part of the Labor problem of the city or nation.

Although a part of the American expression of democracy, Harlem w nted to be a part of that democracy, for which others did the thinking and guiding. This was natural for a group brought up with a slave psychology: whose highest ambition quite naturally was to share and not to guide: to be recognized

and not to dictate. But Harlem lived in a changing age; in an age when the burden of governing was shifting fr m the privileged to the mass: from the owner of property to the creator of value. This meant often as men feared it would, transfer of power from intelligence to ignorance and from experience to uncertainity; yet at the same time, it was bringing a new thing into the world: a broad sense of unselfish care for the mass of humanity, instead of the fierce struggle of the smart to survive at any cost. And a feeling of the unity of mankind across lines of race as well as class. Thus the Harlem voter gradually began to feel himself not simpy as symbol of a race, but as part of a people: not simply as a center for entertaining the rich, but much more as a community of citizens whose duty it was to heop make a new nation and a new world.

To illustrate my meaning, I remember how a quarter of a century ago, I started a little theater in the basement of the 135th Street Library, to let Harlem portray and entertain and express itself. Young Aaron Douglas painted the scenery. The so-called Krigwa players wrote their own plays and acted the parts and furnished their own audiences. After hesitation we entered a nation-wide contest of little theatres downtown and won second prize. That ruined us. Broadway beckoned to our actors and they fled to money making and show-off, instead of sticking to the far finer task of building a community which through drama could take its rightful place in the building of a nation. Then the depression finished our venture and now a new world looks at Harlem in this cirsis of modern civilization. It sees it not as an entertainment center but one of the world's great testing grounds for modern democracy where the representatives of a great people have a chance to guide the world in a day when as perhaps never before the world needs guidance.

And it is a battle, make no mistake about it--the last great battle of the West; centered about a new development of the grave and unanswered question: where in the state-- in the organized community--does the real

ultimate power lie: the power of police control; of the organization of work and wage? The content and range of education? Of the ownership and distribution of property? In these matters of universla power, where and whose is the ultimate control?

We know how historically this power at first rested anturally in the father of the family; than as the family multiplied, it was shared by a council of elders and the leader who stood at their head by choice or self assertion. But as families and clans grew to tribes and nations, the owers and identity of rulers varied by chance and strength, until the right to rule became tangled, hidden and often incapable of any clear explanation or understanding. Then men had to clear away the underbrush and rationalize government; first into royal rule "by the Grace of Gos" until kings mistook themselves for God and were beheaded: until certain citizens, distinguished by birth, ability or wealth monopolized the right to rule the state. This often degenerated into a rule of self- nterest and privilege but in Europe in the 18th century and 19th, men grown rich by reason of new discoveries and inventions, took over the powers of government, yileding the working class some li ited rights to share their power. In the latter part of the 19th century this rule of the rich and property holding classes with increased numbers of workers sharing political power, brought the whole world under the control of Europe through a new science and technique and reduced to subservience the workers of the world outside Europe and North America. This was scarce accomplished when in the 20th century the world burst into flame, in a confused and rapidly changing series of wars; first a war to redistribute the colonies of Asia and Africa among the empires of Europe: then to prevent by force the working classes from controling the property and curtailing the powers of the rich: and finally the attempt of the colonial people themselves wholly to escape the control of Europe and North America.

This is the muddled world in which we find ourselves today; its basic problem of porperty, wage, power and privilege are increasingly clear; the answer to these problems is not war: and the interests involved are not simply nor mainly the interests of the rich, nor of industry in inself. A new era of power, held and exercised by the working classes the world over, is dawning and while its eventual form is not yet clear, its progress cannot be held back by any power of man. It is facing this problem that Harlem stands today and in its light, we must act and vote. First then peace and civil rights, then study, education and public informat on in a press free from the control of Big Business is our program.

It may seem nonsense to a proverbially modern group to conceive that they who have always followed, listened and asked; should today with a certain suddenness be ordered to lead, to inform and speak out in clear, firm tones. Yet this is far more true than you think. The majority of the poeple of the world are today watching Harlem and American Negroes with fascinated interest. Today in China, India, Indonesia and the Phillipines, through the length and bredth of Africa; in the Caribbean and the South Seas, in the Near East and South America and Behind the Iron Curtain, men are asking--many have asked me personally--what is this dark group of 15 million Am ricans thinking and advising? Th group which has fought and faced Europe and America hand to hand for three awful centuries until today, while not yet free, still they stand with two million ballots in their h nds and brains in their heads to vote as modern men and not as purchased slaves: what do they think and advise in this crisis of the modern world. Where does Harlem stand in the battle for Peace and Civil Rights?

Your answer should be calm and clear: Harlem stand s for Peace and Civil Rights: for Peace among all nations, before and behind the Iron Curtain, for civil rights for all men, Chinese, and Koreans, Russians and Poles, Black Brown and Yellow peoples, as wellas for Englishmen and Americ ns.

A pretty batch of scoundrels we are supporting in order to make money for persons who already have more than they can spend. Chiang Kai-Shek and Syngman Rhee, Quirinal, Bao-Dai, the rulers of Persia and Greece, Budenz and Bently, the Anti-Semite Anders, whom Lehman now embraces and a host of allied and associated spies, thieves and liars. The people of communities like Harlem foot the bill and sacrifice their children for this precious privilege.

In order to stop you from discussing or voting on war, we have erected again in America, a slave state: just as a century ago we made the discussion of Negro slavery illegal. It is possible today than an honest American, without committing a crime or an illegal act, can be jailed and impoverished if he talks peace, higher wage or civil rights; they may be done even without trail or hearing; and any public discussion of the case can be absolutely stopped. I am a candidate for publice office today, because only in a campaign like this can I disuuss peace and civil rights on the platform, over the radio or in the public press. This is liberty, this is America. One right is left us and that is the ballot, outside of Mississippi, Georgia and their sister states, who beacuse of disfranchisement hold all positions of power in congress, with neither Lehman nor Hanley protesting.

Here in New York, you can vote for peace, provided of course your employer does not know it, and he need not know it. Legally it is none of his bussiness how you vote. Your vote is secret. It may not be tomorrow, but it is today. Only three nights ago, Governor Dewey turned the old Abraham Lincoln stop on this platform and told his audience what must have been real news to them, how he and the republican party had bought and paid for your votes. He told you how he favored the FEPC, but forgot to remind you how long he stalled on it and ducked until he had to yield. He rightly charged Truman with failing to keep his civil rights promises but did not mention that Republican leader, Vanderburg was his right-hand-man to clinch

the job. He mentioned housing but not in Styvesant Town. He deplored failure to pass anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation by democratic congresses which acted exactly like Repbulican congresses. Indeed any attempt of Republicans or Democrats to assess guilt for anti-Negro bias is merely exercise in the pot calling the kettle black. I ask Harlem to vote overwhelmingly for peace and civil rights against Dewey, Hanley, Lynch and Lehman.

The United States Senate is probably the most powerful legislative body on earth. Senaotrs are elected by the people for six year terms and they represent in theory all the people but in fact the chief interests of certain people. These interests are not equally distributed; business and banking, law and manufacturing, commerce and the learned professions are over represented by trained and talented men: but labor and servants, farmers and women, the poor and unfortunate, have small voice or thought in the body, and 15 million Negroes have no voice at all. In November, New York will choose a Senator from three candidates: one is a respectable citizen, who speaks for property and investment and for the military forces, and who expressed this week his fear of peace. These interests are already over represented in the senate. They do not need more Lehmans. Another candidate is a hack politician who represents your public life at its lowest. He has no business in the United States Senate, where he would stand shoulder to shoulder with war-mongers and profiteers, with Dewey and Dulles.

I am a third candidate: think the matter over carefully, which of these three men would best voice the interest of the people represented here today.

Television Broadcast October 8, 1950

WPIX FEATURE

BATTLE PAGE OF THE AIR

What the United States is fighting for is not freedom nor democracy but the profitable expansion of American business. We gave but little attention to the plight of the mass of the Chinese people so long as we had open door to their cheap labor and rich raw materials. We mocked the m sery of the Balkan peasantry so long as their landlords gave us 50% on our investments. When we saw the fall of the British Empire our main ambition was to replace Englishmen in exploitation of the poverty, disease and ignorance of Asia and Africa.

35-7-65

If we were really burning to spread freedom and democracy where could we start better than at home? We could profitably begin with the police in New York and the jails of New Jersey. Then for permanent employment we might concentrate on Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana. Instead of this we want to send abroad what we do not possess at home. And therefore what we actually send abroad is not freedom and democracy but American capital. We send capital abroad because there our business methods are not hampered by labor laws, or taxes for schools and hospitals. When, then curbs on private profit at home increase the demand for freedom of foreign investment rises Senator Lehman represents foreign investment and st nds wholeheartedly behind its demands even if the cost is world war. Today American capital is chief owner of slave labor in South Africa, of serf-toil in the Belgian Congo and of the poverty and disease beneath the oil of the Near East.

Led by the Wild Man of Tokyo, we are fighting to regain that grip on China which our own greed lost through Chiang Kai-Shek. This program of money-making we are attempting to mask by yelling vigorously"Here come the Russians" Even when the Russians refuse to start, recently Senator Lehman has expressed his fear at the outbreak of peace. He is afraid that after

this hysteria the nation may regain its normal sanity despite the most ruthless propaganda ever attempted since Hitler. Mr. Hanley's program so far as he has one is a firm promise to do more anywhere and anyhow of everything which the democrats propose.

The American people do not war war, they do not need war. They are in no danger of foreign attack. We have plenty to do at home. We still have too much poverty, ignorance and disease and too many families homeless to waste billions on war and ruin over the earth. I ask opportunity in the United States Senate to raise my voice against war and in defense of Civil Liberties.

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I think that the clearest result of this discussion is that not three parties but only two are presenting programs here. Democrats and Republicans voice one program. It varies in small details but it stands for war and curtailment of civil rights. Moreover the source of this Bi-partisan Program is clear: it is organized industry. Big Business in the United States wants us to believe that our prosperity is dependent on its profitable career. But surely any intelligent man would admit that the private profit made by any particular transaction does not necessarily measure the good accruing to the mass of people. Profit is not an invariable measure of progress and private profit may often be public disaster. When then organized business dominates both major parties and candidates follow unquestioningly this Bi-partisan program, these parties become in fact one party.

A Third Party is not only logical but absolutely necessary if democracy survives. The Republican Party under Governor Dewey and his mouth-piece, Joe Hanley represents Big Business fighting for foreign markets at ruinous cost to our economy. If unrestrained, this program is bound to lead to the same sort of disaster which brought on the depression of the thirties. The Democratic Party under Franklin Roosevelt overthrew this program and began to build a party of social progress and control of private property.

War and death overthrew this new party building and Harry Truman has allowed the almost complete overthrow of the Roosevelt Program and today agrees in every important particular with the reactionary republicans. Senator Lehman follows the lead of Truman even to Truman's voicing a liberal measure and then conniving at its defeat. If then a citizen wants peace and not war, wants freedom of discussion and not a slave state, he has no choice but turning to a Third Party.

35-7-167

Broadcast - Tel[illegible] Oct 9 [illegible], 1950 Peace --1-- [illegible] Bronx Park Edmund Dewey 45-7-75

WMCA

I HAVE CONSENTED/TO BE A CANDIDATE FOR PUBLIC OFFICE/FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A LONG LIFE/BECAUSE I BELIEVE/THAT THE PEOPLE OF NEW YORK/ARE ENTITLED TO AN OPPORTUNITY/TO VOTE AGAINST WAR AND FOR PEACE.// NEITHER OF MY OPPONENTS PROVIDES THAT OPPORTUNITY.//BOTH HERBERT LEHMAN AND JOSEPH HANLEY/AGREE WITH THE TRUMAN-DULLES POLICY/IN FOREIGN RELATIONS.// THEY BOTH ADVOCATE/A POLICY WHICH IS DAILY LEADING US/NEARER A THIRD WORLD WAR.// THE TRUMAN POLICY WAS BAD/WHEN IT GAVE AID TO REACTION/IN CHINA AND GREECE.//NOW YIELDING TO PRESSURE/FROM THE REPUBLICANS,/ IT IS MAKING NEW ALLIANCE WITH CHIANG KAI-SHEK/ HELPING FRANCE CONQUER VIET NAM/AND THREATENING TO MAKE THE KOREAN WAR/ THE BEGINNING OF WAR WITH CHINA/AND THE SOVIET UNION.

FOREMOST IN ADVOCACY OF THIS POLICY/IS GOVERNOR DEWEY AND HIS ALLY, JOHN FOSTER DULLES,/ WHOM MR. LEHMAN A YEAR AGO,/ CHARACTERIZED AS A 'BIGOT, AND [redacted] ANTI-SEMITE AND A FASCIST.'// THIS SAME MAN/SENATOR LEHMAN NOW WELCOMES/TO THE "BI-PARTISAN"/ALLIANCE OF REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS,/ NOT BECAUSE MR. DULLES HAS CHANGED,/ BUT BECAUSE MR. LEHMAN/HAS SUCCUMBED TO THE PRESENT WAR HYSTERIA/OF

--2-- 45-7-76

THE NATION.// HE HAS RECENTLY DECLARED/THAT HE FEARS PEACE:/THAT HE HOPES THAT THE PRESENT WAR PSYCHOLOGY/OF THE NATION/WILL NOT SUBSIDE/BUT INCREASE AND SPREAD / TOWARD PREPARATION FOR WAR/ON A WORLD SCALE.

IT IS DIFFICULT/TO FOLLOW THIS REASONING/OF A MAN WHO KNOWS/THE INCREASING HORROR OF WAR/AND ITS THREAT TO ALL CIVILIZATION.// IN OUR OWN NATION/NEARLY EVERY STEP/TOWARD SOCIAL PROGRESS/IS STOPPED TODAY/BECAUSE OF THE SUPPOSED NECESSITY/FOR SPENDING MORE FOR MURDER/AND DESTRUCTION/THAN WE EVER SPENT FOR EDUCATION,/ HEALTH,/ BETTER STANDARDS OF LIVING/~~AND BROAD SOCIAL PROGRESS.~~// LET ANY MAN TODAY/PROPOSE AID/TO OUR COLLAPSING SCHOOL SYSTEM:/TO BEGIN SOCIAL MEDICINE/FOR A PEOPLE DEPRIVED/TO A FRIGHTFUL EXTENT/OF MEDICAL CARE:/ FOR A WHOLE SYSTEM OF TVA'S/TO TAME THE DESTRUCTIVE AND WASTING RIVERS/OF OUR LAND,/ AND PRESERVE THE DWINDLING TREASURE OF OUR FORESTS,//NO SOONER ARE SUCH PLANS ADVOCATED/THAN THE PROPONENT IS FACED/BY TWO ANSWERS://WE HAVE NO MONEY FOR

45-7-77

SOCIAL PROGRESS/BECAUSE OF ALL-OUT PREPARATION/FOR KILLING MEN AND DESTROYING PROPERTY/ALL OVER THE WORLD.

IP AND SECONDLY/THAT ANYONE ADVOCATING/SUCH SOCIAL AID AND CONTROL/IS A COMMUNIST OR SOCIALIST/AND A TRAITOR OR PROSPECTIVE TRAITOR/TO HIS COUNTRY.

// THEREUPON THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE/~~OF AN EXPANDED EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM/ OF MEDICAL~~ and social reform; ATTENTION/FOR THE VAST NUMBER OF SICK/WHO ARE NOW UNCARED FOR,// OF THE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY/IN THE INTEREST OF THE PUBLIC WELFARE/IS FACED BY AN ALMOST UNIVERSAL BARRAGE/OF INSULT, HALF-TRUTH AND WHOLE LIE/TO PROVE/THAT WE ARE IN IMMINENT DANGER ATTACK/FROM BITTER ENEMIES FROM WITHOUT/AND MUST SUBMIT TO ENDLESS TAXATION AND LOSS OF OUR CIVIL RIGHTS/IN ORDER TO START WORLD WAR/IN DEFENSE OF OUR LIBERTIES.// THE ADVOCACY OF THIS FANTASTIC THESIS/HAS GROWN TO A FRIGHTFUL EXTENT/SINCE SENATOR LEHMAN/HAS BEEN IN THE SENATE/AND HE HAS GONE ALONG WITH ITS CHIEF ADVOCATES/WITH SMALL PROTEST,/UNTIL TODAY/HE ACTUALLY SAYS PUBLICLY/ THAT HE IS AFRAID/WE WILL PREPARE FOR PEACE/INSTEAD OF WASTING OUR WEALTH AND HOPES/FOR INCREASED WELFARE/ON WAR.// YET MR. LEHMAN MUST KNOW/THAT OF ALL

45-7-78

SOCIAL TOOLS OF PROGRESS,/WAR IS THE LEAST EFFECTIVE.// THAT IF THIS WORLD/IS GOING FORWARD/TO WAR AFTER WAR,/EACH GREATER AND MORE DESTRUCTIVE/THAN THE LAST, THE END OF CIVILIZATION/IS IN SIGHT.// SUPPOSE WE FOLLOW MR. LEHMAN AND MR. HANDLEY.// AND SUPPOSE THAT BY SUPER-HUMAN EFFORT/WE CONQUER CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION.// SMASH SOUTHEAST ASIA/AND STRENGTHEN OUR HOLD ON AFRICA/AND SOUTH AMERICA/ ~~THROUGH OUR INCREASING INVESTMENTS THERE.~~// WHAT THEN?

HAVE WE HAD SUCH SUCCESS/IN ADMINISTERING/GERMANY, JAPAN,/S UTH KOREA AND THE PHILLIPINES/THAT WE ARE SURE/WE CAN SUCCESSFULLY RULE THE WORLD?// OUR ONLY HOPE/IN MAKING OUR WAY OF LIFE/ACCEPTABLE TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD/IS NOT BY ARMIES AND AIRPLANES/BUT BY IDEAS--BY EXAMPLE.// WHAT HAVE WE/IN THE LINE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES ~~AND RIGHTS~~,/ DECENT TREATMENT OF THE LOWLY,/ AND LACK OF PREJUDICE AND MOB RULE,/ DISFRANCHISEMENT AND MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE/TO PUT BEFORE THE DARK MAJORITY/OF THE WORLD/AS PROOF THAT WE ARE RIGHT/AND OTHER NATIONS WRONG?// JUST BECAUSE A SECRETARY OF DEFENSE/WENT INSANE/WHEN HE THOUGHT

HE SAW THE RUSSIANS INVADING WASHINGTON;// JUST BECAUSE A LIBERAL LEADER/ LIKE HENRY WALLACE/ SUDDENLY ANNOUNCES/ THAT WE ARE ALREADY FIGHTING RUSSIA,// DOES THAT PROVE/ THAT THE SOVIETS/ ARE ATTACKING/ OR PLANNING TO ATTACK US?// HAVE THE SOVIETS EVER ATTACKED/ AND INVADED OUR COUNTRY/ AS WE HAVE THEIRS?// HAVE THEY EVER HELPED SEIZE SLICES OF OUR TERRITORY/ AS WE HAVE OF THEIRS?// ARE THEIR ARMIES TODAY CAMPED/ ON OUR EVERY BORDER/ WITH THE OPENLY EXPRESSED/ AND REITERATED OBJECT/ OF STOPPING OUR WAY OF LIFE/ BY FORCE?// THE ONLY HOPE OF PEACE/ IN THE WORLD/ IS NOT THREAT AND BOAST; NOT INSULT/ AND REPEATED MISREPRESENTATION,/ BUT FAITH AND HOPE AND COOPERATION.// WE REFUSED THE PROFFERED HELP/ OF THE SOVIET UNION/ AT THE OUT-BREAK OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR.// LATER WE HAD TO TAKE IT.// DID THE SOVIETS FAIL US?/ WERE THEY UNFAITHFUL/ TO THEIR COMMITTMENTS?// WE HELPED THEIR EFFORT BY GIVING/ THEIR ARMIES MATERIALS;// BUT THEY SAVED THE WORLD FROM HITLER/ BY GIVING 10 MILLION OF THEIR SONS AND DAUGHTERS/ AND NONE PRAISED THEIR EFFORT/ MORE THAN THE UNITED STATES IN 1945.// THE FAITH AND [illegible]/ WE HAD THEN/ MUST BE USED AGAIN

IF WE WANT TO HAVE PEACE/ AMONG MEN.// MOREOVER LET NO AMERICAN/ BE SO SIMPLE/ AS TO THINK/ THAT WHEN WE CONQUER RUSSIA,/ WE CONQUER SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM.// COMMUNISM DID NOT BEGIN/ IN THE SOVIET UNION/ AND IT WILL NOT END THERE.// IF RUSSIA TODAY WERE SWEPT/ FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH/ THE BASIC AND FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS/ WHICH GAVE BIRTH TO COMMUNISM/ WILL REMAIN.// IF WE CANNOT ANSWER THEM/ BEFORE WAR OR WITH WAR,/ WHAT HOPE IS THERE/ THAT WE CAN ANSWER THEM AFTER WAR?// THEY WILL STILL STAND;/ AND THEY REST ON THIS QUESTION;/ WHY IS IT,/ WITH THE EARTH'S ABUNDANCE AND OUR MASTERY OF NATURAL FORCES,/ AND MIRACULOUS TECHNIQUE;/ WITH OUR INDUSTRY BELTING THE EARTH/ AND GOODS AND SERVICES POURING FROM OUR ~~STORES,~~ SHORES ~~FACTORIES, SHIPS AND WAREHOUSES,~~// WHY IS IT/ THAT NEVERTHELESS, IN THE WORLD MOST HUMAN BEINGS/ ARE STILL STARVING,/ DYING OF PREVENTABLE DISEASE/ AND TOO IGNORANT TO KNOW/ WHAT IS THE MATTER.// WHILE A SMALL ~~MAJORITY~~ MINORITY ARE SO RICH/ THEY CANNOT SPEND THEIR INCOME?

WE CANNOT MAINTAIN/ THAT THE UNITED STATES/ HAS SATISFACTORILY ANSWERED THIS QUESTION.// DESPITE ALL WE HAVE DONE,/ WE STILL HAVE POVERTY,/ IGNORANCE AND

45-7-81

PREVENTABLE DISEASE.// WE MIGHT GO FAR/TOWARD REMEDYING THESE FAULTS/OF OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM/AND IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE/THAT THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE/COULD TEACH THE WORLD/MUCH IN SOCIAL PROGRESS/IF IT ~~WAS~~ were GEARED/TO SUCH CONTINUED PROGRESS/AND NOT TO WAR.// IT IS NOT/BY THE DESTRUCTION/OF THE PLANS OF OTHERS BUT RATHER/BY DEVELOPING OUR OWN/THAT OUR WAY OF LIFE/CAN HOPE TO SUCCEED.// BUT WE ARE MISLED BY A MIRAGE.// WE WANT TO BASE OUR ECONOMY/NOT ON OUR EFFORTS IN THE UNITED STATES/BUT ON OUR CONTROL/OF THE WORK AND INDUSTRY OF CERTAIN BACKWARD LANDS/IN ASIA AND AFRICA//AND UNTIL RECENTLY,/ IN THE EAST EUROPE AND THE BALKANS. IF WE WANT TO SUCCEED/THE BRITISH EMPIRE/ OF THE 19th CENTURY/IN EXPLOITING THE LABOR AND MATERIALS/OF THE IGNORANT AND WEAK.// THIS IS BACK OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY/WHICH IS PUSHING PROFITABLE INVESTMENT ABROAD/UNDER THE PRETENSE OF PRESERVING OUR LIBERTIES AT HOME.// THIS IS BACK OF OUR BITTER DETERMINATION/TO DOMINATE CHINA,/FOR CHEAP CHINESE LABOR/HAS LONG BEEN A RICH SOURCE OF WEALTH/ FOR AMERICAN AND BRITISH INVESTMENT.// SENATOR LEHMAN REPRESENTS THE INVESTING

45-7-82

INTERESTS OF AMERICA.//HE FIGHTS THEIR BATTLES IN THE SENATE/AND FIGHTS THEM SO WHOLE-HEARTEDLY/THAT HE IS WILLING/IN THEIR INTERESTS/TO RESTORE TO POWER IN GERMANY/THE NAZIS WHO MURDERED SIX MILLION JEWS.// FOR THESE REASONS AND DESPITE HIS HIGH CHARACTER/[redacted]/ HE SHOULD NOT REPRESENT THIS STATE/IN THE SENATE.//AND SO LONG AS JOSEPH HANLEY/REPEATS BY ROTE/THE COMMANDS OF DEWEY AND DULLES/HE IS MUCH SAFER IN ALBANY/THAN IN WASHINGTON.

I am opposed to the re-election of Senator Lehman or the election of Joseph Hanley to the United States Senate, because they both agree with the Truman policy in foreign relations. They both advocate a policy which is daily leading us nearer a Third World War. The Truman policy was bad when it gave aid to reaction in China and Greece. Now yielding to pressure from the Republicans, it is making new alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek, helping France conquer Viet Nam and threatening to make the Korean War the beginning of war with China and the Soviet Union.

Foremost in advocacy of this policy is Governor Dewey and his ally, John Foster Dulles, whom Mr. Lehman a year ago, characterized as "a bigot, an anti-Semite and a fascist. This same man Senator Lehman now welcomes to the "bi-partisan" alliance of Republicans and Democrats, not because Mr. Dulles has changed, but because Mr. Lehman has succumbed to the present war hysteria of the nation. He has recently declared that he fears peace; that he hopes that the present war psychology of the nation will not subside but increase and spread toward [redacted] preparation for war on a world scale.

55-6-267

It is difficult to follow this reasoning of a man who knows the increasing horror of war and its threat to all civilization. In our own nation nearly every step toward social progress is stopped today because of the supposed necessity for spending more for murder and destruction than we ever spent for education, health, better standards of living and broad social progress. Let any man today propose aid to our collapsing school system; to begin social medicine for a people deprived to a frightful extent of medical care; for a whole system of TVA's to tame the destructive and wasting rivers of our land--and preserve the dwindling treasure of our forests, no sooner are such plans advocated than the proponent is faced by two answers: we have no money for social progress because [redacted] of all-out preparation for killing men and destroying property all over the world.

And secondly that anyone advocating such social aid and control is a Communist or Socialist and a traitor or prospective traitor to his country. Thereupon the advocate of peace, of an expanded educational system; of medical attention for the vast number of sick who are now uncared for, of the control of industry in the interest of the public welfare is faced by an almost universal barrage of insult, half-truth and whole lie to prove that we are in imminent attack from bitter enemies from without and must submit to endless taxation and loss of our civil rights in order to start world war in defense of our liberties. The advocacy of this fantastic thesis has grown to a frightful extent since Senator Lehman has been in the Senate and he has gone along with its chief advocates with small protest; until today he actually says publicly that he is afraid we will prepare for peace instead of wasting our wealth and hopes for increased welfare on war. Yet Mr. Lehman must know that of all social tools of progress, war is the least effective. That if this world is going forward to war after war, each greater and more destructive than the last, the end of civilization is in sight. Suppose we follow Mr. Lehman and Mr. Hanley. And suppose that by super-human effort we conquer China and the Soviet Union, smash southwest Asia and strengthen our hold on Africa and South America through our increasing investments there. What then?

35-6-268

Have we had such success in administering Germany, Japan, South Korea and the Phillipines that we are sure we can successfully rule the world? Our only hope in making our way of life acceptable to the peoples of the world is not by armies and airplanes but by ideas--by example. What have we in the line of civil liberties and rights, decent treatment of the lowly, and lack of prejudice and mob rule, disfranchisement and miscarriage of Justice to put before the dark majority of the world as proof that we are right and other nations wrong? Just because a Secretary of Defense went insane when he thought he saw the Russians invading Washington; just because a liberal leader like Henry Wallace suddenly announces that we are already fighting Russia, does that

prove that the Soviets are attacking or planning to attack us? Have the Soviets ever attacked and invaded our country as we have theirs? Have they ever helped seize slices of our territory as we have of theirs? Are their armies today camped on our every border with the openly expressed and reiterated object of stopping ~~communism~~ our way of life by force? The only hope of peace in the world is not threat and boast; not insult and repeated misrepresentation, but faith and hope and cooperation. We refused the proffered help of the Soviet Union at the outbreak of the Second World War. ~~Then~~ Later we had to take it. Did the Soviets fail us? Were they unfaithful to their committments? ~~To be sure~~ We helped their effort by giving their armies materials; but they saved the World from Hitler by giving their sons and daughters ~~by the million~~ in lives 9/10 million of and none praised their effort more than the United States in 1945. The faith and praise we had then must be used again if we want to have peace among men. Moreover let no American be so simple as to think that when we conquer Russia, we conquer Socialism and Communism. Communism did not begin in the Soviet Union and it will not end there. If Russia today were swept from the face of the Earth the basic and fundamental problems which gave birth to it will remain. If we cannot answer them before war or with war, what hope is there that we can answer them after war? They will still stand, and they rest on this question: Why is it, with the earth's abundance and our mastery of natural forces, and miraculous technique: with industry belting the earth and goods and services pouring from our stores, factories, ships and warehouses: Why is it that nevertheless most human beings are still starving ~~to death~~, dying of preventable disease and too ignorant to know what is the matter; while a small majority are so rich that they cannot spend their income?

We cannot maintain that the United States has satisfactorily answered this question. Despite all we have done, we still have poverty, ignorance and preventable disease. We might go far toward remedying these faults of our industrial system and it is quite possible that the American Way of Life

35-16-269

could teach the world much in social progress if it was geared to such continued progress and not to war. It is not by the destruction of the plans of others but rather by developing our own that our way of life can hope to succeed. But we are misled by a mirage. We want to base our economy not on our efforts in the United States but on our control of the work and industry of certain backward lands in Asia and Africa and until recently, in the east Europe and the Balkans. We want to succeed the British Empire of the 19th century in exploiting the labor and materials of the ignorant and weak. This is back of our foreign policy which is pushing profitable investment abroad under the pretense of preserving our liberties at home. This is back of our bitter determination to dominate China, for cheap Chinese labor has long been a rich source of wealth for American and British investment. Senator Lehman represent the investing interests of America. He fights their battles in the Senate and fights them so whole-heartedly that he is willing in their interests to restore to power in Germany the Nazis who murdered six million Jews. For these reasons and despite his high character and many efforts for social progress, he should not represent this state in the Senate. And so long as Joseph Hanley repeats by rote the commands of Dewey and Dulles he is much safer in Albany than in Washington.

35-6-270

Th, 6-16

I am opposed to the re-election of Senator Lehman or the election of Joseph Hanley to the United States Senate, because they both agree with the Truman policy in foreign relations. They both advocate a policy which is daily leading us nearer a Third World War. The Truman policy was bad when it gave aid to reaction in China and Greece. Now yielding to pressure from the Republicans, it is making new alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek, helping France conquer Viet Nam and threatening to make the Korean War the beginning of war with China and the Soviet Union.

Foremost in advocacy of this policy is Governor Dewey and his ally, John Foster Dulles, whom Mr. Lehman a year ago, characterized as "a bigot, an anti-Semite and a fascist." This same man Senator Lehman now welcomes to the "bi-partisan" alliance of Republicans and Democrats, not because Mr. Dulles has changed, but because Mr. Lehman has succumbed to the present war hysteria of the nation. He has recently declared that he fears peace; that he hopes that the present war psychology of the nation will not subside but increase and spread toward [redacted] preparation for war on a world scale.

It is difficult to follow the reasoning of this man who knows the increasing horror of war and its threat to all civilization. In our own nation nearly every step toward social progress is stopped today because of the supposed necessity for spending more for murder and destruction than we ever spent for education, health, better standards of living and broad social progress. Let any man today propose aid to our collapsing school system; to begin social medicine for a people deprived to a frightful extent of medical care; for a whole system of TVA's to tame the destructive and wasting rivers of our land--and preserve the dwindling treasure of our forests, no sooner are such plans advocated than the proponent is faced by two answers: we have no money for social progress because [redacted] of all-out preparation for killing men and destroying property all over the world.

And secondly that anyone advocating such social aid and control is a Communist or Socialist and a traitor or prospective traitor to his country. Thereupon the advocate of peace, of an expanded dducational system; of medical attention for the vast number of sick who are now uncared for, of the control of industry in the interest of the public welfare is faced by an almost universal barrage of insult, half-truth and whole lie to prove that we are in imminent attack from bitter enemies from without and must submit to endless taxation and loss of our civil rights in order to start world war in defense of our liberties. The advocacy of this fantastic thesis has grown to a frightful extent since Senator Lehman has been in the Senate and he has gone along with its chief advocates with small protest; until today he actually says publicly that he is afraid we will prepare for peace instead of wasting our wealth and hopes for increased welfare on war. Yet Mr. Lehman must know that of all social tools of progress, war is the least effective. That if this world is going forward to war after war, each greater and more destructive than the last, the end of civilization is in sight. Suppose we follow Mr. Lehman and Mr. Hanley. And suppose that by super-human effort we conquer China and the Soviet Union, smash southwest Asia and strengthen our hold on Africa and South America through our increasing investments there. What then?

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Have we had such success in administering Germany, Japan, South Korea and the Phillipines that we are sure we can successfully rule the world? Our only hope in making our way of life acceptable to the peoples of the world is not by armies and airplanes but by ideas--by example. What have we in the line of civil liberties and rights, decent treatment of the lowly, and lack of prejudice and mob rule, disfranchisement and miscarrying of Justice to put before the dark majority of the world as proof that we are right and other nations wrong? Just because a Secretary of Defense went insane when he thought he saw the Russians invading Washington; just because a liberal leader like Henry Wallace suddenly announces that we are already fighting Russia, does that

35-7-59

prove that the Soviets are attacking or planning to attack us? Have the Soviets ever attacked and invaded our country as we have theirs? Have they ever helped seize slices of our territory as we have of theirs? Are their armies today camped on our every border with the openly expressed and reiterated object of stopping communism by force? The only hope of peace in the world is not threat and boast; not insult and repeated misrepresentation but faith and hope and cooperation. We refused the proffered help of the Soviet Union at the outbreak of the Second World War. Then we had to take it. Did the Soviets fail us? Were they unfaithful to their committments? To be sure we helped their effort by giving their armies materials; but they saved the World from Hitler by giving their sons and daughters by the million and none praised their effort more than the United States in 1945. The faith and praise we had then must be used again if we want to have peace among men. Moreover let no American be so simple as to think that when we conquer Russia, we conquer Socialism and Communism. Communism did not begin in the Soviet Union and it will not end there. If Russia today were swept from the face of the Earth the basic and fundamental problems which gave birth to it will remain. If we cannot answer them before war or with war, what hope is there that we can answer them after war? They will still stand and they rest on this question: Why is it, with the earth's abundance and our mastery of natural forces, and miraculous technique: with industry belting the earth and goods and services pouring from our stores, factories, ships and warehouses: Why is it that nevertheless most human beings are starving to death, dying of preventable disease and too ignorant to know what is the matter: while a small majority are so rich that they cannot spend their income.

We cannot maintain that the United States has satisfactorily answered this question. Despite all we have done, we still have poverty, ignorance and preventable disease. We might go far toward remedying these faults of our industrial system and it is quite possible that the American Way of Life

35-7-60

could teach the world much in social progress if it was geared to such continued progress and not to war. It is not by the destruction of the plans of others but rather by developing our own that our way of life can hope to succeed. But we are misled by a mirage. We want to base our economy not on our efforts in the United States but on our control of the work and industry of certain backward lands in Asia and Africa, and until recently, in the east Europe and the Balkans. We want to succeed the British Empire of the 19th century in exploiting the labor and materials of the ignorant and weak. This is back of our foreign policy which is pushing profitable investment abroad under the pretense of preserving our liberties at home. This is back of our bitter determination to dominate China, for ~~the~~ cheap Chinese labor has long been a rich source of wealth for American and British investment. Senator Lehman represents the investing interests of America. He fights their battles in the Senate and fights them so whole-heartedly that he is willing in their interest to restore to power in Germany the Nazis who murdered six million Jews. For these reasons and despite his high character and many efforts for social progress, he should not represent this state in the Senate. And so long as Joseph Hanley repeats by rote the commands of Dewey and Dulles he is much safer in Albany than in Washington.

OPENING STATEMENT ON WMCA New York City

Introduction of Dr. Dubois by Vito Marcantonio- WMCA-October 9,1950

In this election campaing of 1950 cynical political bosses are riding roughshod over the real sentiments of the people. For the first time party bosses have nominated such men as an avowed spokesman of an administration of graft and corruption, apologists for fascism, defenders of Franco, destroyers of the Bill of Rights, advocates of concentration camps, and upholders of Taft-Hartley.

35-6-53

Impelliteri is the junior partner of the double-talk, double-dealing Administration of the runwaway O'Dwyer. He shares the full blame for every act of that administration now being spread on the record. Rm Pecora is the man who stood up in Madison Square Garden on November 30, 1935 and praised Mussolini's rape of Ethiopia. Lynch is the man who voted millions for the fascist dictator Franco and supports the concentration camps.

These are the men supported by the liberals, the party of Dubinsky and Berle, the man who was booted out of the Roosevelt cabinet and is now the mouthpiece for renazifying and remilitarizing Germany.

The Republican candidates present the same old face--pro-Taft-Hartley, anti-civil rights, anti-peace, anti-people.

These are the dollar patriots who dare to point the finger at the

A

American Labor Party -- these men who would make fascism synonymous with Americanism, who would tear up the Bill of Rights and still call themselves democrats and liberals.

We of the American Labor Party are fighting for peace --yes -- for civil rights -- yes -- for the Bill of Rights. ~~xxx xxx~~ We fight for the America of Jefferson and Paine, of Oliver Wendell Holmes and Franklin Roosevelt.

35-6-54

In this patriotic spirit we present one of America's truly great men, a leader of the Negro people who is respected by all people~~xxx~~ who believe in and love liberty, a leader of American thought, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Dr. William E. B. Du Bois, the American Labor Party Candidate for the U.S.Senate.

After hearing Dr. DuBois,I urge you to register and enroll in your party -- the party that makes the people's interest its first concern-- the American Labor Party.

Dr. Du Bois.

45-7-54

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BROADCAST, OCTOBER 19, 1950
DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

Civil rights

FRIENDS: / ONE OF THE ANOMALIES / OF THIS PRESENT CRISIS / IN OUR NATION / IS THAT AFTER WE HAVE LOUDLY ACCUSED / OTHER NATIONS / OF SLAVERY, REPRESSION, / TOTALITARIAN GOVERNMENT / AND LACK OF DEMOCRACY // WE THEN TURN AROUND AND APPARENTLY SEEK TO OUTDO THE WORLD / IN EVERY SORT OF REPRESSION AND TYRANNY. // TODAY IT IS NO EXAGGERATION TO SAY / THAT THE UNITED STATES / STANDS IN GRAVE DANGER / OF BECOMING A SLAVE STATE. // THE PROOF OF THIS IS CLEAR / IN OUR LOSS OF PERSONAL LIBERTY / OUR WIDE ATTEMPT TO CONTROL THOUGHT / OUR SYSTEMATIC SPY SYSTEM / OUR JAILING OF CITIZENS / NOT FOR THEIR ACTS / BUT FOR THEIR BELIEFS // OUR POLICE TYRANNY AND THIRD DEGREE SYSTEM / THE OPEN INJUSTICE IN OUR COURTS / THE FREQUENT REFUSAL / IN GOVERNMENT PROCEDURE / TO LET WITNESSES FACE THE ACCUSED / OR LET THE ACCUSED / KNOW THE CHARGES AGAINST THEM // THE SYSTEMATIC DISCRIMINATION / PRACTICED AGAINST RACIAL / AND NATIONAL MINORITIES / OUR HOUNDING OF THE FOREIGN BORN / AND OUR DELIBERATE TAXATION OF THE POOR / AND EXEMPTION OF THE RICH //

 45-7-55

¶ THESE THINGS NATURALLY / DO NOT HAPPEN TO EVERYBODY / ALL THE TIME // BUT THE FACT THAT THEY CAN HAPPEN TO ANYBODY / ANYTIME // AND THE GROWING FREQUENCY OF SUCH OCCURRENCES / PROVES THE FRIGHTENING TENDENCIES / IN THIS REPUTED LAND OF THE FREE.

FOR INSTANCE / NOBODY BELIEVES THAT IT WAS WRONG / TO RAISE FUNDS FOR THE RELIEF / OF THE SPANISH VICTIMS / OF [redacted] FRANCO. // YET MEN ARE IN JAIL TODAY / NOT FOR GIVING SUCH FUNDS, / BUT FOR REFUSING TO TELL WHO DID GIVE // IT IS NOT UNLAWFUL / FOR A CITIZEN TO REFUSE / TO MAKE PUBLIC / HIS PRIVATE BELIEFS / // THE BILL OF RIGHTS / WAS WRITTEN INTO THE CONSTITUTION / TO PROTECT THE RIGHT TO REFUSE // YET TODAY / MEN ARE IN JAIL FOR SUCH REFUSAL. // GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES ARE LOSING THEIR JOBS ~~TODAY~~, / WITHOUT BEING FACED BY THEIR ACCUSERS / OR INFORMED OF THE EVIDENCE / AGAINST THEM // AND NOT FOR WHAT THEY DO / OR BELIEVE, / BUT FOR WHAT THEY ARE ACCUSED / OF HAVING BELIEVED / IN THEPAST // AS SUPREME COURT JUSTICE FRANKFURTER / COMMENTED THE OTHER DAY, / THE ONLY PERSON WHO HAS ACCESS

TO THE EVIDENCE/AGAINST THESE GOVERNMENT WORKERS/IS THE MAN WHO HAS POWER TO CHOP OFF THEIR HEADS.// CITIZENS ARE BLACKLISTED/NOT FOR THEIR OWN BELIEFS,/ BUT FOR WHAT THEIR FRIENDS/OR ASSOCIATES BELIEVE.

I SAW YESTERDAY/A CLEAN CUT YOUNG, WHITE AMERICAN TEACHER/ WHO HAD GONE ABROAD LEGALLY/TO READ PAPERS AT A STUDENTS CONGRESS/AT PRAGUE/AND A HISTORY CONGRESS AT AMSTERDAM.// AT THE INSTIGATION/OF OUR STATE DEPARTMENT,/ HE WAS ARRESTED IN HOLLAND/WITHOUT ACCUSATION/ JAILED WITHOUT TRIAL,/ DENIED THE RIGHT TO SEE HIS WIFE/OR CONSULT HIS LAWYER,/ DEPRIVED OF HIS PASSPORT,/ REFUSED THE RIGHT/TO STUDY ON A SCHOLARSHIP IN ENGLAND,/ THE LIFE OF ~~ISAAC~~ NEWTON/AND FORCIBLY SENT HOME./// THE TREATMENT/AND THREATENING AND HARASSING/ OF THE FOREIGN-BORN/ALL OVER THE NATION TODAY/IS A DISGRACE TO A CIVILIZED ~~NATION~~ People.// YOU MAY NOT AGREE WITH COMMUNISTS,/ BUT EVEN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT/HAS NEVER ACCUSED COMMUNIST LEADERS/IN THE UNITED STATES/OF ANY ACT/OR EVEN THREAT/OF FORCE OR VIOLENCE/TO ACCOMPLISH THEIR OBJECTIVES.

YET THEY ARE/TODAY/SENTENCED TO LONG TERMS IN JAIL,/ NOT FOR WHAT THEY HAVE DONE,/ BUT SOLELY FOR WHAT/THEY ARE SAID TO BELIEVE.// THE FBI'S PAID ARRAY OF SPIES/AND TRAITORS AND INFORMERS/COVERS THE NATION.// AND IN THE FACE OF ALL THIS,/ SENATOR LEHMAN BLANDLY TELLS US/"OUR GOVERNMENT AND OUR NATION/ ARE LOOKED TO/BY ALL THE FREEDOM-LOVING WORLD/AS THE HOPE OF ALL MANKIND AGAINST TYRANNY AND DARKNESS!"

THE OPEN,/ CRASS/AND DELIBERATE MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE/IN OUR COURTS IS GROWING IN FREQUENCY.// SIX NEGRO BOYS IN NEW JERSEY/ARE HELD IN PRISON WITHOUT TRIAL/ON THE ORDER OF A JUDGE/ WHO SEEKS TO ~~FORCE THEIR CHOICE OF~~ deny their representation by their choice LAWYERS.// A BLACK MAN IN MISSISSIPPI/ IS IN JAIL (UNDER DEATH SENTENCE) ON THE WORD OF A WHITE WOMAN/WHO SAYS SHE WAS ATTACKED/WHILE HER HUSBAND WAS IN THE NEXT ROOM,/ BUT WHO MADE NO OUTCRY;/ WHO [redacted] SAYS SHE COULD NOT SEE/HER ASSAILANT IN THE DARK/AND YET IDENTIFIED THIS MAN/AS THE CRIMINAL.

 45-7-58

A BLACK WOMAN IN GEROGIA/IS IN JAIL FOR LIFE/BECAUSE HER TEEN-AGE SON/SHOT THE WHITE MAN/WHO WAS BEATING HER, WITH THE MAN'S OWN GUN.// THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION/SAYS/IT CAN DO NOTHING IN THESE CASES/BUT IT CAN RAISE THE ROOF IN THE CASE OF A CARDINAL IN JUGOSLAVIA/OR CONFESSED SPIES/AND SABOTEURS IN HUNGARY,/ POLAND AND BULGARIA.

HERBERT LEHMAN AND JOE HANLEY/REPEATEDLY PROFESS/THEIR DEVOTION TO THE CAUSE OF CIVIL RIGHTS/for THE NEGRO PEOPLE.// BUT NEITHER OF THEM HAS RAISED HIS VOICE/AGAINST THE UNJUST DEATH SENTENCE/PASSED BY AN ALL-WHITE COURT MARTIAL/AGAINST LEON GILBERT,/A NEGRO LIEUTENANT IN KOREA.

WE REFUSE TO LET PABLO PICASSO,/ THE GREATEST LIVING PAINTER IN THE WORLD,/ AND THAT VENERABLE BRITISH CHURCHMAN,/ THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY/ STEP ON OUR SHORES/TO BEG FOR PEACE.// BUT THE STATE DEPARTMTNE ANNOUNCES/THAT FASCISTS FROM FRANCO SPAIN/AND PERON'S ARGENTINA/WILL CONTINUE TO BE WELCOME. SENATOR LEHMAN/GREETS GENERAL ANDERS/AND STANDS BESIDE HIM IN PUBLIC TRIUMPH/ ALTHOUGH ANDERS/IS A NOTORIOUS ANTI-SEMITE,/ A REACTIONARY AND A FASCIST,/

 45-7-59

WHO HAS MADE TROUBLE/IN ENGLAND, ITALY,/PALESTINE AND IRAN,/ ONLY TO BE WELCOMED AND FATED/IN THE UNITED STATES.

PAROLE IS DENIED/TO CARL MARZANI,/WORLD WAR II VETERAN/WITH A BRILLIANT RECORD OF SERVICE IN ITALY,/ WHO WAS SENT TO PRISON/BY A FOUR-TO-FOUR SUPREME COURT DECISION/CONVICTING HIM OF DENYING/HE WAS A COMMUNIST.//BUT THE UNITED STATES HIGH COMMISSIONER IN GERMANY/PARDONS BARON ERNST VON WEIZAECKER/ HITLER'S AMBASSADOR TO THE VATICAN/WHO WAS CONVICTED OF DEPORTING JEWS/FOR SLAVE LABOR IN POLAND.// AND NEITHER HERBERT LEHMAN NOR JOE HANLEY/PROTESTS THIS RELEASE OF A NAZI BUTCHER/ WHOSE FIRST ACT / ON REGAINING HIS LIBERTY WAS TO KNEEL IN ADORATION/AT THE GRAVES OF HERMAN GOERING AND OTHER NAZI WAR CRIMINALS.

WHAT IS THE REASON/FOR THE CURSHING OF LIBERTY/ MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE/AND DELIBERATE DENIAL/OF THE RIGHT TO THINK,/ HEAR AND CHOOSE/TO

AMERICAN CITIZENS?// THE REASON IS THAT THE PRESENT ELEMENTS/WHICH RULE AMERICA,/ BIG BUSINESS AND BIG BRASS,/ FEAR THE TRUTH,/ WHICH MAY INTERFERE WITH THEIR POWER/AND INCOME.// AND SECONDLY, THIS NATION FALLS/THE MORE EASILY BACK/INTO THE GRIP OF A SLAVE STATE./ /BECAUSE LESS THAN A CENTURY AGO/IT ACTUALLY WAS A STATE/IN WHICH HUMAN SLAVERY/WAS LEGAL AND CUSTOMARY!// WE WOULD RATHER FORGET/THIS SHAMEFUL PAST,/ WHEN FOR 250 YEARS/THIS LAND OF FREEDOM,/ OF RELIGION,/ OF DEMOCRACY/WAS THE ONLY CIVILIZED STATE/IN THE WORLD/WHERE HUMAN BEINGS WERE [redacted]/ BOUGHT AND SOLD/PRECISELY LIKE CATTLE,/ WHERE SLAVES HAD NO RIGHT OF PROPERTY,/ NO LEGAL MARRIAGE,/NO CONTROL OF CHILDREN/AND NO RIGHT TO LEARN/NOR THINK.// THAT WAS THE ACTUAL LEGAL STATUS/OF BLACK SLAVES/IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA/UNTIL ONLY 80 YEARS AGO,/ AND VESTIGES OF IT/ARE STILL LAW AND CUSTOM/IN A THIRD OF OUR NATIONAL TERRITORY.

WE WANT TO FORGET THIS./ I WANT TO FORGET IT./ BUT WHEN GOVERNOR DEWEY

DEWEY (AND OF COURSE JOE HANLEY ~~1880~~/AS SOON AS HE GETS WORD) TRY TO TELL ME/THAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY/FREED THE SLAVES,/ THAT STATEMENT IS A LIE.// THE REPUBLICAN PARTY NEVER INTENDED/TO FREE THE SLAVES./ IT WON THE ELECTION ^ ON A SOLEMN PLEDGE/TO PROTECT SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH/AND TO RETURN RUNAWAY SLAVES WITHOUT TRIAL./ ABRAHAM LINCOLN VOWED SOLEMNLY/THAT HE WOULD NOT TOUCH SLAVERY/IF HE COULD SAVE THE UNION/WITHOUT DOING SO.// BUT HE COULD NOT SAVE THE UNION/UNTIL HE USED BLACK SOLDIERS/TO WIN THE WAR.// IT WAS THESE 200,000 BLACK SOLDIERS/AND THE PROMISE OF A MILLION MORE/WHICH BROUGHT LEE'S SURRENDER.

WE DISTORT THIS TRUTH/AND PUT THE DISTORTION INTO OUR SCHOOL BOOKS/ BECAUSE WE ARE ASHAMED/OF THE WHOLE SORDID DISGRACEFUL MESS/ WHICH STILL REACHES DOWN THE AGES/TO GIVE THE LIE/TO OUR UNCTIOUS PRETENSE/OF HAVING LED CIVILIZATION

THIS ^ DEFENSE IS ONLY HUMAN.// WHAT IS INHUMAN AND DANGEROUS/IS THE EASE WITH WHICH THIS PAST/LETS US SLIP BACK TOWARD SLAVERY/AND INJUSTICE/ ~~LETS~~ US

45-7-62

~~SLIP BACK TOWARD SLAVERY AND INJUSTICE.~~ LETS US LYNCH WITHOUT TRIAL 6000 BLACK AND WHITE AMERICAN CITIZENS/ SINCE THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY /AND SHOWS THE UNHEALED WOUND OF LAWLESSNESS/ STAMPED ON THE SOUL OF AMERICA.// YET NO ANTI-LYNCHING LAW/ CAN PASS EITHER REPUBLICAN/OR DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSES// THIS HOLDS/JUST AS TRUE/FOR THE DEMOCRAT-CONTROLLED 81st CONGRESS/AS IT DID FOR THE REPUBLICAN-CONTROLLED 80th.// ON THE RECORD,/ NO VOTER CAN HAVE THE SLIGHTEST CONFIDENCE/ IN THE PROMISE/OF EITHER OF THE OLD PARTIES/ OR THEIR CANDIDATES LEHMAN OR JOE HANLEY ~~ARE ENTITLED TO NO CREDENCE WHATSOEVER.~~

BUT EVEN WORSE/THAN THE HYPOCRISY/OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES/AND THEIR CANDIDATES/ ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE/ IS THIS// THAT WHENEVER POWERFUL INTERESTS/IN AMERICA/FEEL THEIR RULE IS THREATENED,/ THEIR FIRST IMPULSE/ IS TO RESORT TO THE SAME TACTICS/WHICH THE SLAVE POWER/ONCE USED TO STOP ABOLITIONISTS/FROM DISCUSSING SLAVERY.// TODAY THE POWER OF ORGANIZED INDUSTRY/IS GREAT AND GROWING.// THROUGH ITS CONTROL/ OF BOTH OLD PARTIES,/ IT

45-7-63

CAN AND DOES/TAX THE NATION FOR A VAST ARMY/ TO PROTECT ITS INTERESTS/AND PROMOTE ITS EXPANSION/OVER THE WORLD.//THE WEIGHT OF THESE TAXES/IS BORNE BY THE COMMON PEOPLE/WORKING MEN AND WOMEN AND FARMERS,/ WHILE THE PROFITS OF THE BIG CORPORATIONS/AND THE PERSONAL INCOMES/OF THEIR MILLIONAIRE OWNERS/ RISE TO NEW HEIGHTS.

IN OUR LAND,/ BIG BUSINESS OWNS THE PRESS,/ THE MAGAZINES/AND NEWGATHERING AGENCIES.// IT CONTROLS RADIO/ STAGE AND PLATFORM.// GRADUALLY BIG BUSINESS/IN THE UNITED STATES,/ TO CHOKE OFF CRITICISM/AND CONCEAL THE FACTS/IS BUILDING A NEW SLAVE STATE.// THIS DESCENT INTO HELL,/ JOE HANLEY AND SENATOR LEHMAN DEFEND/AND EXCUSE REPEATEDLY/AND WITH ENTHUSIASM.// FOR ALL OF THEIR TIES/ ARE WITH THE LEADERSHIP/OF THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES/AND WITH THE BIG BUSINESS INTERESTS/THAT RUN BOTH.// OUR FIRST STEP TOWARD FREEDOM/IS TO REPUDIATE BOTH OLD PARTIES,/ THEIR CANDIDATES,/ AND THIS POLICY THAT THEY STAND FOR.

45-7-64

THAT CAN ONLY BE DONE/ BY VOTING FOR THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY./ THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY/ IS THE PARTY OF PEACE,/ FREEDOM AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS./ WE WANT PAUL ROBESON/ TO TRAVEL WHERE HE WILL/ AND SAY WHAT HE THINKS/ SO LONG AS HE BREAKS NO LAW./ // WE WANT AN END TO CONGRESSIONAL WITCH-HUNTS,/ PRESIDENTIAL LOYALTY ORDERS/ AND FBI POLICE STATE METHODS./ // WE WANT THE REPEAL OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT/ AND THE MCCARRAN ACT./ // IN OTHER WORDS, WE WANT THIS/ TO BE A LAND OF THE FREE,/ NOT SIMPLY IN SONG/ BUT IN LAW AND TRUTH.

(We want an anti-lynching law, an anti-poll tax law, and an FEPC with Clause.

WE URGE ALL OF YOU/ WHO JOIN US/ IN WANTING THIS/ TO VOTE FOR THE CANDIDATES/ OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY./

THANK YOU, AND GOOD NIGHT.

Broadcast, October 19, 1950 WMCA

CIVIL RIGHTS

Friends: One of the anomalies of this present crisis in our nation is that after we have loudly accused other nations of slavery, repression, totalatarian government and lack of democracy, we then turn around and apparently seek to outdo the world in every sort of repression and tyranny. Today it is no exaggeration to say that the United States stands in grave danger of becoming a slave state. The proof of this is clear in our loss of personal liberty, our wide attempt to control thought; our systematic spy system, our jailing of citizens not for their acts, but for their beliefs; our police tyranny and third degree system: the open injustice in our courts; the frecuent refusal in government procedure to let witnesses face tha accused or let the accused know the charges against them: they systamatic discrimination practiced against racial and national minorities; our hounding of the foreign born and our deliberate taxation of the poor and exemption of the rich.

These things naturally do not happen to everybody all the time, but the fact that they can happen to anybody, any time and the growing frequency of such occurrences proves the frightening tendencies in this reputed land of the free.

For instance, nobody believes that it was wrong to raise funds for the relief of the Spanish victims of Franco. Yet men are in jail today not for giving such funds, but for refusing to tell who did give. It is not unlawful for a citizen to refuse to make public his private beliefs, the Bill of Rights was written into the Constitution to protect the right to refuse. Yet today men are in jail for such refusal. Government employees are losing their jobs without being faced by their accusers or informed of the evidence against them, and not for what they do or believe, but for what they are accused of having believed in the past. As Supreme Court Justic , Frankfurter commented the

other day, the only person who has access to the evidence against these government workers is the man who has power to chop off their heads. Citizens are blacklisted not for their own beliefs, but for what their friends or associates believe.

I saw yesterday a clean cut young, white American teacher, who had gone abroad legally to read papers at a Students Congress at Prague and a History Congress at Amsterdam. At the instigation of our Dtate Department, he was arrested in Holland without accusation, jailed without trial, denied the right to see his wife or consult his lawyer, deprived of his passport, refused the right to study on a scholarship in England, the life of Newton and forcibly sent home. The treatment and threatening and harassing of the foreign-born all over the nation today is a disgrace to a civilized people. You maynot agree with communists, but even the United States Government has never accused communist leaders in the United States of any act or even threat of force or violence to accomplish their objectives. Yet today they are sentenced to long terms in jail, not for what they have done, but solely for what they are said to believe. The FBI's paid array of spies and triators and informers covers the nation. And in the face of all this, Senator Lehman blandly tells us "Our Government and our Nation are looked to by all the freedom-loving world as the hope of all mankind against tyranny and darkness!"

The open, crass and deliberate miscarriage of justice in our courts is growing in frequency: six Negro boys in New Jersey are held in prison without trial on the order of a judge who seeks to deny them representation by lawyers of their choice; A Black Man in Mississippi is in jail under the death sentence on the word of a white woman who says she was attacked while her husband was in the next room, but who made no outcry; who says she could not see her assailant in the dark and yet identified this man as the criminal.

A black woman in Georgia is in jail for life because her teen-age

son shot, with the man's own gun, the white man who was beating her. The Truman administration says it can do nothing in these cases but it can raise the roof in the case of a Cardinal in Jugoslavia or confessed spies and saboteurs in Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria.

Herbert Lehman and Joe Hanley repeatedly profess their devotion to the cause of civil rights for the Negro people. But neither of them has raised his voice against the unjust death sentence passed by an all-white court martial against Leon Gilbert, a Negro Lieutenant in Korea.

We refuse to let Pablo Picasso, the greatest living painter in the world, and that venerable British Churchman, The Dean of Canterbury, step on our shores to beg for peace. But the State Department announces that fascists from Franco Spain and Perons Agrentina will continue to be welcome. Senator Lehman greets General Anders and stands beside him in public tribute although Anders is a notorious Anti-Semite, a reactionary and a Fascist, who has made trouble in England, Italy, Palestine and Iran, only to be welcomed and feted in the United States.

Parole is denied to Carl Marzani, World War II, veteran with a brilliant record of dervice in Italy, who was sent to prison by a four-to-four Supreme Court decison convicting him of denying he was a communist. But the United States High Commissioner in Germany pardons Baron Ernst Von Weizaecker, Hitler's Ambassador to the Vatican who was convicted of deporting Jews for slave labor in Poland. And neither Herbert Lehman nor Joe Hanley protests this release of a Nazi butcher, whose first act on regaining his liberty was to kneel in adoration at the graves of Goering and other Nazi war criminals.

What is the reason for the crushing of liberty, miscarriage of justice and deliberate denial of the right to think, hear and choose to American citizens? The reason is that the present elements which rule America, Big Business and Big Brass, fear the truth, which may interfere with their power and income: and secondly, this nation falls the more easily back into the grip

of a slave state, because less than a century ago it actually was a state in human slavery was legal and customary. We would rather forget this shameful past, when for 250 years this land of Freedom, of religion, of democracy was the only civilized state in the world where human beings were bought and sold precisely like cattle: where slaves had no right of property, no legal marriage no control of children and no right to learn nor think. That was the actual legal status of black slaves in the United States of America until only 80 years ago, and vistiges of it are still law and custom in a third of our national territory.

We want to forget this. I want to forget it. But when Governor Dewey (and of Joe Hanley, as soon as he gets word) try to tell me that the republican party freed the slaves, that statement is a lie. The republican party never intended to free the slaves. It won the election of 1860 on a solemn pledge to protect slavery in the South and to return runaway slaves without trial. Abraham Lincoln vowed solemnly that he would not touch slavery if he could save the Union without doing so. But he could not save the Union until he used black soldiers to win the war. It was these 200,000 black soldiers and the promise of a million more which brought Lee's surrender.

We distort this truth and pt the distortion into our school books because we are ashamed of the whole sordid disgraceful mess, which still reaches down the ages to give the lie to our unctious pretense of having led civilization.

This defense in only human. What is inhuman and dangerous is the ease with which this past lets us slip back toward slavery and injustice, lets us lynch without trial 6000 black and white American citizens, since the abolition of slavery and shows the unhealed wound of lawlessness stamped on the soul of America. Yet no anti-lynching law can pass either republican or democratic congresses. This holds just as true for the democrat-controlled 81st

congress as it did for the republican-controlled 80th, on the record, no voter can have the slightest confidence in the promise of either of the old parties or their candidates, Lehman or Joe Hanley.

But even worse than the hypocrisy of the democratic and republican parties and their candidates on the civil rights issue is this: that whenever powerful interests in America feel their rule is threatened, their first impulse is to resort to the same tactics which the slave power once used to stop abolitionists from discussing slavery. Today the power of organized industry is great and growing. Through its control, of both old parties, it can and does tax the nation for a vast army to protect its interests and promote its expansion over the world. The weight of these taxes is borne by the common people working men and women and farmers, while the profits of the big corporations and the personal incomes of their millionaire owners rise to new heights.

In our land, Big Business owns the press, the magazines and newsgathering agencies; it controls radio, stage and platform, gradually Big Business in the United States, to choke off criticism and conceal the facts is building a new slave state. This descent into hell, Joe Hanley and Senator Lehman defend and excuse repeatedly and with enthusiasm. For all of their ties are with the leadership of the republican and democratic parties and with the Big Business interests that run both. Our first step toward freedom is to repudiate both old parties, their candidates, and this policy that they stand for.

That can only e done by voting for the American Labor Party. The American Labor Party is the Party of Peace, Freedom and the Bill of Rights. We want Paul Robeson to travel where he will and say what he thinks so long as he breaks no law. We want an end to congressional witch-hunts, presidential loyalty orders and FBI police state methods; we want the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and the McCarran Act.. We want an anti-lynching law, an anti-Poll tax law and an FEPC with claws. In other words we want this to be a land of the free, not simply in song but in law and truth. We urge all of you who

join us in wanting this to vote for the candidates of the American Labor Party ;

Thank you, and Good Night.

35-7-132

35-7-120

One of the anomalies of this present orisis in our Nation is that after we have loudly accused other nations of slavery, repression, totalitarian government and lack of democracy, we the turn around and apparently seek to outdo the world in every sort of repression and tyranny. Today it is no exaggeration to call the United States a Slve State in the active making. The proof of this is clear in our loss of personal liberty, our wide silence to thought control; our systemaic secret spy system, our jailing of citizens not even accused guilty of no crime; our police tyrrany; the open injustice in our courts; the frequent refusal in government practice to let witnesses face the accused or let the accused know the charges against them; our hounding of the foreign-born and our deliberate ~~system of~~ taxation of the poor and exemption of the rich. These things naturally do not happen to everybody all the time; but the fact that they can happen to anybody anytime and the growing frequency of such occurences prove proves the frightening tendencies in this reputed Land of the Free. For instance no one believes that the Communist leaders had organized any plot to overthrow this country by violence and the Government never charged that ~~they had. Yet they are~~ sentenced to jail. Nobody believed that it was wrong to raise funds to help Spaniards resist Franco. Yet men are in jail today not for giving such funds but for refusing to tell who did give. It is not unlawful for a citizen to refuse to make public his private beliefs. Yet today men are in jail for such refusal. ~~Citizens~~ Officials are losing their jobs today, without being faced by their accusers of not for what they do or believe but for what they are accused of believing in the past. ~~They~~ Others are being blacklisted not for ~~what they believe~~ their own beliefs, but for what their friends or associates believe.

I saw yesterday a clean-cut young American teacher, who had gone abroad legally to read scientific papers at a students congress at Prague and a history congress at Amsterdam. He was arrested without accusation, jailed without trial, deprived of his passport and refused the right to study the life of Isaac Newton on a scholarship in England and forcibly sent home. The treatment and threatening and harassing of the Foreign-born today all over the nation is a disgrace to a civilized nation. Our paid array of spies and traitors and informers covers the nation. And in the face of this Senator Lehman blandly gtells us "Our government and our nation are looked to by all the freedom-loving world as the hope of all mankind against tyrrany and darkness!"

You may not agree with communists, but even the United States government has never accused communist leaders in the United States of any illegal acts, yet they are today sentenced to long terms in jail because the court held that some communists sometime somewhere preached revolution and refused to let these American leaders bring testimony that this was not their belief.

~~Text~~ (Original 10/19 broadcast

35-4095

The open, crass and deliberate miscarriage of justice in our courts is growing in frequency: Six boys in New Jersey are held in prison without trial on the whim of a judge who seeks to force their choice of lawyers; a black man in Mississippi is in jail on the word of a white woman attacked in the dark, with her husband in the next room; who made no outcry, & could not see her assailant, and yet identified this man as ~~the~~ the criminal. A black woman in Georgia is in jail for life because her teen-age son shot the man who was beating her with the man's own gun. American Laborers, servants and stenographers are taxed directly and through sales taxes twice as much in proportion as millionaires, because they cannot hire lawyers. We refuse to ~~admit~~ let the greatest painter in the world and the dean of Canterbury and their comrades are treated treasonably aside (step on our shores) to beg for peace, but Senator Lehman welcomes and stands beside General Anders in public adoration although Anders is a notorious anti-semite, reactionary and fascist, who has made trouble in England, Italy and Iran, ~~but is~~ only to be welcomed and feted in the United States

What is the reason for the crushing of liberty, miscarriage of justice and deliberate denial of the right to think, hear and choose to American citizens? The reason is that the present elements which rule America, Big Business & Big Greed, fear the Truth, which may interfere with their power and income; and secondly, this nation falls the more easily back into thegrip of a slave state, because less than a century ago it was actually a state in which human slavery was legal and customary, less than 50 years ago ~~and vestiges of this slavery still remain in the South.~~ We would rather forget this shameful past, when for 250 years this land of Freedom, of Religion, of Democracy was the only civilized state in the world where human beings were real estate, bought and sold precisely ~~as we sell~~ like cattle; where slaves had no right of property, no legal marriage, no control of children and no right to learn nor think. That was the actuall legal status of black slaves in the United States of America up until only 80 years ago, and vestiges of it are still law and custom in a third of our national territory. We want to forget this I want to forget it. But when Governor Dewey (and of coures Joe Hanley also as soon as he gets workd, try to tell me that the Republican party freed the slaves, that statement is a lie. The Republican party never intended to free the slaves. It won the election on a solemn pledge to protect slavery in the South, and to return runaway slaves without trial. Abraham Lincoln vowed solemnly that he would not touch slavery if he could ~~xxxxxx~~ save the union without doing so. But he could not ~~for the North had to~~ save the union unless he use black soldiers to win the war. It was these 200,000 black soldiers and the promise of a million more which brought Lee's surrender.

We distort this truth and put the distortion into our school books because we

The Truman administration can do nothing in Iran since it can't even handle a Cardinal in Yugoslavia

96-4-52

are ashamed of the whole sordid disgraceful mess, which still reaches down the ages to give the lie to our unctoious pretense of having always led civilization. But this is only human. What is inhuman and dangerous is the ease with which the past lets us slip back toward slavery and injustice; lets us lynch without trial, 6000 American citizens, since the abolition of slavery, our shows the unhealed wound of lawlessness stamped on the soul of America. Yet no anti- lynching law can pass either Republican nor Democratic congresses, nor has Senator Lehman lost any time on consideration of this matter. But worse than this; whenever powerful interests in America feel their rule is threatened, their first impulse is to resort to the same tactics which the slave power once used to stop abolitionists from discussing slavery. Today the power of our organized industry is great and growing. It can and does tax the nation for a vast army to protect its interests and its expansion over all the world. In our land it owns the Press, the magazines and news-gathering agencies; it controls radio, stage and platform. Gradually Big Business in the United States is building a new Slave State. This descent into Hell Joseph Hanley and Senator Lehman defend and excuse, repeatedly + with enthusiasm. For this the world will never forgive them. Our first step toward freedom is to send both these public officials home for the rest which they richly deserve.

To choke off criticism + conceal the fact

35-4-97

Lehman vs Hanley --1-- BROADCAST, October 22, 1950
STATEWIDE

35-7 61

~~FRIENDS:~~ AS CANDIDATE FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK, I WANT TO REVIEW THE RECORDS OF OTHER CANDIDATES FOR THIS OFFICE. JOE HANLEY REPRESENTS ONE OF THE MOST DANGEROUS TENDENCIES IN OUR POLITICAL LIFE AND THAT IS THE USE OF MONEY.

THE PATTERN RUNS THROUGH OUR POLITICS: LARGE SUMS FROM RICH MEN OR CORPORATIONS ARE GIVEN TO POLITICIANS: AND THESE POLITICIANS SUPPORT THE POLICIES OF THE DONORS: THE DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC OFFICES IS MADE AS A REWARD AND NOT FOR COMPETENCE: WITH THE NET RESULT THAT OUR ELECTIONS COST HUGE SUMS AND OFFICES TEND TO GO TO THOSE BACKED BY THE LARGEST ELECTION FUNDS. THIS IS GOVERNMENT BY BRIBERY AND GRAFT AND NOT BY DEMOCRACY. BOTH HANLEY AND DEWEY ARE TOO CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH THIS CONCEPTION OF GOVERNMENT TO MAKE EITHER OF THEM FIT CANDIDATES FOR PUBLIC OFFICE.

SENATOR LEHMAN'S SUPPORT RESTS LARGELY ON THE FEELING THAT IF A CANDIDATE IS RESPECTABLE AND OF GOOD CHARACTER, THAT IS SUFFICIENT REASON FOR ELECTING

--2--

HIM TO AN OFFICE OF POWER AND INFLUENCE. THIS IS DANGEROUS MISAPPREHENSION. MEN OF CHARACTER CANNOT ASK YOUR VOTE SIMPLY FOR THAT REASON. YOU MUST BE ASSURED THAT THE POWERS OF THE OFFICE WHICH THEY SEEK ARE GOING TO BE USED FOR THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE NATION. IT IS NO EXCUSE FOR AN OFFICIAL WHO HELPS PLUNGE HIS COUNTRY INTO AN UNJUST WAR, KILLING AND MAIMING THOUSANDS OF ITS MOST PROMISING YOUTH, THAT THIS OFFICIAL WAS A MAN OF GOOD CHARACTER AND MEANT WELL.

HERBERT LEHMAN HAS HAD A LONG PUBLIC CAREER. MUCH OF THIS CAREER, MOST OF US WOULD PRAISE: BUT MANY OF US ARE DEEPLY CRITICAL OF HIS PRESENT ATTITUDES ESPECIALLY WHEN HE TELLS US THAT HIS DEFEAT IN THIS ELECTION WILL BE INTERPRETED AS A VOTE OF NO CONFIDENCE IN OUR PRESENT FOREIGN POLICY. IN OTHER WORDS THOSE OF US WHO DO NOT APPROVE OF THE PRESENT FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES CANNOT VOTE FOR SENATOR LEHMAN. IN 1942, HERBERT LEHMAN

SAID: "THERE ARE SOME AMONG US WHO ARE CRITICAL OF RUSSIA, BECAUSE THEY DO NOT APPROVE OF ITS FORM OF GOVERNMENT. THEY CLOSE THEIR EYES TO THE RIGHT OF EVERY NATION TO CHOOSE ITS OWN FORM OF GOVERNMENT." HE LOUDLY PRAISED "THE STOIC COURAGE OF THE RUSSIANS" IN THE WAR, WHICH "AMAZED THE WORLD AND WON THE ADMIRATION OF AMERICA." HE BECAME HEAD OF UNRRA, BUT IN 1946 HE RESIGNED BECAUSE OF THE UNFAIR AND PROVOCATIVE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN AND CANADA.

35-762

LEHMAN CRITICIZED OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD CHIANG KAI-SHEK, AS: "CLINGING TO THE DEAD HAND OF A REGIME WHICH HAS COMPLETELY LOST THE CONFIDENCE OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE." HE SAID IN 1950: "THESE ARE THE PEOPLE WHO WOULD HAVE US OCCUPY FORMOSA, OR SEND THE NAVY TO PROTECT IT...BY WHAT RIGHT COULD WE DO THAT?"

AS SENATOR HOWEVER, MR. LEHMAN CHANGED BOTH WORDS AND POLICY. HE BECAME AN ALL-OUT SUPPORTER OF TRUMAN AND THE FORCES BACK OF TRUMAN. HE SUPPORTED THE MARSHALL PLAN, THE ATLANTIC PACT: NEW MILLIONS GIVEN TO CHIANG KAI SHEK: AND ALLIANCE WITH GREECE AND TURKEY: AND FINALLY HE GIVES COMPLETE ASSENT

X

TO WAR IN KOREA AND PREPARATION FOR WORLD WAR.

WHAT BROUGHT THIS ABOUT-FACE ON THE PART OF LEHMAN? WHY DID HE SUDDENLY REGARD THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM TO POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE BALKANS AND CHINA AS RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM? IT WAS CLEARLY BECAUSE THIS WAS THE COMPLAINT OF BIG BUSINESS AND IN THE SENATE THE INFLUENCE OF BIG BUSINESS WAS SUPREME. HERE TOO THE LONG TRAINING OF HERBERT LEHMAN IN THE FOREIGN INVESTMENT FIELD WAS FAR MORE INFLUENTIAL THAN IT HAD BEEN IN HIS ROLE OF GOVERNOR AND SOCIAL SERVANT. THE FIRM OF LEHMAN BROTHERS IN WHICH THE SENATOR WAS ONCE A PARTNER, AND WHICH GIVE HIM HIS WEALTH, HAS WIDE RAMIFICATIONS. IT INVESTS IN OIL IN SOUTH AMERICA AND ARABIA: IN COPPER AND LEAD IN AFRICA, IN RUBBER IN ASIA, SUGAR AND FRUIT IN THE CARRIBEAN: IT IS CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH WAR INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IS A FORM OF IMPERIALISM. WHEN LABOR UNIONS AND LABOR VOTE BEGIN TO INCREASE IN POWER, CAPITAL, TO INCREASE PROFITS AND AVOID TAXATION, SEEKS ESCAPE TO COUNTRIES WHERE LABOR IS HALF-SLAVE: WHERE THERE ARE NO UNIONS, FEW PUBLIC SERVICES AND NO ELECTIONS. IN THIS WAY THE BRITISH AND FRENCH EMPIRES WERE BUILT UP. GERMANYS' EFFORT TO SHARE THE LOOT BROUGHT WAR.

35-7-63

WHEN THE BRITISH EMPIRE FELL, FRANCE REELED AND GERMANY DIED, CERTAIN AMERICANS WANTED TO FALL HEIR TO THIS IMPERIALISM. THEY HAD TO LET RUSSIA ASSUME CHIEF ROLE IN CRUSHING HITLER BUT WERE AGHAST WHEN COMMUNISM THREATENED TO KEEP WESTERN BUSINESS METHODS NOT ONLY OUT OF RUSSIA, BUT OUT OF THE BALKANS AND CHINA. THEREUPON THEY ACCUSED THE SOVIETS OF AN IMPERIALISM WHICH THREATENED THE PLANS OF AMERICAN BUSINESS IN ASIA AND AFRICA. TO ENFORCE THEIR OWN IMPERIALISM, BIG BUSINESS DROVE THE UNITED STATES INTO WAR AND LEHMAN CONSENTED. HE BACKED TRUMAN, HE BACKED ACHESON, HE EVEN BACKED DULLES.

HE FORGOT IS BRAVE WORDS OF 1942 AND 1945 AND STANDS TODAY NOT ONLY FOR WAR BUT ALSO FOR SUPPRESSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES.

Not because he was unwilling to fight Communists but rather to help them

HE OPPOSED THE MCCARREN BILL, BECAUSE IT GAVE MORE RIGHT OF COURT DEFENSE TO ALLEGED COMMUNISTS THAN THE KILGORE BILL WHICH HE CO-SPONSORED. HE WANTED SPAIN TO HAVE AMERICAN MONEY PUT FROM BANKS INSTEAD OF THE UNITED STATES TREASURY.

HE WANTED APPROPRIATIONS TO AGRICULTURE CUT 50% SO AS TO GIVE MORE TO WAR: AND AS A RESULT OF HIS SUPPORT THE BUDGET DIRECTOR NOW PROPOSES TO CUT $500,000,000 FROM FEDERAL APPROPRIATION FOR AGRICULTURE, FEDERAL SECURITY AND HOSPITALS, WHILE CONGRESS PREPARES FOR THE UNIVERSAL DRAFT OF YOUR SONS FOR A THIRD WORLD WAR.

SENATOR LEHMANS' RETREAT FROM HIS PREVIOUS HIGH STAND HAS BEEN A CALAMITY IT CAN BE EXPLAINED ONLY BY HIS TRAINING AND THE PRESSURE WHICH BIG BUSINESS

EXERTS UPON HIM. THIS CANNOT BE OVERLOOKED OR FORGIVEN. HE STANDS TODAY FOR A PROGRAM WHICH HIS WHOLE PREVIOUS CAREER CONTRADICTS. AS CANDIDATE OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY, I OFFER A PROGRAM OF PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS INSTEAD OF WAR AND SLAVERY.

35-764

--1-- Original Broadcast Oct. 22

Friends: As candidate for United States Senator from the State of New York, I want to review the records of ~~the~~ other candidates ~~of the Republican and Democratic parties~~ for this office. Joe Hanley represents one of the most dangerous tendencies in our political life and that is the use of money, ~~in political life.~~

The pattern runs through our politics: ~~the giving of~~ large sums from rich men or corporations are given to politicians; ~~the coincidence that~~ and these politicians support the policies of the donors; the distribution of public offices ~~as~~ is made as a reward and not for competence ~~gifts and not as duties~~; with the net result that our elections cost huge sums and ~~our~~ offices ~~of power~~ tend to go to those backed by the largest election funds, ~~the totals of which are but partially revealed and then often by accident.~~ This is government by bribery and graft and not by democracy. ~~The Hanley letter connects~~ Both Hanley and Dewey too closely connected with this conception of government to make either of them fit candidates for public office.

~~The case of~~ Senator Lehman ~~is different.~~ ~~His~~ support rests largely on the ~~widespread~~ feeling that if a candidate is respectable and of good character, that is sufficient reason for electing him to an office of power and influence. This is dangerous misapprehension. Men of Character ~~and good reason~~ cannot ask your vote simply for that reason. You must be assured that the powers of the office which they seek are going to be used for the best interests of the nation. It is no excuse for an official who helps plunge his country into an unjust war, killing and maiming thousands of its most promising youth, that this official was a man of good character and meant well.

Herbert Lehman has had a long public career. Much of this career, most of us would praise; but many of us are deeply critical ~~and afraid~~ of his present attitudes ~~and actions~~, especially when he tells us that his defeat in this election will be interpreted ~~in Washington and Albany~~ as a vote of no

35-7-44

confidence in our present foreign policy. In other words those of us who do not approve of the present foreign policy of the United States cannot vote for Senator Lehman. In 1942, Herbert Lehman said: "There are some among us who are critical of Russia, because they do not approve of its form of government. They close their eyes to the right of every nation to choose its own form of government." He loudly praised ~~Russia's role~~ in the war: ~~"The stubborn heroism and~~ "the stoic courage of the Russians ~~have~~ when" amazed the world and won the admiration of America." He became head of UNRRA, but in 1946 he resigned because of the unfair and provocative policy of the United States, ~~and her satellites,~~ Britain and Canada.

Lehman criticized our attitude toward Chiang Kai-Shek, as: "clinging to the dead hand of a regime which has completely lost the confidence of the Chinese people." He said in 1950: "These are the people who would have us occupy Formosa, or send the Navy to protect it... By what right could we do that?"

As Senator however, Mr. Lahman changed ~~his~~ Gold words and ~~his~~ policy. He became an all-out supporter of Truman and the forces back of Truman. He supported the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact; new millions given to Chiang Kai-Shek; and alliance with Greece and Turkey; and finally he gives complete assent to war in Korea and preparation for world war.

What brought this about-face on the part of Lehman? Why did he suddenly regard the spread of Communism to Poland, ~~and~~ Czechoslovakia, the Balkans and China ~~was~~ as Russian imperialism? It was clearly because this was the complaint of Big Business and in the Senate the influence of Big Business was supreme. Here too the long training of Herbert Lehman in the foreign

35-7-45

investment field was far more influential than it had been in his role of governor and social servant. The firm of Lehman Brothers in which the Senator was once a partner, and which gave him his wealth, has wide ramifications. It invests in oil in South America and Arabia; in copper and lead in Africa, in rubber in Asia, sugar [redacted] and fruit in the Carribean; it is closely connected with war industry in the United States.

Foreign investment is a form of imperialism. When labor unions and labor vote begin to increase in power, capital, to increase profits and avoid taxation, seeks escape to countries where labor is half-slave; where there are no unions, few public services and no elections. In this way the British and French empires were built up. Germanys' effort to share the loot brought war.

When the British Empire fell, France reeled and Germany died, certain Americans wanted to fall heir to this imperialism. They had let Russia assume chief role in crushing Hitler but were aghast when Communism threatened to keep Western business methods not only out of Russia, but out of the Balkans and [redacted] China. Thereupon they accused the Soviets of an imperialism which threatened the plans of American business in Asia and Africa. To enforce their own imperialism, Big Business drove the United States into war and Lehman consented. He backed Truman, he backed Acheson, he even backed Dulles. He forgot his brave words of 1942 and 1945 and stands today not only for war but also for suppression of civil liberties.

He opposed the McCarren bill, because it gave more right of court defense to alleged Communists than the Kilgore bill which he co-sponsored. He wanted Spain to have American money but from banks instead of the United States treasury.

35-7-46

He wanted appropriations to agriculture cut 50% so as to give more to war; and as a result of his support the Budget director now proposes to cut $500,000,000 from federal appropriation for Agriculture, Federal Security and hospitals, while Congress prepares for the universal draft of your sons for a Third World War.

Senator Lehmans' retreat from his previous high stand ~~of wartime~~ has been a calamity. It can be explained only by his training and the pressure which Big Business exerts upon him. This cannot be overlooked or forgiven. He stands today for a program which his whole previous career contradicts. As candidate of the American Labor Party, I offer a program of Peace and Civil Rights instead of War and Slavery.

4

35-6-168

(1) As candidate for the United States Senate

confidence in the foreign policy which has given us leadership in world affairs." In other words, those of us who do not approve of the present foreign policy of the United States cannot vote for Senator Lehman. [redacted] days. In 1942, Herbert Lehman said: "There are some among us who are critical of Russia, because they do not approve of its form of government. They close their eyes to the right of every nation to choose its own form of government." [redacted] he loudly praised Russia's role in the war: "The stubborn heroism and the stoic courage of the Russians have amazed the world and won the admiration of America." He [redacted] became head of UNRRA but in 1946 he resigned because of the unfair and provocative policy of the United States and her satelites, Britain and Canada. [redacted]

Lehman criticized our attitude toward Chiang Kai-Shek as: " clinging to the dead hand of a regime which has completely lost the confidence of the Chinese people." He said in 1950, "These are the poeple who would have us occupy Formosa, or send the Navy to protect it, [redacted] By what right could we do this?" As Senator however, Mr. Lehman changed his words and his policy. He became an all-out supporter of Truman and the forces back of Truman. He supported the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact; new millions given to Chiang Kai-Shek; [redacted] support of Greece and Turkey, [redacted] and finally he gives complete assent to war in Korea and prepration for world war.

What brought this about-face on the part of Lehman? Why did he suddenly [redacted] the spread of Communism to Poland and Czechoslovakia, the Balkans and China as Russian imperialism? It was clearly because this was the complaint of Big Business and in the Senate the influence of Big Business was supreme. Here too the long training of Herbert Lehman in the foreign

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS 45-5-13

PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS

THE WORLD IS ASTONISHED/AT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS/IN THE UNITED STATES.// OUR ACTIONS AND ATTITUDES/ARE DISCUSSED WITH PUZZLED WONDER/ON THE STREETS OF EVERY CITY IN THE WORLD.// RELUCTANTLY/ THE WORLD IS COMING TO BELIEVE/ THAT WE ACTUALLY WANT WAR;//THAT WE MUST HAVE WAR;/ THAT IN NO OTHER WAY/ CAN WE KEEP OUR WORKERS EMPLOYED/AND MAINTAIN HUGE PROFITS/SAVE BY SPENDING 70 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR/FOR WAR PREPARATION/AND ADDING TO THE VAST DEBT/OF 218 THOUSAND MILLIONS/WHICH WE ALREADY OWE/CHIEFLY FOR WAR IN THE PAST.

35-5-49

OUR PRESENT WAR EXPENDITURE/MUST BE INCREASED// YET WE CANNOT TAX THE RICH MUCH MORE/SINCE THE LAWYERS/WHO MAKE THE TAX LAWS/CAN ALSO BREAK THEM/ AND LET THE BULK OF WEALTH/GO UNTAXED// WE CANNOT RAISE THE TAXES/ON THE POOR MUCH HIGHER/BECAUSE RISING PRICES/LEAVE LESS AND LESS TO TAX.//CITIZENS HAVE BORROWED/200 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS/ON HOMES, FARMS AND FURNITURE,/ AND THE POOR AND MIDDLE CLASS/HAVE SPENT NEARLY ALL THEIR SAVINGS// YET WE

MEN SAY

CANNOT STOP;//EITHER WE SPEND MORE AND MORE/ON TOP OF WHAT WE ARE SPENDING/ OR ON OUR WHOLE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION,/ WITH ITS BILLIONS OF PRIVATE PROFIT MONOPOLY/ WILL FACE COLLAPSE.

ON THE OTHER HAND,/ THE SOVIET UNION/WHOM WE ARE DETERMINED TO DESTROY/ DOES NOT/AT PRESENT/SEEM WILLING TO FIGHT.// WE HAVE WARNED AND DARED IT./ WE HAVE PUBLICLY/AND PRIVATELY INSULTED IT// WEHAVE EAGERLY GIVEN CURRENCY/ TO EVERY CHARGE/WHICH ANYONE AT ANYTIME/MAKES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION,/ ITS ECONOMY,/ ITS MORALS/ ITS PLANS// WE THOUGHT THAT AT LAST/IN KOREA/WE HAD THEM/WHERETHEY MUST FIGHT/AND WE PREPARED JAUNTILY FOR WORLD WAR III/ALMOST WITH SHOUTS OF JOY.

35-5-50

WE WERE SURE/THE RUSSIANS HAD STARTED/THE KOREAN UPRISING,//WERE FURNISHING ARMS/AND READY TO MARCH TO WAR.// HENRY WALLACE/ACTUALLY SAW THEM/ AND RAN BACKWARD SO FAST/THAT HE TRIPPED OVER HIS OWN RESOLUTIONS/ AND

 45-5-20

and STEPPED IN THE FACES OF HIS FRIENDS// STILL THE SOVIETS DID NOT FIGHT/AND BEGAN INSTEAD/TO CALL FOR WORLD PEACE;/ FOR UNION AGAINST THE ATOM BOMB;/ FOR PEACE CONGRESSES.// BUT THE UNITED STATES/WAS NOT MISLED;/ NOT THEY./ THEY STOPPED THE PEACE APPEAL.// THEY PICKED UP AND JAILED ADVOCATES OF PEACE.// THEY BARRED FROM OUR SHORES/FOREIGN ADVOCATES OF PEACE,/EVEN MEN OF THE HIGHEST REPUTATION. Today again R. asks Lesser Truman Gassing

35-5-54

HIGHLY PLACED PUBLIC OFFICIALS/AND MILITARY MEN/BEGAN OPENLY TO DECLARE/ THAT IF THE RUSSIANS/WOULD NOT ATTACK US,/ WE WOULD ATTACK THEM/TO KEEP THEM FROM ATTACKING US// THE WILD MAN OF TOKYO, MACARTHOR WHO RMEEMBERS/ ~~SHOOTING DOWN~~ GASSING WORLD WAR I VETERANS/IN WASHINGTON,/ AND WHO ~~IS~~ Has TURNING ED KOREA/INTO A STINKING DESERT,// ~~HAS~~ RECEIVED/THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES/IN AUDIENCE.//WHATEVER THEY TALKED ABOUT,/ THE RESULT, IF MACARTHUR HAS HIS WAY/ WAS NOT PEACE NOW OR EVER:/ UNTIL WE SEIZE CHINA,/ CONQUER SOUTHEAST ASIA/AND DROP ATOM BOMBS ON MOSCOE.

MEANTIME,/ WAVE AFTER WAVE/OF OUR YOUNG MEN/ARE BEING TRAINED FOR MURDER,/ AND CONGRESS IS ON THE VERGE/OF CALLING EVERY YOUTH/ IN THE LAND/FOR THIS

 45-5-21

PURPOSE.//WE ARE SET TO "LICK THE WORLD"/WITH EISENHOWER AND ~~STASSEN, THE~~ RIDGWAY MARSHALL ~~EDUCATORS OF YOUTH//~~ ~~DEWEY AND HANLEY~~, THE NEW BRAND OF STATESMEN;/ ~~AND HERBERT LEHMAN, SUPPORTING NOTORIOUS GENERAL ANDERS~~, IN ORDER TO MAKE OUR FOREIGN INVESTMENT PAY/WITH OIL, PLANES, BATTLESHIPS AND ARTILLERY.// WE WILL RESTORE KOREA/AND WHEN WE ARE THROUGH RESTORATION/WITH TAXES RAISED FROM OUR POOR,/ AMERICAN ~~LEHMAN BROTHERS AND LIKE~~ INVESTORS/WILL OWN EVERYTHING IN KOREA/WORTH OWNING// AND WILL DRAW FABULOUS PROFITS/FROM RISKS WHICH THEY NEVER TOOK.// AFTER THAT WE WILL RAIL AT KOREA/FOR NOT LOVING US/FOR OUR GENEROSITY/WHILE THE KOREANS PAY FOR DEMOCRACY/AT ~~FIFTY~~ 25 CENTS A DAY, Wage AND NOT LAND.

35-5-55

THIS IS ~~WHAT~~ EUROPE/SEES US SET FOR.// IN CONTRADICTION TO EVERYTHING/WE ONCE PROFESSED/LIBERTY,/ FREE SPEECH,/ TRUTH AND JUSTICE.// TO THIS OUR MASTERS WILL LEAD US/UNLESS YOU INTERVENE/ UNLESS RIGHT HERE AND NOW YOU, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES/SAY NO! ENOUGH OF THIS HYSTERIA/ THIS CRAZY FOOLISHNESS!

45-5-22

YOU WORKERS TODAY/ARE BEING WARNED/OF INDUSTRIAL COLLAPSE/IF WAR EFFORT CEASES.

COLLAPSE IS CERTAIN/IF WE PUT ALL OUR ENERGY IN MURDER/IF WE CONTINUE TO FURNISH PUBLIC MONEY/FOR PRIVATE INDUSTRY/AND THEN GIVE INDUSTRY/ALL THE PROFIT//

35-5-53

BUT WISE MEN DEMAND/PUBLIC MONEY/FOR PUBLIC WELFARE/AND CLAIM THAT WE CAN SPEND BILLIONS/FOR EDUCATION/HEALTH/HOUSING/AND FLOOD CONTROL/AND COME NEARER MAKING A DECENT HAPPY PEOPLE/THAN BY WASTING OUR SUBSTANCE/IN MURDER AND DESTRUCTION//

REAL PROFIT/IS MADE NOT OUT OF MISERY/BUT OUT OF SOCIAL PROGRESS/AND HUMAN UPLIFT//

~~WE CANNOT EXPORT DEMOCRACY TO CHINA/UNTIL WE HAVE IT HERE/SO LONG AS HALF OF OUR CITIZENS/ARE DISFRANCHISED BY DISCRIMINATION/OR POVERTY/SO LONG AS GRAFT GAMBLING DRINK/AND DOPE/ARE REDUCING OUR MORAL STANDARDS/TO A NEW LOW/WE HAVE GOT TO LEARN AND PRACTICE DEMOCRACY/BEFORE WE EXHORT/CAN TEACH/THE WORLD~~

---5---

45-5-24

INTO HELL

OUR SLOW BUT STEADY DESCENT INTO BELIEF/IN COMPLETE AND UNIVERSAL WAR//

AND OUR DETERMINATION/TO MAKE ALL MEN AGREE/WITH WHAT SOME BELIEVE/RATHER THAN/TO LET THEM EXERCISE/THEIR FREE AMERICAN HERITAGE/OF CHOOSING TRUTH--

35-5-55

// THIS LITERAL DESCENT INTO HELL/IN OUR DAY/AND IN THIS OUR OWN COUNTRY/HAS BEEN SO GRADUAL AND COMPLETE/THAT MANY HONEST AMERICANS/CANNOT BELIEVE/WHAT THEY ACTUALLY HEAR AND SEE//AND SIT BEWILDERED,/RUBBING THEIR EYES/IN ORDER TO GET SOME VAGUE CONCEPTION/OF WHAT CAN HAVE HAPPENED/TO THE LAND/WHICH ONCE DECLARED/"THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF EVIDENT/THAT ALL MEN WERE CREATED EQUAL/THAT THEY WERE ENDOWED/BY THEIR CREATOR/WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS/THAT AMONG THESE ARE/LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."

NO AMERICAN/BORN BEFORE 1900/COULD POSSIBLY CONCEIVE/THAT THE UNITED STATES/WOULD BECOME A LAND/APPROACHING UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE/WITH ITS ARMED FORCES/IN EVERY CONTINENT/AND ON EVERY SEA/PLEDGED TO CONQUER AND CONTROL/MASSES OF MANKIND/ORDER THE THOUGHT/AND ACTION AND BELIEF/OF THE

NATIONS OF THE WORLD/ AND READY TO SPEND/FOR THESE OBJECTS/MORE MONEY THAN IT EVER SPENT/FOR RELIGION, EDUCATION OR SOCIAL UPLIFT/ALTOGETHER.

WHEN MEN ARISE/AND SAY THIS/AND TRY TO PROVE ITS TRUTH,/ EVERY EFFORT IS MADE/BY SECRET POLICE,/ ORGANIZED SPIES AND HIRED INFORMERS/ BY DELIBERATE SUBVERSION/OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF OUR LAW,/ TO IMPRISON, SLANDER AND SILENCE SUCH PERSONS,/ AND DEPRIVE THEM/OF EARNING AN HONEST LIVELIHOOD.

AVOIDING ALL HYSTERIA/AND EXAGGERATION,/ALL NATURAL INDIGNATION AND INSTINCTIVE DEFENSE/OF THE RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH/AND HATRED OF THOUGHT CONTROL,/ IT IS CLEAR TO ALL AMERICANS/WHO STILL DARE THINK/ THAT MY DESCRIPTION OF THIS AMERICA/IS TRUE;/ AND IF TRUE,/ FRIGHTENING TO ALL MEN/WHO ONCE THOUGHT OF THIS LAND/AS THE LAND OF THE FREE.

MY PLATFORM THEN,/ LIKE THE PLATFORM OF EVEY HONEST AMERICAN/WHO STILL Has guts enough to ~~DARES~~/BELIEVE IN PEACE AND FREEDOM/ TAKES ITS UNALTERABLE STAND/AGAINST WAR

AND SLAVERY./ THERE WAS A DAY/WHEN MOST MEN BELIEVED/THAT PROGRESS DEPENDED ON WAR:/ THAT BY WAR,/ AND MAINLY BY WAR,/ HAD MODERN MEN GAINED FREEDOM,/ RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY.// WE BELIEVED THIS/BECAUSE WE WERE TAUGHT THIS/IN OUR LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE,/ IN CHURCH AND SCHOOL/ ON PLATFORM AND IN NEWSPAPER.// IT WAS ALWAYS A LIE/AND AS WAR HAS BECOME UNIVERSAL/AND ~~SO~~ HORRIBLE AND DESTRUCTIVE// ~~THAT~~ EVERYBODY RECOGNIZES IT/AS MURDER,/ CRIPPLING,/ INSANITY AND STARK DEATH / OF OF HUMAN CULTURE;/ WE REALIZE/THAT THERE IS/SCARE A VICTORY/FORMERLY CLAIMED BY WAR/WHICH MANKIND MIGHT NOT HAVE GAINED/MORE CHEAPLY AND MORE DECENTLY/AND EVEN MORE COMPLETELY/BY METHODS OF PEACE// IF THAT WAS TRUE/IN THE PAST,/ IT IS SO CLEAR/AND INDISPUTABLE TODAY/THAT NO SANE BEING DENIES IT// AND YET/ OF ALL NATIONS/OF EARTH TODAY,/ THE UNITED STATES apparently ALONE WANTS WAR,/ PREPARES FOR WAR,/FORCES OTHER NATIONS TO FIGHT/AND ASKS YOU AND ME/TO IMPOVERISH OURSELVES,/ GIVE UP HEALTH AND SCHOOLS,/ SACRIFICE OUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS TO A "JIM-CROW" ARMY,/AND COMMIT SUICIDE,/FOR A WORLD WAR/THAT NOBODY

 45-5-27

WANTS/BUT THE RICH AMERICANS WHO PROFIT BY IT.

IF WAR WERE A MATTER/OF CAREFUL STUDY AND GRAVE DECISION/ OF PRAYERFUL THOUGHT/AND SOLEMN DELIBERATION/ WE MIGHT TAKE ITS FEARFUL OUTBREAK/AS AT LEAST/NO MORE THAN HUMAN ERROR/ SOON TO BE STOPPED/BY DECENCY AND COMMON-SENSE.//BUT WHEN/DID YOU EVER VOTE FOR WAR?/ YOU WHO HAVE SPENT MOST OF YOUR LIVES/IN A FIGHTING , MURDERING WORLD?// WHEN DID YOU EVER HAVE A CHANCE/TO DECIDE/THIS MATTER OF MAIMING AND MURDER?// NEVER!//AND YOU NEVER WILL/AS LONG AS ~~AN EXECUTIVE~~ a President/OF HIS OWN INITIATIVE/CAN START A LITTLE POLICE ACTION WHICH COSTS THE LIVES AND HEALTH OF ~~50~~ 150,000 AMERICAN BOYS,/ IN ORDER THAT BIG BUSINESS/CAN INTERFERE/WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF ASIA.

and god knows how many KOREANS & CHINESE

25-5-52

IF OF WHAT/ARE WE IN SUCH DEATHLY FEAR?//HAVE WE BEEN INVADED?//HAS ANYONE DROPPED AN ATOM BOMB ON US?//HAVE WE BEEN IMPOVERISHED/OR ENSLAVED BY FOREIGNERS?//IS OUR BUSINESS FAILING/AND ARE OUR MILLIONAIRES DISAPPEARING?

ARE ARMED ENEMIES POISED ON OUR BORDERS

 45-5-28

// HAS THE RATE OF PROFIT GONE DOWN,/ IS OUR MACHINERY LESS CUNNING,/ OR OUR NATURAL RESOURCES/DESTROYED BY STRANGERS?// IS THERE ANY SIGN/THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA/IS VICTIM,/OR CAN BE VICTIM/OF ANY FOREIGN COUNTRY?// NO! THEN OF WHAT ARE WE AFRAID/ AND WHY ARE WE TRYING TO GUARD THE EARTH/FROM PACIFIC TO ATLANTIC/AND FROM THE NORTH TO THE SOUTH POLE/ UNLESS IT BE FROM OURSELVES?

35-5-52

OUR RULERS/ARE AFRAID OF AN IDEA:/ TEMPTED BY A VISION OF POWER/WHICH THIS IDEA FIGHTS// THE POWER THEY CRAVE/LONG MISLED AND SLAUGHTERED/THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE AND ASIA,/AND NOW INSIDIOUSLY/CREEPS INTO OUR OWN FEVER-MAD HEADS:// AND THAT IS IMPERIALISM-/WORLD RULE/OVER THE WORLD.//ONCE THIS WAS SOUGHT / THROUGH BLACK SLAVERY;/ THEN IT WAS MADE EASY BY YELLOW COOLIES;/ THEN BY ALL "LESSER BREEDS WITHOUT THE LAW,/ WHO COULD FURNISH A "WHITE MAN'S BURDEN"/ AND LET EUROPE STRUT OVERTHE WORLD,/ AND LORD IT IN ASIA AND AFRICA,/ AND RULE AND RULE WORLD WITHOUT END,/FOREVER AND FOREVER// THAT WAS THE VISION/OF THE 19th CENTURY.

45-5-29

THE FEVER OF IMPERIALISM/ CAUGHT THE UNITED STATES/ AS THE 19th CENTURY DIED/ AND (OUR MASTERS) CHOKED A FEW ISLANDS/ OUT OF DYING SPAIN.// BUT THESE WERE/ BUT SMALL CHANGE/ WHICH WHETTED THEIR APPETITE.// WITH THE FIRST WORLD WAR/ CAME THE VISION/ OF AN IMPERIAL UNITED STATES/ AS SUCCESSOR OF THE EMPIRE/ ON WHICH THE SUN ALREADY SETS.// THEY RUSHED SO MADLY/ AT THE SPOILS/ LEFT BY EUROPEAN EMPIRE,/ THAT THEY BROUGHT DOWN/ OUR WHOLE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM/ ABOUT OUR OWN EARS.

35-5-60

¶ IT WOULD SEEM/ THAT THE MEMORY/ OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION/ OF THE THIRTIES/ WOULD CONVINCE ALL THINKING MEN/ THAT WAR IS NOT THE PATH/ TO THE MILLENIUM,// AND THAT WHAT WE NEED/ IS REFORM OF OUR OWN SYSTEM/ OF WORK AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION,/ BEFORE WE ATTEMPT/ TO TEACH THE WORLD/ WHAT TO THINK/ OR HOW TO LIVE.

¶ BUT WHAT/ THE MEN OF BIG BUSINESS/ IGNORED/ WAS THAT THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM WHICH THEY/ WERE SEEKING TO REINSTALL/ HAD ALREADY MET A TERRIBLE AND COSTLY REVERSE:// THAT MODIFICATIONS OF IMPERIALISM/ AND OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM/ HAD ALREADY

45-5-30

BEEN SUGGESTED AND TRIED.// SUCH EFFORTS/ COMPREHENDED LOOSELY BY THE NAME "SOCIALISM"/ WERE NOT INVENTED BY RUSSIA/ NOR FIRST TRIED BY RUSSIA.// ON THE CONTRARY,/ SOCIALISM/ IS AN ENGLISH, FRENCH AND GERMAN CONCEPTION/ AND WAS TRIED IN RUSSIA/ BECAUSE THAT UNHAPPY LAND/ WAS ONE OF THE LAST AND WORST VICTIMS/ OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. + absolutely collapsed under it!

25-5-60

IF TOMORROW/ RUSSIA DISAPPEARED/ FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH,/ THE BASIC PROBLEM/ FACING THE MODERN WORLD/ WOULD REMAIN:// AND THAT IS:/ WHY IS IT,/ WITH THE EARTH'S ABUNDANCE/ AND OUR MASTERY/ OF NATURAL FORCES, AND MIRACULOUS TECHNIQUE// WITH OUR COMMERCE BELTING THE EARTH,/ AND GOODS AND SERVICES/ POURING FROM OUR STORES/ FACTORIES,/ SHIPS/ AND WAREHOUSES// WHY IS IT/ THAT NEVERTHELESS, MOST HUMAN BEINGS/ ARE STARVING TO DEATH/ DYING OF PREVENTABLE DISEASE/ AND TOO IGNORANT/ TO KNOW WHAT IS THE MATTER// WHILE A SMALL MINORITY/ ARE SO RICH/ THAT THEY CANNOT SPEND THEIR INCOME?

THAT IS THE PROBLEM/ WHICH FACES THE WORLD,/ AND RUSSIA WAS NOT THE FIRST TO POSE IT,/ NOR WILL SHE BE THE LAST/ TO ASK AND DEMAND ANSWER.// THE 19th

CENTURY SAID/THAT THIS SITUATION/WAS INEVITABLE/AND MUST ALWAYS REMAIN/BECAUSE/OF THE NATURAL INFERIORITY/OF MOST MEN// THE 20th CENTURY/KNOWS BETTER.// IT SAYS/THAT THERE CAN BE FOOD ENOUGH FOR ALL/ THAT CLOTHES AND SHELTER FOR ALL/CAN BE PROVIDED/ THAT MOST DISEASE IS PREVENTABLE/AND THAT THE OVERWHELMING MASS/OF HUMAN BEINGS CAN BE EDUCATED/ THAT INTELLIGENCE,/ HEALTH AND DECENT COMFORT/ ARE NOT ONLY POSSIBLE,/ BUT SHOULD BE DEMANDED, BY ALL MEN;/ PLANNED BY STATES:/AND MADE INCREASINGLY EFFECTIVE/BY ALL VOTERS IN EACH ELECTION.

35-5-62

BUT THE POWERFUL/WHO TODAY OWN THE EARTH/AND THE FULNESS THEREOF/ WHO MONOPOLIZE ITS INDUSTRY/~~AND OWN~~ CONTROL ITS PRESS/AND SCREEN ITS NEWS/ HAVE ANOTHER ANSWER.//THEY ORDER US TO FIGHT AN IDEA/ TO "CONTAIN" AND CRUSH/ANY DREAM OF ABOLISHING POVERTY/ DISEASE, AND IGNORANCE:/ AND TO DO THIS/BY ORGANIZING WAR, MURDER AND DESTRUCTION/ON ANY PEOPLE/WHO DARE TO TRY TO PLAN/PLENTY FOR ALL MANKIND.//FROM THE 19th CENTURY,/THEY ATTEMPT TO TAKE OVER/IMPERIALISM/TO

BRIBE THE WORKERS/AND THINKERS/OF THE MOST POWERFUL COUNTRIES/BY HIGH WAGE AND PRIVILEGE/IN ORDER TO BUILD/A FALSE AND DISHONEST PROSPERITY/ON THE SLAVSERY AND DEGRADATION/ THE LOW WAGE AND DISEASE/ OF AFRICA AND ASIA/AND THE THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA//AND TO PAY THE PRICE FOR THIS,/THEY DEMAND THAT YOU, YOUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS/ IN ENDLESS STREAM,/ BE MURDERED AND CRIPPLED IN ENDless wars.

35-5-63

// THIS IS WHY WE ARE FIGHTING/OR PREPARING TO FIGHT/IN EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA/-NOT AGAINST AN ENEMY, BUT AGAINST THE IDEA-/AGAINST THE RISING DEMAND OF THE WORKING CLASSES/OF THE WORLD/FOR BETTER WAGE/ DECENT HOUSING,/ REGULAR EMPLOYMENT/ MEDICAL SERVICE/AND SCHOOLS FOR ALL.

IT DOES NOT ANSWER/THIS WORLD-WIDE DEMAND/TO SAY THAT WE OF AMERICA/ HAVE THESE THINGS/IN GREATER ABUNDANCE/THAN THE REST OF THE WORLD//IF OUR PROSPERITY IS BASED ON/ OR SEEKS TO BASE ITSELF ON/ THE EXPLOITATION AND DEGRADATION/OF THE REST OF MANKIND.//REMEMBER, IT IS AMERICAN MONEY/THAT

OWNS MORE AND MORE OF SOUTH AFRICAN MINES WORKED BY SLAVE LABOR. IT IS AMERICAN ENTERPRISE THAT FATTENS OFF ~~RHODESIAN~~ Central African COPPER; IT IS AMERICAN INVESTORS THAT SEEK TO DOMINATE CHINA, INDIA, KOREA AND BURMA; AND WHO ARE THROTTLING THE STARVED WORKERS OF THE NEAR EAST, THE CARIBBEAN AND SOUTH AMERICA.

35-5-64

YET IS IT NOT CLEAR THAT SUCH A PROGRAM IS SHEER INSANITY? THAT NO NATION, HOWEVER RICH AND SMART, CAN CONQUER THIS WORLD? HAVE NOT EGYPT, ASSYRIA, GREECE, ROME, BRITAIN AND GERMANY TAUGHT US THIS? AND ALSO THAT NO IDEA BASED ON TRUTH AND RIGHTEOUSNESS CAN ULTIMATELY BE SUPPRESSED BY FORCE AND MURDER?

I NEVER THOUGHT I WOULD LIVE TO SEE THE DAY THAT FREE SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF OPINION WOULD BE SO THROTTLED IN THE UNITED STATES AS IT IS TODAY. TODAY IN THIS FREE COUNTRY, NO MAN CAN BE SURE OF EARNING A LIVING, OF ESCAPING SLANDER AND PERSONAL VIOLENCE, OR EVEN OF KEEPING OUT OF JAIL

When students in our colleges may not hear or discuss the Truth

UNLESS PUBLICLY AND REPEATEDLY HE PROCLAIMS: THAT

THAT
- HE HATES RUSSIA.
- HE OPPOSES SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM
- HE SUPPORTS WHOLEHEARTEDLY THE WAR IN KOREA
- HE IS READY TO SPEND ANY AMOUNT FOR FURTHER WAR, ANYWHERE OR AT ANYTIME,
- HE IS READY TO FIGHT THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA AND ANY OTHER COUNTRY, OR ALL COUNTRIES TOGETHER.
- HE BELIEVES IN THE USE OF THE ATOM BOMB OR ANY OTHER WEAPON OF MASS DESTRUCTION, AND REGARDS ANYONE OPPOSED AS A TRAITOR.
- HE NOT ONLY BELIVES IN AND CONSENTS TO ALL THESE THINGS, BUT IS WILLING TO SPY ON HIS NEIGHBORS AND DENOUNCE THEM IF THEY DO NOT BELIEVE AS HE DOES.

35-5-64

THE MERE STATEMENT OF THIS CREED SHOWS ITS ABSOLUTE INSANITY. WHAT CAN BE DONE TO BRING THIS NATION TO ITS SENSES? MOST PEOPLE ANSWER: NOTHING, JUST SIT STILL, BEND TO THE STORM, IF NECESSARY LIE AND JOIN THE WITCH-HUNT, SWEAR TO GOD THAT NEVER, NEVER DID YOU EVER SYMPATHIZE WITH RUSSIAN PEASANTS' FIGHT TO BE FREE, THAT YOU NEVER IN YOUR LIFE BELONGED TO A LIBERAL ORGANIZATION OR HAD A FRIEND WHO DID: AND IF SO, YOU WERE DECEIVED, DELUDED AND A DAMNED FOOL.

BUT THERE ARE OTHERS WHO SAY: WE CAN DO SOMETHING: THAT AMERICA NEEDS

 45-5-35

NO MORE COWARDS AND LIARS. IT NEEDS HONEST MEN, AND THAT HONEST CITIZENS WHO ARE MISTAKEN, ARE INFINITELY MORE PATRIOTIC THAN SCOUNDRELS WHO FOLLOW THE HERD.

WE STILL HAVE ELECTIONS AND WE STILL HAVE A SECRET BALLOT. IF YOU DO NOT WANT WAR, VOTE FOR MEN WHO WILL STOP IT. IF YOU WANT THE BILL OF RIGHTS RESTORED TO THE CONSTITUTION, YOU HAVE THE LEGAL RIGHT TO SAY SO. IN THIS DEMOCRACY, YOU STILL RETAIN THE RIGHT TO HELP ELECT YOUR LAWMAKERS AND EXECUTIVES. IF YOU FAIL TO EXERCISE THIS RIGHT, YOU WILL SUFFER AND YOU OUGHT TO SUFFER. TODAY THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT CRAZY, DO NOT WANT WAR. MOST AMERICANS HATE THE CURRENT WITCH-HUNT. THE ONLY WAY TO OPPOSE WAR AND THE DEATH OF CIVIL LIBERTY IS TO ELECT OFFICIALS WHO AGREE WITH YOU. WE CANNOT EXPORT A DEMOCRACY WHICH WE DO NOT POSSESS or what is left of it

WE CANNOT GIVE FREEDOM TO OTHERS WHEN WE ARE LOSING OUR OWN.

35-5-56

Negro Bourgeoisie 16A 45-5-36

IN THE THOUGHT OF MOST PERSONS HERE TONIGHT THE NEGRO PROBLEM AND BY THAT THEY MEAN THE ONE SOCIAL PROBLEM IN WHICH THEY HAVE REAL INTEREST IS ON THE WAY TO SATISFACTORY SETTLEMENT. DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGROES IS LESSENING EVEN IN THE SOUTH WHILE IN A CITY LIKE THIS IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THEM TO LIVE AN ALMOST NORMAL LIFE INTERFERED WITH ONLY OCCASIONALLY BY CASTE RESTRICTIONS. IT IS POSSIBLE TODAY FOR A NEGRO AMERICAN TO LIVE WELL: TO PRACTISE A PROFESSION AND BE RECOGNIZED BY HIS FELLOWS: TO ASPIRE TO ~~HIGH~~ public OFFICE TO OBTAIN HIGH PLACE IN PUBLIC ESTEEM. To many Negroes ~~PERHAPS~~ THE ONLY FLY IN THE OINTMENT IS THE TENDENCY IN A FEW NEGROES NOT TO PLAY ALONG WITH DOMINANT AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION AND TO BE SEDUCED BY UNIMPORTANT RADICALS. TO THOSE OF YOU WHO THINK THUS I WANT TO BE PERMITTED TO EXPRESS A GRAVE WARNING. I WANT TO SAY THAT NOT SINCE THE ABOLITION OF AFRICAN SLAVERY HAS THE WORLD BEEN IN SO CRITICAL CONDITION AS TODAY AND THAT

35-5-67

45-5-37

PARTICULARLY IS THIS A CRITICAL DAY FOR AMERICAN NEGROES. WE HAVE LONG SOUGHT EQUAL RIGHTS IN THIS LAND BUT TODAY WE SEEM TO WANT ONLY A EQUAL RIGHT TO DO WRONG. WE ARE EAGER TO BE WITH THE MAJORITY WHETHER THAT MAJORITY IS JUST OR UNJUST. WE STRIVE FOR THE BANDWAGON WHETHER IT IS HEADED UP OR DOWN. WE ARE BEING INTIMIDATED AND BRI BRIBED THREATENED WITH LOSS OF JOBS AND LOSS OF PUBLICITY AND BRIBED BY FALSE PRA PRAISE AND SMALL PATS ON THE BACK. WE NEGROES OUGHT TO BE IN THE FRONT RANKS OF THOSE FIGHTING FOR A BETTER AMERICA AND NOT MERELY FOR A BIGGER AND MORE RUTHLESS LAND. FOR US TO SIT BY SILENTLY ~~ARRXAMEXNGXXNJMS~~ CONSENTING TO INJUSTICE AND WAR IS TO BETRAY THE AMERICA FOR WHICH WE HAVE WORKED 332 YEARS. BEFORE THE PILGRIMS LANDED WE WERE HERE. THE GERMANS SCANDINAVIANS POLES AND IRISH ARE OUR GUESTS IN A LAND FOR WHICH WE TOILED A HUNDRED YEARS BEFORE THEY SAW IT. BUT IF TODAY WE BETRAY THIS TRUST WE ARE TRAITORS TO THE REAL VOICE OF AMERICA WHICH IS OURS.

35-5-62

IF AMERICA OFFERS ~~YOU~~ US WEALTH AND PROSPERITY AT THE COST OF THE DEGRADATION OF YOUR BROTHERS WHITE AND BLACK HERE AND OVERSEAS ~~YOU~~ WE IN THE END WILL GAIN NOTHING

45-5-38

Therefor, for the whole World ---17--- A

I WANT PROGRESS:/ I WANT EDUCATION:/ I WANT SOCIAL MEDICINE:/ I WANT A LIVING WAGE/ AND OLD AGE SECURITY:/ I WANT EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL/ AND RELIEF FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND SICK.// I WANT PUBLIC WORKS,/ PUBLIC SERVICES AND PUBLIC IMPORVEMENTS.// I WANT FREEDOM FOR MY PEOPLE.// AND BECAUSE I KNOW/ AND YOU KNOW THAT WE CANNOT HAVE THESE THINGS/ AND AT THE SAME TIME/ FIGHT, DESTROY AND KILL/ ALL AROUND THE WORLD/ IN ORDER TO MAKE HUGE PROFIT/ FOR BIG BUSINESS:/ FOR THAT REASON,/ I TAKE MY STAND BESIDE THE MILLIONS/ IN EVERY NATION AND CONTINENT AND CRY PEACE--NO MORE WAR!

35-5-69

A NEW ERA OF POWER,/ HELD AND EXERCISED BY THE WORKING CLASSES/ THE WORLD OVER,/ IS DAWNING/ AND WHILE ITS EVENTUAL FORM/ IS NOT YET CLEAR,/ ITS PROGRESS CANNOT BE HELD BACK/ BY ANY POWER OF MAN.

45-5-39

FOR THUS SAITH THE HIGH AND MIGHTY ONE
WHO INHABITETH ETERNITY
WHOSE NAME IS HOLY:
I DWELL IN THE HIGH AND LOFTY PLACE
WITH HIM ALSO WHO IS OF A CONTRITE AND HUMBLE SPIRIT
TO REVIVE THE SPIRIT OF THE HUMBLE
TO REVIVE THE SPIRIT OF THE CONTRITE ONES

35-5-20

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS

THE WORLD IS ASTONISHED AT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES. OUR ACTIONS AND ATTITUDES ARE DISCUSSED WITH PUZZLED WONDER ON THE STREETS OF EVERY CITY IN THE WORLD. RELUCTANTLY THE WORLD IS COMING TO BELIEVE THAT WE ACTUALLY WANT WAR: THAT WE MUST HAVE WAR: THAT IN NO OTHER WAY CAN WE KEEP OUR WORKERS EMPLOYED AND MAINTAIN HUGE PROFITS SAVE BY SPENDING 70 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR FOR WAR PREPARATION AND ADDING TO THE VAST DEBT OF 218 THOUSAND MILLIONS WHICH WE ALREADY OWE CHIEFLY FOR WAR IN THE PAST.

35-6-298

OUR PRESENT WAR EXPENDITURE MUST BE INCREASED, YET WE CANNOT TAX THE RICH MUCH MORE SINCE THE LAWYERS WHO MAKE THE TAX LAWS CAN ALSO BREAK THEM AND LET THE BULK OF WEALTH GO UNTAXED. WE CANNOT RAISE THE TAXES ON THE POOR MUCH HIGHER BECAUSE RISING PRICES LEAVE LESS AND LESS TO TAX. CITIZENS HAVE BORROWED 200 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS ON HOMES, FARMS AND FURNITURE, AND THE POOR AND MIDDLE CLASS HAVE SPENT NEARLY ALL THEIR SAVINGS. YET WE

--2--

CANNOT STOP: EITHER WE SPEND MORE AND MORE ON TOP OF WHAT WE ARE SPENDING ON OUR WHOLE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION, WITH ITS BILLIONS OF PRIVATE PROFIT MONOPOLY, WILL FACE COLLAPSE.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE SOVIET UNION WHOM WE ARE DETERMINED TO DESTROY DOES NOT AT PRESENT SEEM WILLING TO FIGHT. WE HAVE WARNED AND DARED IT. WE HAVE PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY INSULTED IT. WE HAVE EAGERLY GIVEN CURRENCY TO EVERY CHARGE WHICH ANYONE AT ANYTIME MAKES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION, ITS ECONOMY, ITS MORALS, ITS PLANS. WE THOUGHT THAT AT LAST IN KOREA WE HAD THEM WHERE THEY MUST FIGHT AND WE PREPARED JAUNTILY FOR WORLD WAR III ALMOST WITH SHOUTS OF JOY.

WE WERE SURE THE RUSSIANS HAD STARTED THE KOREAN UPRISING, WERE FURNISHING ARMS AND READY TO MARCH TO WAR. HENRY WALLACE ACTUALLY SAW THEM AND RAN BACKWARD SO FAST THAT HE TRIPPED OVER HIS OWN RESOLUTIONS, AND

STEPPED IN THE FACES OF HIS FRIENDS. STILL THE SOVIETS DID NOT FIGHT AND BEGAN INSTEAD TO CALL FOR WORLD PEACE: FOR UNION AGAINST THE ATOM BOMB: FOR PEACE CONGRESSES. BUT THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT MISLED: NOT THEY. THEY STOPPED THE PEACE APPEAL. THEY PICKED UP AND JAILED ADVOCATES OF PEACE. THEY BARRED FROM OUR SHORES FOREIGN ADVOCATES OF PEACE, EVEN MEN OF THE HIGHEST REPUTATION.

HIGHLY PLACED PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND MILITARY MEN BEGAN OPENLY TO DECLARE THAT IF THE RUSSIANS WOULD NOT ATTACK US, WE WOULD ATTACK THEM TO KEEP THEM FROM ATTACKING US. THE WILD MAN OF TOKYO, WHO REMEMBERS SHOOTING DOWN WORLD WAR I VETERANS IN WASHINGTON, AND WHO IS TURNING KOREA INTO A STINKING DESERT, HAS RECEIVED THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN AUDIENCE. WHATEVER THEY TALKED ABOUT, THE RESULT, IF MACARTHUR HAS HIS WAY, WAS NOT PEACE NOW OR EVER: UNTIL WE SEIZE CHINA, CONQUER SOUTHEAST ASIA AND DROP ATOM BOMBS ON MOSCOW.

MEANTIME, WAVE AFTER WAVE OF OUR YOUNG MEN ARE BEING TRAINED FOR MURDER, AND CONGRESS IS ON THE VERGE OF CALLING EVERY YOUTH IN THE LAND FOR THIS

PURPOSE. WE ARE SET TO "LICK THE WORLD" WITH EISENHOWER AND STASSEN, THE EDUCATORS OF YOUTH: DEWEY AND HANLEY, THE NEW BRAND OF STATESMEN: AND HERBERT LEHMAN, SUPPORTING NOTORIOUS GENERAL ANDERS, IN ORDER TO MAKE OUR FOREIGN INVESTMENT PAY WITH OIL, PLANES, BATTLESHIPS AND ARTILLERY. WE WILL RESTORE KOREA AND WHEN WE ARE THROUGH RESTORATION WITH TAXES RAISED FROM OUR POOR, LEHMAN BROTHERS AND LIKE INVESTORS WILL OWN EVERY THING IN KOREA WORTH OWNING AND WILL DRAW FABULOUS PROFITS FROM RISKS WHICH THEY NEVER TOOK. AFTER THAT WE WILL RAIL AT KOREA FOR NOT LOVING US FOR OUR GENEROSITY UNTIL THE KOREANS PAY FOR DEMOCRACY AT FIFTY CENTS A DAY AND NOT LAND.

THIS IS WHAT EUROPE SEES US SET FOR, IN CONTRADICTION TO EVERYTHING WE ONCE PROFESSED--LIBERTY, FREE SPEECH, TRUTH AND JUSTICE. TO THIS OUR MASTERS WILL LEAD US UNLESS YOU INTERVENE: UNLESS RIGHT HERE AND NOW YOU, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES SAY NO! ENOUGH OF THIS HYSTERIA, THIS CRAZY FOOLISHNESS!

35-6-299

OUR SLOW BUT STEADY DESCENT INTO BELIEF IN COMPLETE AND UNIVERASL WAR AND OUR DETERMINATION TO MAKE ALL MEN AGREE WITH WHAT SOME BELIEVE, RATHER THAN TO LET THEM EXERCISE THEIR FREE AMERICAN HERITAGE OF CHOOSING TRUTH-- THIS LITERAL DESCENT INTO HELL IN OUR DAY, AND IN THIS OUR OWN COUNTRY, HAS BEEN SO GRADUAL AND COMPLETE THAT MANY HONEST AMERICANS CANNOT BELIEVE WHAT THEY ACTUALLY HEAR AND SEE: AND SIT BEWILDERED, RUBBING THEIR EYES IN ORDER TO GET SOME VAGUE CONCEPTION OF WHAT CAN HAVE HAPPENED TO THE LAND WHICH ONCE DECLARED "THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF EVIDENT THAT ALL MEN WERE CREATED EQUAL: THAT THEY WERE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS: THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."

NO AMERICAN BORN BEFORE 1900 COULD POSSIBLY CONCEIVE THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD BECOME A LAND APPROACHING UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE: WITH ITS ARMED FORCES IN EVERY CONTINENT AND ON EVERY SEA: PLEDGED TO CONQUER AND CONTROL MASSES OF MANKIND, ORDER THE THOUGHT AND ACTION AND BELIEF OF THE

NATIONS OF THE WORLD, AND READY TO SPEND FOR THESE OBJECTS MORE MONEY THAN IT EVER SPENT FOR RELIGION, EDUCATION OR SOCIAL UPLIFT ALTOGETHER.

WHEN MEN ARISE AND SAY THIS AND TRY TO PROVE ITS TRUTH, EVERY EFFORT IS MADE BY SECRET POLICE, ORGANIZED SPIES AND HIRED INFORMERS: BY DELIBERATE SUBVERSION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF OUR LAW, TO IMPRISON, SLANDER AND SILENCE SUCH PERSONS, AND DEPRIVE THEM OF EARNING AN HONEST LIVELIHOOD.

AVOIDING ALL HYSTERIA AND EXAGGERATION, ALL NATURAL INDIGNATION AND INSTINCTIVE DEFENSE OF THE RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH AND HATRED OF THOUGHT CONTROL, IT IS CLEAR TO ALL AMERICANS WHO STILL DARE THINK, THAT MY DESCRPPTION OF THIS AMERICA IS TRUE: AND IF TRUE, FRIGHTENING TO ALL MEN WHO ONCE THOUGHT OF THIS LAND AS THE LAND OF THE FREE.

MY PLATFORM THEN, LIKE THE PLATFORM OF EVEY HONEST AMERICAN WHO STILL DARES BELIEVE IN PEACE AND FREEDOM, TAKES ITS UNALTERABLE STAND AGAINST WAR

AND SLAVERY. THERE WAS A DAY WHEN MOST MEN BELIEVED THAT PROGRESS DEPENDED ON WAR: THAT BY WAR, AND MAINLY BY WAR, HAD MODERN MEN GAINED FREEDOM, RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY. WE BELIEVED THIS BECAUSE WE WERE TAUGHT THIS IN OUR LITERATURE AND SCIENCE, IN CHURCH AND SCHOOL, ON PLATFORM AND IN NEWSPAPER. IT WAS ALWAYS A LIE AND AS WAR HAS BECOME UNIVERSAL AND SO HORRIBLE AND DESTRUCTIVE THAT EVERYBODY RECOGNIZES IT AS MURDER, CRIPPLING, INSANITY AND STARK DEATH OF HUMAN CULTURE: WE REALIZE THAT THERE IS SCARE A VICTORY FORMERLY CLAIMED BY WAR WHICH MANKIND MIGHT NOT HAVE GAINED MORE CHEAPLY AND MORE DECENTLY AND EVEN MORE COMPLETELY BY METHODSY OF PEACE. IF THAT WAS TRUE IN THE PAST, IT IS SO CLEAR AND INDISPUTABLE TODAY THAT NO SANE BEING DENIES IT. AND YET OF ALL NATIONS OF EARTH TODAY, THE UNITED STATES ALONE WANTS WAR, PREPARES FOR WAR, FORCES OTHER NATIONS TO FIGHT AND ASKS YOU AND ME TO IMPOVERISH OURSELVES, GIVE UP HEALTH AND SCHOOLS, SACRIFICE OUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS TO A "JIM-CROW" ARMY, AND COMMIT SUICIDE, FOR A WORLD WAR THAT NOBODY

35-6-391

WANTS BUT THE RICH AMERICANS WHO PROFIT BY IT.

IF WAR WERE A MATTER OF CAREFUL STUDY AND GRAVE DECISION: OF PRAYERFUL THOUGHT AND SOLEMN DELIBERATION: WE MIGHT TAKE ITS FEARFUL OUTBREAK AS AT LEAST NO MORE THAN HUMAN ERROR, SOON TO BE STOPPED BY DECENCY AND COMMON-SENSE. BUT WHEN DID YOU EVER VOTE FOR WAR? YOU WHO HAVE SPENT MOST OF YOUR LIVES IN A FIGHTING , MURDERING WORLD? WHEN DID YOU EVER HAV A CHANCE TO DECIDE THIS MATTER OF MAIMING AND MURDER? NEVER! AND YOU NEVER WILL AS LONG AS AN EXECUTIVE OF HIS OWN INITIATIVE CAN START A LITTLE POLICE ACTION WHICH COSTS THE LIVES AND HEALTH OF 50,000 AMERICAN BOYS, IN ORDER THAT BIG BUSINESS CAN INTERFERE WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF ASIA.

OF WHAT ARE WE IN SUCH DEATHLY FEAR? HAVE WE BEEN INVADED? HAS ANYONE DROPPED AN ATOM BOMB ON US? HAVE WE BEEN IMPOVERISHED OR ENSLAVED BY FOREIGNERS? IS OUR BUSINESS FAILING AND ARE OUR MILLIONAIRES DISAPPEARING?

HAS THE RATE OF PROFIT GONE DOWN, IS OUR MACHINERY LESS CUNNING, OR OUR NATURAL RESOURCES DESTROYED BY STRANGERS? IS THERE ANY SIGN THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS VICTIM, OR CAN BE VICTIM OF ANY FOREIGN COUNTRY? NO! THEN OF WHAT ARE WE AFRAID, AND WHY ARE WE TRYING TO GUARD THEEARTH FROM PACIFIC TO ATLANTIC AND FROM THE NORTH TO THE SOUTH POLE, UNLESS IT BE FROM OURSELVES?

OUR RULERS ARE AFRAID OF AN IDEA: TEMPTED BY A VISION OF POWER WHICH THIS IDEA FIGHTS. THE POWER THEY CRAVE LONG MISLED AND SLAUGHTED THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE AND ASIA, AND NOW INSIDIOUSLY CREEPS INTO OUR OWN FEVER-MAD HEADS: AND THAT IS IMPERIALISM--WORLD RULE OVER THE WORLD. ONCE THIS WAS SOUGHT THROUGH BLACK SLAVERY: THEN IT WAS MADE EASY BY YELLOW COOLIES: THEN BY ALL "LESSER BREEDS WITHOUT THE LAW," WHO COULD FURNISH A "WHITE MAN'S BURDENN AND LET HIM STRUT OVERTHE WORLD, AND LORD IT IN ASIA AND AFRICA, AND RULE AND RULE WITHOUT END, FOREVER AND FOREVER. THAT WAS THE VISION OF THE 19th CENTURY.

25-6-302

THE FEVER OF IMPERIALISM CAUGHT THE UNITED STATES AS THE 19th CENTURY DIED AND WE CHOKED A FEW ISLANDS OUT OF DYING SPAIN. BUT THESE WERE BUT SMALL CHANGE WHICH WHETTED OUR APPETITE. WITH THE FIRST WORLD WAR CAME THE VISION OF AN IMPERIAL UNITED STATES AS SUCCESSOR OF THE EMPIRE ON WHICH THE SUN ALREADY SETS. WE RUSHED SO MADLY AT THE SPOILS LEFT BY EUROPEAN EMPIRE, THAT WE BROUGHT DOWN OUR WHOLE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM ABOUT OUR OWN EARS.

IT WOULD SEEM THAT THE MEMORY OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF THE THIRTIES WOULD CONVINCE ALL THINKING MEN THAT WAR IS NOT THE PATH TO THE MILLENIUM, AND THAT WHAT WE NEED IS REFORM OF OUR OWN SYSTEM OF WORK AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION, BEFORE WE ATTEMPT TO TEACH THE WORLD WHAT TO THIK OR HOW TO LIVE.

BUT WHAT THE MEN OF BIG BUSINESS IGNORED WAS THAT THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM WHICH THEY WERE SEEKING TO REINSTALL HAD ALREADY MET A TERRIBLE AND COSTLY REVERSE: THAT MODIFICATIONS OF IMPERIALISM AND MONOPOLY CAPITALISM HAD ALREADY

BEEN SUGGESTED AND TRIED. SUCH EFFORTS COMPREHENDED LOOSELY BY THE NAME "SOCIALIAM", WERE NOT INVENTED BY RUSSIA NOR FIRST TRIED BY RUSSIA. ON THE CONTRARY, SOCIALISM IS AN ENGLISH, FRENCH AND GERMAN CONCEPTION AND WAS TRIED IN RUSSIA BECAUSE THAT UNHAPPY LAND WAS ONE OF THE LAST AND WORST VICTIMS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

IFTOMORROW RUSSIA DISAPPEARED FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH, THE BASIC PROBLEM FACING THE MODERN WORLD WOULD REMAIN: AND THAT IS: WHY IS IT, WITH THE EARTH'S ABUNDANCE AND OUR MASTERY OF NATURAL FORCES, AND MIRACULOUS TECHNIQUE: WITH OUR COMMERCE BELTING THE EARTH, AND GOODS AND SERVICES POURING FROM OUR STORES, FACTORIES, SHIPS AND WAREHOUSES WHY IS IT THAT NEVER THELESS, MOST HUMAN BEINGS ARE STARVING TO DEATH, DYING OF PREVENTABLE DISEASE AND TOO IGNORANT TO KNOW WHAT IS THE MATTER, WHILE A SMALL MINORITY ARE SO RICH THAT THEY CANNOT SPEND THEIR INCOME?

35-6-203

THAT IS THE PROBLEM WHICH FACES THE WORLD, AND RUSSIA WAS NOT THE FIRST TO POSE IT, NOR WILL SHE BE THE LAST TO ASK AND DEMAND ANSWER. THE 19th

CENTURY SAID THAT THIS SITUATION WAS INEVITABLE AND MUST ALWAYS REMAIN BECAUSE OF THE NATURAL INFERIORITY OF MOST MEN. THE 20th CENTURY KNOWS BETTER. IT SAYS THAT THERE CAN BE FOOD ENOUGH FOR ALL: THAT CLOTHES AND SHELTER FOR ALL CAN BE PROVIDED: THAT MOST DISEASE IS PREVENTABLE AND THAT THE OVERWHELMING MASS OF HUMAN BEINGS CAN BE EDUCATED: THAT INTELLIGENCE, HEALTH AND DECENT COMFORT ARE NOT ONLY POSSIBLE, BUT SHOULD BE DEMANDED, BY ALL MEN: PLANNED BY STATES: AND MADE INCREASINGLY EFFECTIVE BY ALL VOTERS IN EACH ELECTION.

BUT THE POWERFUL WHO TODAY OWN THE EARTH AND THE FULNESS THEREOF: WHO MONOPOLIZE ITS INDUSTRY AND OWN ITS PRESS AND SCREEN ITS NEWS: HAVE ANOTHER ANSWER. THEY ORDER US TO FIGHT AN IDEA: TO "CONTAIN" AND CRUSH ANY DREAM OF ABOLISHING POVERTY, DISEASE, AND IGNORANCE: AND TO DO THIS BY ORGANIZING WAR, MURDER AND DESTRUCTION ON ANY PEOPLE WHO DARE TO TRY TO PLAN PLENTY FOR ALL MANKIND. FROM THE 19th CENTURY, THEY ATTEMPT TO TAKE OVER IMPERIALISM TO

BRIBE THE WORKERS AND THINKERS OF THE MOST POWERFUL COUNTRIES BY HIGH WAGE AND PRIVILEGE IN ORDER TO BUILD A FALSE AND DISHONEST PROSPERITY ON THE SLAVERY AND DEGRADATION, THE LOW WAGE AND DISEASE, OF AFRICA AND ASIA AND THE THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA: AND TO PAY THE PRICE FOR THIS, THEY DEMAND THAT YOU, YOUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS, IN ENDLESS STREAM, BE MURDERED AND CRIPPLED IN ENDless wars.

THIS IS WHY WE ARE FIGHTING OR PREPARING TO FIGHT IN EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA--NOT AGAINST AN ENEMY, BUT AGAINST THE IDEA--AGAINST THE RISING DEMAND OF THE WORKING CLASSES OF THE WORLD FOR BETTER WAGE, DECENT HOUSING, REGULAR EMPLOYMENT, MEDICAL SERVICE AND SCHOOLS FOR ALL.

IT DOES NOT ANSWER THIS WORLD-WIDE DEMAND TO SAY THAT WE OF AMERICA HAVE THESE THINGS IN GREATER ABUNDANCE THAN THE REST OF THE WORLD IF OUR PROSPERITY IS BASED ON, OR SEEKS TO BASE ITSELF ON, THE EXPLOITATION AND DEGRADATION OF THE REST OF MANKIND. REMEMBER, IT IS AMERICAN MONEY THAT

OWNS MORE AND MORE OF SOUTH AFRICAN MINES WORKED BY SLAVE LABOR: IT IS AMERICAN ENTERPRISE THAT FATTENS OFF RHODESIAN COPPER: IT IS AMERICAN INVESTORS THAT SEEK TO DOMINATE CHINA, INDIA, KOREA AND BURMA: WHO ARE THROTTLING THE STARVED WORKERS OF THE NEAR EAST.

YET IS IT NOT CLEAR THAT SUCH A PROGRAM IS SHEER INSANITY? THAT NO NATION, HOWEVER RICH AND SMART, CAN CONQUER THIS WORLD? HAVE NOT EGYPT, ASSYRIA, GREECE, ROME, BRITAIN AND GERMANY TAUGHT US THIS? AND ALSO THAT NO IDEA BASED ON TRUTH AND RIGHTEOUSNESS CAN ULTIMATELY BE SUPPRESSED BY FORCE AND MURDER.

I NEVER THOUGHT I WOULD LIVE TO SEE THE DAY THAT FREE SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF OPINION WOULD BE SO THROTTLED IN THE UNITED STATES AS IT IS T DAY. TODAY IN THIS FREE COUNTRY, NO MAN CAN BE SURE OF EARNING A LIVING, OF ESCAPING SLANDER AND PERSONAL VIOLENCE: OR EVEN OF KEEPING OUT OF JAIL

UNLESS PUBLICLY AND REPEATEDLY HE PROCLAIMS:

HE HATES RUSSIA.
HE OPPOSES SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM
HE SUPPORTS WHOLEHEARTEDLY THE WAR IN KOREA
HE IS READY TO SPEND ANY AMOUNT FOR FURTHER WAR, ANYWHERE OR AT ANYTIME
HE IS READY TO FIGHT THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA AND ANY OTHER COUNTRY, OR ALL COUNTRIES TOGETHER.
HE BELIEVES IN THE USE OF THE ATOM BOMB OR ANY OTHER WEAPON OF MASS DESTRUCTION, AND REGARDS ANYONE OPPOSED AS A TRAITOR.
HE NOT ONLY BELIVES IN AND CONSENTS TO ALL THESE THINGS, BUT IS WILLING TO SPY ON HIS NEIGHBORS AND DENOUNCE THEM IF THEY DO NOT BELIEVE AS HE DOES.

35-6-305

THE MERE STATEMENT OF THIS CREED SHOWS ITS ABSOLUTE INSANITY. WHAT CAN BE DONE TO BRING THIS NATION TO ITS SENSES? MOST PEOPLE ANSWER: NOTHING, JUST SIT STILL, BEND TO THE STORM, IF NECESSARY LIE AND JOIN THE WITCH-HUNT, SWEAR TO GOD THAT NEVER, NEVER DID YOU EVER SYMPATHIZE WITH RUSSIAN PEASANTS' RIGHT TO BE FREE, THAT YOU NEVER IN YOUR LIFE BELONGED TO A LIBERAL ORGANIZATION OR HAD A FRIEND WHO DID: AND IF SO, YOU WERE DECEIVED, DELUDED AND A DAMNED FOOL.

BUT THERE ARE OTHERS WHO SAY: WE CAN DO SOMETHING: THAT AMERICA NEEDS

NO MORE COWARDS AND LIARS. IT NEEDS HONEST MEN, AND THAT HONEST CITIZENS WHO ARE MISTAKEN, ARE INFINITELY MORE PATRIOTIC THAN SCOUNDRELS WHO FOLLOW THE HERD.

WE STILL HAVE ELECTIONS AND WE STILL HAVE A SECRET BALLOT. IF YOU DO NOT WANT WAR, VOTE FOR MEN WHO WILL STOP IT. IF YOU WANT THE BILL OF RIGHTS RESTORED TO THE CONSTITUTION, YOU HAVE THE LEGAL RIGHT TO SAY SO. IN THIS DEMOCRACY, YOU STILL RETAIN THE RIGHT TO HELP ELECT YOUR LAWMAKERS AND EXECUTIVES. IF YOU FAIL TO EXERCISE THIS RIGHT, YOU WILL SUFFER AND YOU OUGHT TO SUFFER. TODAY THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT CRAZY, DO NOT WANT WAR. MOST AMERICANS HATE THE CURRENT WITCH-HUNT. THE ONLY WAY TO OPPOSE WAR AND THE DEATH OF CIVIL LIBERTY IS TO ELECT OFFICIALS WHO AGREE WITH YOU.

I WANT PROGRESS: I WANT EDUCATION: I WANT SOCIAL MEDICINE: I WANT A LIVING WAGE AND OLD AGE SECURITY: I WANT EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL AND RELIEF FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND SICK. I WANT PUBLIC WORKS, PUBLIC SERVICES AND PUBLIC IMPORVEMENTS. I WANT FREEDOM FOR MY PEOPLE. AND BECAUSE I KNOW AND YOU KNOW THAT WE CANNOT HAVE THESE THINGS, AND AT THE SAME TIME FIGHT, DESTROY AND KILL ALL AROUND THE WORLD IN ORDER TO MAKE HUGE PROFIT FOR BIG BUSINESS: FOR THAT REASON, I TAKE MY STAND BESIDE THE MILLIONS IN EVERY NATION AND CONTINENT AND CRY PEACE--NO MORE WAR!

35-6-306

A NEW ERA OF POWER, HELD AND EXERCISED BY THE WORKING CLASSES THE WORLD OVER, IS DAWNING AND WHILE ITS EVENTUAL FORM IS NOT YET CLEAR, ITS PROGRESS CANNOT BE HELD BACK BY ANY POWER OF MAN.

Office Copy

ALP MADISON SQUARE GARDEN RALLY

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1950

BEFORE 17,000 PERSONS

The world is astonished at recent developments in the United States. Our actions and attitudes are discussed with puzzled wonder on the streets of every city in the world. Reluctantly the world is coming to believe that we actually want war: that we must have war: that in no other way can we keep our workers employed and maintain huge profits save by spending 50 thousand million dollars a year for war preparation and adding to the vast debt of 218 thousand millions which we already owe chiefly for war. Our present war expenditure must be increased, yet we cannot tax the rich much more since the lawyers who make the tax laws can also break them and let the bulk of wealth go untaxed. We cannot raise the taxes on the poor much higher because rising prices leave less and less to tax. Citizens have borrowed 200 thousand million dollars on homes, farms and furniture and the poor and middle class have spent nearly all their savings. Yet we cannot stop: either we spend more and more on top of what we are spending or our whole industrial organization, with its billions of private profit monopoly, will face collapse. On the other hand, the Soviet Union whom we are determined to destroy does not seem willing to fight. We have warned and dared it. We have publicly and privately insulted it. We have eagerly given currency to every charge which anyone at anytime makes against the Soviet Union, its ecomony, its morals, its plans. We thought that at last in Korea we had them where they must fight and we prepared jauntily for World War III almost with shouts of joy.

We were sure the Russians had started the Korean uprising, were furnishing arms and ready to march to war. Henry Wallace actually saw them and ran backward so fast that he tripped over his own resolutions, and stepped

in the faces of his friends. Still the Soviets did not fight and began instead to call for world peace: for union against the atom bomb: for peace congresses. But the United States was not misled: Not they. They stopped the peace appeal: They picked up and jailed advocates of peace: They barred from our shores foreign advocates of peace, even men of the highest reputation.

Highly placed public officials and military men began openly to declare that if the Russians would not attack us we would attack them to keep them from attacking us. The Wild Man of Tokyo, who remembers shooting down World War I veterans in Washington, turned Korea into a stinking desert, has received the President of the United States in audience. Whatever they talked about, the result, if MacArthur has his way, was not peace now or ever, until we seize China, conquer southeast Asia and drop atom bombs on Moscow. Meantime, wave after wave of our young men are being trained for murder and congress is on the verge of calling every youth in the land for this purpose. We are set to "lick the world" with Eisenhower and Stassen, the educators of youth: Dewey and Hanley the new brand of statesmen: and Herbert Lehman supporting notorious General Anders in order to make out foreign investment pay with oil, planes, battleships and artillery. We will restore Korea and when we are through restoration with taxes raised from out poor, Lehman Brothers and like investors will own everything in Korea worth owning and will draw fabulous profits from risks they never took, after that we will rail at Korea for not loving us for our genorisity while the Koreans pay for democracy at fifty cents a day and no land. This is what Europe sees us set for, in contradiction to everything we once professed--liberty, free speech, truth and justice. To this our masters will lead us unless you intervene: unless right here and now you, the voters of the United States say No. Enough of this hysteria, this crazy foolishness.

Our slow but steady descent into belief in complete and universal war and our determination to make all men agree with what some believe, rather

25-6-105

than to let them exercise their free American heritage of choosing truth--this literal descent into Hell in our day and in this our own country, has been so gradual and complete than many honest Americans cannot believe what they actually hear and see: and sit bewildered, rubbing their eyes in order to get some vague conception of what can have happened to the land which once declared "These truths to be self evident that all men were created equal: that they were endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

35-6-106

No American born before 1900, could 1900, could possibly conceive that the United States would become a land approaching universla military service: with its armed forces in every continent and on every sea, pledged to conquer and control masses of mankind, order the thought and act on and belief of the nations of the world and ready to spend for these objects more money than it ever spent for religion, education or social uplift altogether.

When men arise and say this and try to prove its truth, every effort is made by secret police, organized spies and hired informers; by deliberate subversion of the fundamental principles of our law, to imprison, slander and silence such persons, and deprive them of earning an honest livelihood.

Avoiding all hysteria and exaggeration, all natural indignation and instinctive defense of the right of free speech and hatred of thought control, it is clear to all Americans who still dare think, that my description of this America is true and if true frightening to all men who once thought of this land as the l nd of the free.

My platform then, like the platform of every honest American who still dares believe in peace and freedom, takes its unalterable stand against war and slavery. There was a day when most men believed that progress depended on war: that by war and mainly by war had modern men gained freedom religion and democracy. We believed this becuase we were taught this in

our literature and science, in church and school, on platform and in newspaper. It was always a lie and as war has become universal and so horrible and destructive that everybody recognizes it as murder, crippling, insanity and stark death of human culture. We realize that there is scarce a victory formerly claimed by war, which mankind might not have gained more cheaply and more decently and even more completely by methods of peace. If that was true in the past, it is so clear and indisputable today that no sane being denies it. And yet of all nations of earth today the United States alone wants war, prepares for war, forces other nations to fight and asks you and me to impoverish ourselves, give up health and schools, sacrifice our sons and daughters to a "Jim-Crow" army and commit suicide for a world war that nobody wants but the rich Americans who profit by it.

35-6-107

If war were a matter of careful study and grave decision: of prayerful thought and solemn deliberation we might take its fearful outbreak as at least no more than human error, soon to be stopped by decency and commonsense. But when did you ever vote for war? You who have spend most of your lives in a fighting, murdering world? When did you ever have a chance to decide this matter of maiming and murder? Never! And you never will as long as an executive of his own initiative can start a "little police action" which costs the lives and health of 30,000 American boys in order that big business can interfere with the governments of Asia.

Of what are they in such deathly fear? Have we been invaded? Has anyone dropped an atom bomb on us? Have we been impoverished or enslaved by foreigners? Is our business failing and are our millionaires disappearing? Has the rate of profit gone down, is our machinery less cunning or our natural resources destroyed by stangers? Is there any sign that the United States of America is victim or can be victim of any foreign country? No! Then of what are we afraid and why are we trying to guard the earth from Pacific to Atlantic and from the North to the South Pole, unless it be from ourselves.

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They are afraid of an idea: tempted by a vision of power which this idea fights. The power they crave long misled and slaughtered the peoples of Europe and Asia, and now insidiously creeps into our own fever-mad heads, and that is imperialism--world rule over the world. Once this was sought by black slavery: then it was made easy by yellow coolies: then all "lesser breeds without the law," who could furnish a white man's burden and let him strut over the world and lord it in Asia and Africa and rule and rule without end, forever and forever. That was the vision of the 19th century. The fever of imperialism caught the United States as the 19th century died and we choked a few islands out of dying Spain. But these were but small change which whetted our appetite. With the first World War came the vision of an Imperial United States as successor of the empire on which the sun already sets, we rushed so madly at the spoils left by European empire that we brought down our whole industrial system about our own ears.

35-6-108

It would seem that the memory of the great depression of the thirties would convince all thinking men that war is not the path to the millenium and that what we need is reform of our own system of work and industrial organization, before we attempt to teach the world what to think or how to live.

But what the men of Big Business ignored was that the industrial system which they were seeking to re-install had already met a terrible and costly reverse: that modifications of imperialism and monopoly capitalism had already been suggested and tried. Such efforts comprehended loosely by the name "Socialism," were not invented by Russia nor first tried by Russia. On the contrary, Socialism is an English, French and German conception and was tried in Russia because that unhappy land was one of the last and worst victims of the capitalist system.

If tomorrow Russia disappeared from the face of the earth, the basic problem facing the modern world would remain: and that is: why is it, with the earth's abundance and our mastery of natural forces, and miraculous

technique, with our commerce belting the earth and goods and services pouring from our stores, factories, ships and warehouses, why is it that nevertheless most human beings are starving to death, dying of preventable disease and too ignorant to know what is the matter, while a small minority are so rich that they cannot spend their income?

That is the problem which faces the world, and Russia was not the first to pose it, nor will she be the last to ask and demand answer. The 19th century said that this situation was inevitable and must always remain because of the natural inferiority of most men, the 20th century knows better. It says that there is food enough for all: that clothes and shelter for all can be provided: that most disease is preventable and that the overwhelming mass of human beings can be educated. That intelligence, health and decent comfort are not only possible but should be demanded, by all men planned by all states and made increasingly effective by all voters in each election.

35-6-109

But the powerful who today own the earth and the fulness thereof: who monopolize its industry and own its press and screen its news, have another answer: they order us to fight and idea: to "contain" and crush any dream of abolishing poverty, disease and ignorance: and to do this by organizing war, murder and destruction on any people who dare to try to plan plenty for all mankind. From the 19th century they attempt to take over imperialism to bribe the workers and thinkers of the most powerful countries by high wage and privilege to build a false and dishonest prosperity on the slavery and degradation--the low wage and disease of Africa and Asia and the islands of the sea, and to pay the price for this they demand that you, your sons and daughters in endless stream be murdered and crippled in endless wars.

This is why we are fighting or preparing to fight in Europe, Asia and Africa-- not against an enemy but against the idea--against the rising demand of the working classes of the world for better wage, decent housing, regular employment, medical service and schools for all.

It does not answer this world-wide demand to say that we of America have these things in greater abundance than the rest of the world, if our prosperity is based on or seeks to base itself on the exploitation and degradation of the rest of mankind. Remember it is American money that owns more and more of South African mines worked by slave labor: it is American enterprise that fattens off Rhodesian copper. It is American investors that seek to dominate China, India, Korea and Burma: that are throttling the starved workers of the Near East.

35-6-110

Yet is it not clear that such a program is sheer insanity? That no nation, however rich and smart can conquer this world? Have not Egypt, Assyra, Greece, Rome, Britain and Germany taught us this? And also that no idea based on truth and righteousness can ultimately be suppressed by force and murder?

I never thought I would live to see the day that free speech and freedom of opinion would be so throttled in the United States as it is today. Today in this free country, no man can be sure of earning a living, of escaping slander and personal violence: or even of keeping out of jail unless publicly and repeatedly he proclaims:

That he hates Russia.
That he opposes Socialism and Communism.
That he supports wholeheartedly the war in Korea.
That he is ready to spend any amount for further war anywhere or at anytime.
That he is ready to fight the Soviet Union, China and any other country, or all countries together.
That he believes in the use of the atom bomb or any other weapon of mass destruction and regards anyone opposed as a traitor.
That he not only believes in and consents to all these things but is willing to spy on his neighbors and denounce themif they do not believe as he does.

The mere statement of this creed shows its absolute insanity. What can be done to bring this nation to its senses? Most people answer: nothing: Just sit still : bend to the storm: if necessary, lit and join the witch-hunt,

swear to God that never, never did y u ever sympathize with the Russain peasants fight to be free: that y u never in your life belonged to a liberal organization or had a friend who did: and if so, you were decieved, deluded and a damned fool.

But there are others who say: we can do something: that America needs no more cowards and liars. It needs honest men and that honest citizens who are mistaken are infinitely more patriotic than scoundrels who follow the [redacted]

We still have elections and we still have a secret ballot. If you do not want war, vote for men who will stop it. If you want the Bill of Rights restored to the Constitution you have the legal right to say so. In this Democracy, you still retain the right to help elect your lawmakers and executives. If you fail to exercise this right, you will suffer and you ought to suffer. Today the vast majority of the American people who are not crazy, do not want war. Most Americans hate the current witch-hunt. The only way to oppose war and the death of civil liberty is to elect officials who agree with you.

When I ask for your vote, believe me it is for no personal reasons. I do not want to live in Washington. I hate the provincial, "Jim-Crow" center of political graft. But you need to be represented there and by someone who will uphold the hands of that men of integrity, intelligence and guts, Marcantonio, who taday fights in Congress almost single-handed for a decent United States. I would like to have the honor of standing behind him because like him, I want progress: I want education: I want social medicine: I want a living wage and old age security: I want employment for all and relief for the unemployed and sick: I want public works, public services and public improvements: and because I know and you know that we cannot have these things and at the same time fight, destroy and kill all around the world in order to make huge profit for big business, for

that reason, I take my stand beside the millions in every nation and continent and cry Peace--No More War!

A new era of power, held and exercised by the working classes the world over , is dawning and while its eventual form is not yet clear, its progress cannot be held back by any power of man.

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Original (Gardner) 10/24/50

The world is ~~worried and especially~~ astonished at recent developments in the the United States. Our actions and attitudes are discussed wuth puzzled wonder on the streets of every city in the World. Reluctantly the World ~~xxx~~ is coming to believe that we actually want war; that we must have war; that in no other way ~~can~~ we keep our workers employed and maintain huge profits save by spending 30 thousand million dollars a year for war preparation and adding to the vast debt of 218 thousand millions which we already owe chiefly for war. Our present war expenditure must be increased, yet we cannot tax the rich much more since the tax laws (the lawyers who make them) also break them and let the bulk of wealth go untaxed. We cannot raise the taxes on the poor much higher because rising prises leave less and less to tax. Citizens ~~who~~ have borrowed 200 thousand million dollars on homes, farms and furniture and have spent nearly all the savings ~~of~~ the poor and middle class. Yet we cannot stop: either we spend more and more on top of what we are spending or our whole industrial organization with its billions of private profits + monopoly will face collapse. On the other hand the Soviet Union whom we are determined to distroy does not seem unwilling to ~~will not~~ fight. We have warned and dared ~~them~~ it. We have publicly and privately insulted ~~them~~ it. We have eagerly given currency to every charge which anyone at anytime makes against the union its economy, its morale, its plans. We thought that at last in Korea we had them where they must fight and we prepared for world war III almost with shouts of joy. ~~xxxx~~

35-4-135

(2) We ~~knew~~ the Russians had started the Korean uprising, were furnishing arms and marching to war. ~~[redacted]~~ Henry Wallace actually saw them and ~~rushed~~ ran [illegible] backward into ~~battle against them.~~ Still the Soviets ~~wouldn't~~ did not fight and began instead to call for world peace; for union against the atom bomb; for peace congresses. But the United States was not misled; not they stopped the peace appeal; they ~~jailed~~ locked up advocates of peace; they barred from our shores foreign advocates of peace even men of the highest reputation. We began slowly to declare that if the Russians would ~~not~~ not attack us we would attack them to keep them from attacking us. The Wild Man of Tokyo, who remembers shooting down Americans soldiers in Washington and who has just turned Korea into a stinking desert has received the president of the United States in audience, and whatever they talked about, the result was not if MacArthur has his way ~~peace~~ peace now or ever, until we seize China, ~~rescue~~ conquer southeast Asia and drop atom bombs on Moscow. Meantime wave after wave of our young men are being trained for murder and Congress is on the verge of training (callow) every youth in the land for tihs purpose. ~~With~~ Eisenhower we are set to "lick the World" with and Stassen the educators of youth, Dewey and Hanley the new statesmen; and Herbert Lehman ~~with~~ behind General Anders making our foreign investment stick with oil, planes, battle ships and artilery. We will restore Korea and when we are through restoration with taxes raised from our poor, Lehman brothers and like investors will

35-4-136

(3)

own everything in Korea worth owning and will draw fabulous profits from risks they never took, while the Koreans pay for democracy with fifty cents a day and no land

This is what Europe sees us set for, in contradiction to everything we once rpofessed -- Liberty, Free speech, Truth and Justice. And this is what our masters will do unless you intervene; unless right here and now you the voters of the United States say No. Enough of this hysteria, this crazy foolishness.

35-4-137 Read to

6B

-6-

FAR LESS GUILTY THAN OURS, ~~TODAY GET TO US~~ WHILE WE TODAY GIVE OUR WORLD A DISTORTION OF HIS WORDS: A SHRIEK:

"COME UNTO ME/ALL THEM THAT LABOR AND ARE HEAVY-LADEN/AND I WILL GIVE YOU WAR."

35-4-138

THAT THE CIVILIZED WORLD TODAY, NEAR 2000 YEARS AFTER THE BIRTH OF CHRISTIANITY/NOT MENTIONING THOSE OLDER AND YOUNGER FAITHS, WITH THEIR HIGH HOPES/OF REASON/AND LOVE OF HUMANITY/-THAT THIS WORLD TODAY/WITH ALL ITS TRIUMPHS/WHICH ONCE WE GREETED WITH ~~SHRIEKS~~ SHOUTS OF JOY--THAT THIS WORLD HAS GONE CRAZY,/NO SANE MAN CAN FOR A MOMENT DENY.

TP BUT HE CAN PAUSE/AND/RESTING A MINUTE FROM HIS ATOM BOMBS,/HIS HYDROGEN HORROR,/HIS PROPAGANDA OF DISEASE OF BODY AND MIND,/HIS MAD DESTRUCTION/AND WILD WASTE OF THE WAGES OF THE POOR/-PAUSE AND ASK/IN THIS ELECTION SEASON/WHY?/FOR GODS' SAKE,/WHY?/WHAT ARE WE YELLING ABOUT?/ OF WHAT ARE WE IN such DEATHLY FEAR?//HAVE WE BEEN INVADED?//HAS ANYONE DROPPED AN ATOM BOMB ON US?/HAVE WE BEEN IMPOVERISHED/OR ENSLAVED BY FOREIGNERS?//

IS OUR BUSINESS FAILING/AND ARE OUR MILLIONAIRES DISAPPEARING?// HAS THE RATE OF PROFIT GONE DOWN,/ IS OUR MACHINERY LESS CUNNING/OR OUR NATURAL RESOURSES DESTROYED BY STRANGERS?// IS THERE ANY SIGN/THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS VICTIM/OR CAN BE VICTIM OF ANY FOREIGN POWER?// NO ! / THEN OF WHAT ARE WE AFRAID/AND WHY ARE WE TRYING/TO GUARD THE EARTH/FROM PACIFIC TO ATLANTIC / AND FROM THE NORTH TO THE SOUTH POLE/, UNLESS IT ~~IS~~ Is FROM OURSELVES.//

WE ARE ~~SCARED~~ AFRAID OF AN IDEA/ WE ARE TEMPTED BY A VISION OF POWER/WHICH LONG MISLED/AND SLAUGHTERED THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE AND ASIA,// AND NOW INSIDIOUSLY/CREEPS INTO OUR OWN FEVER-MAD HEADS.// AND THAT IS IMPERIALISM--WORLD-RULE OVER THE WORLD.// ONCE ~~IT~~ THIS WAS SOUGHT BY BLACK SLAVERY/ THEN IT WAS MADE EASY/BY YELLOW COOLIES:/THEN ~~IT WAS THE~~ BY ALL "LESSER BREEDS WITHOUT THE LAW",/ WHO COULD FURNISH / A WHITE MAN'S BURDEN/AND LET HIM STRUT OVER THE WORLD / AND LORD IT IN ASIA AND AFRICA/AND RULE AND RULE/ WORLD WITHOUT END,/ FOREVER AND FOREVER.//THAT WAS THE VISION/OF THE 19th CENTURY./ THE FEVER OF IMPERIALISM CAUGHT THE UNITED STATES / AS THE 19th CENTURY DIED/AND WE

CHOKED A FEW ISLANDS/OUT OF DYING SPAIN.// BUT THESE/WERE BUT SMALL CHANGE / WHICH WHETTED OUR APPETITE.// WITH THE FIRST WORLD WAR/ CAME THE VISION OF AN IMPERIAL UNITED STATES/AS SUCCESSOR OF THE EMPIRE/ ON WHICH THE SUN ALREADY SETS.// WE RUSHED SO MADLY/AT THE SPOILS/LEFT BY EUROPEAN EMPIRE/THAT WE BROUGHT DOWN/OUR WHOLE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM/ABOUT OUR OWN EARS.

IT WOULD SEEM/THAT THE MEMORY OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION/OF THE THIRTIES/ WOULD CONVINCE ALL THINKING MEN/THAT WAR IS NOT THE PATH TO THE MILLENIUM / AND THAT WHAT WE NEED/ IS REFORM OF OUR OWN SYSTEM/ OF WORK AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION,/ BEFORE WE ATTEMPT/TO TEACH THE WORLD/ WHAT TO THINK OR HOW TO LIVE.//

INSTEAD OF THAT/ WE WERE CONVINCED/THAT THE PATH FORWARD WAS BACKWARD TO THE IMPERIALISM/WHICH HAD JUST FAILED IN EUROPE/AND CAUSED THE WORST MODERN CATASTROPHE/WHICH WAS THE FIRST WORLD WAR.//THE MEN WHO CONTROLLED THIS NATION/ THROUGH OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL,/AND CONTROL OF NATURAL RESOURSES / NOW ADDED/THE VAST POWER OF A PRESS,/AND RADIO MONOPOLIZED/BY

35-4-141

ORGANIZED WEALTH/TO CONVINCE AMERICANS/THAT RESTORATION OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY/DEPENDED ON OUR MASTERY/OF THE CHEAP LABOR/AND ~~NECESSARY~~ BASIC RAW MATERIAL, OF THE WORLD//AND THE DIRECTION OF INDUSTRY/IN AFRICA, ASIA/AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEAS/IN ACCORD WITH OUR SYSTEM/OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION.

BUT WHAT WE IGNORED/IN OUR THINKING/WAS [redacted]/THAT THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM/WHICH WE WERE SEEKING TO RE-INSTALL/ HAD ALREADY MET A TERRIBLE AND COSTLY REVERSE;//THAT MODIFICATIONS OF IMPERIALISM/AND MONOPOLY CAPITALISM/ HAD ALREADY BEEN SUGGESTED AND TRIED.// SUCH EFFORTS ~~OF VARYING KINDS~~/AND COMPREHENDED LOOSELY/BY THE NAME "SOCIALISM",//WERE NOT INVENTED/BY RUSSIA / NOR FIRST TRIED/BY RUSSIA.// ON THE CONTRARY,/ SOCIALISM IS AN ENGLISH,/ FRENCH AND GERMAN CONCEPTION/AND WAS ~~FIRST~~ TRIED IN RUSSIA/BECAUSE THAT UNHAPPY LAND/WAS ONE OF THE (LAST AND) WORST VICTIMS/OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

IF TOMORROW/RUSSIA DISAPPEARED/FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH,/ THE BASIC PROBLEM/FACING THE MODERN WORLD/WOULD REMAIN:/ AND THAT IS: WHY IS IT,/ WITH THE EARTH'S ABUNDANCE/AND OUR MASTERY OF NATURAL FORCES,/ AND MIRACULOUS

35-4-142

TECHNIQUE;//WITH ~~INDUSTRY~~ OUR COMMERCE BELTING THE EARTH/AND GOODS AND SERVICES/POURING FROM OUR STORES/ FACTORIES, SHIPS AND WAREHOUSES;// WHY IS IT THAT NEVERTHELESS/MOST HUMAN BEINGS/ARE STARVING TO DEATH,/ DYING OF PREVENTABLE DISEASE / AND TOO IGNORANT/TO KNOW WHAT IS THE MATTER?// WHILE A SMALL MINORITY/ARE SO RICH/THAT THEY CANNOT SPEND/ THEIR INCOME?

IT THAT IS THE PROBLEM/WHICH FACES THE WORLD,/ AND RUSSIA WAS NOT THE FIRST TO POSE IT,/ NOR WILL SHE BE THE LAST/TO ASK AND DEMAND ANSWER.// THE 19th CENTURY SAID/ THAT THIS SITUATION WAS INEVITABLE/AND MUST ALWAYS REMAIN/BECAUSE OF THE NATURAL INFERIORITY OF MOST MEN.// THE 20th CENTURY KNOWS BETTER.// IT SAYS THAT THERE IS FOOD/ENOUGH FOR ALL:/ THAT CLOTHES AND SHELTER FOR ALL/CAN BE PROVIDED;/ THAT MOST DISEASE IS PREVENTABLE/AND THAT THE OVERWHELMING MASS/OF HUMAN BEINGS/CAN BE EDUCATED.// THAT INTELLIGENCE / HEALTH/AND DECENT COMFORT/ARE NOT ONLY POSSIBLE BUT SHOULD BE DEMANDED /

35-4-143

BY ALL MEN,/ PLANNED BY ALL STATES/AND MADE INCREASINGLY EFFECTIVE BY ALL VOTERS/IN EACH ELECTION.

BUT THE POWERFUL/WHO TODAY OWN THE EARTH/AND THE FULNESS THEREOF;/ WHO MONOPOLIZE ITS INDUSTRY/AND OWN ITS PRESS/AND SCREEN ITS NEWS,/ HAVE ANOTHER ANSWER.// THEY ORDER US TO FIGHT AN IDEA:/ TO "CONTAIN" AND CRUSH/ANY DREAM OF ABOLISHING POVERTY,/ DISEASE AND IGNORANCE;// AND TO DO THIS/BY ORGANIZING WAR, MURDER AND DESTRUCTION/ON ANY PEOPLE/ WHO DARE TO TRY TO PLAN PLENTY/FOR ALL MANKIND.// FROM THE 19th CENTURY/THEY ATTEMPT TO TAKE OVER IMPERIALISM/TO BRIBE THE WORKERS AND THINKERS/ OF THE MOST POWERFUL COUNTRIES/BY HIGH WAGE AND PRIVILEGE/TO BUILD A FALSE AND DISHONEST PROSPERITY/ON THE SLAVERY AND DEGRADATION--/-THE LOW WAGE AND DISEASE/OF AFRICA AND ASIA/AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA.// AND TO PAY/ ~~FOR THIS/OUT OF THE~~ YOUR ~~OWN~~ SONS AND DAUGHTERS/IN ENDLESS STREAM/TO BE MURDERED AND ~~MAIMED~~ CRIPPLED/IN ENDLESS WARS.// SO THAT THE PROFITS OF EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN BUSINESS/MAY MOUNT TO FABULOUS SUMS,// ~~SO THAT~~ while TAXATION/ ~~MAY BE~~ IS LAID ON WASHERWOMEN AND LABORERS:/ ON CLERKS AND STENOGRAPHERS,/

this hits for it's they demand that you

35-4-144

WHILE MILLIONAIRES/AND RICH CORPORATIONS/ ~~GO FREE~~ AVOID ALL REAL BURDEN.// THIS IS WHY/WE ARE FIGHTING/ OR PREPARING TO FIGHT/IN EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA--// NOT AGAINST an enemy ~~THE COUNTRY,~~/ BUT AGAINST THE IDEA--// AGAINST THE RISING DEMAND/OF THE WORKING CLASSES OF THE WORLD/ FOR BETTER WAGE,/ DECENT HOUSING,/ REGULAR EMPLOYMENT, MEDICAL SERVICE/AND SCHOOLS FOR ALL.

IT DOES NOT ANSWER/THIS WORLD-WIDE DEMAND/TO SAY THAT WE OF AMERICA/ HAVE THESE THINGS/IN GREATER ABUNDANCE/THAN THE REST OF THE WORLD.// IF OUR PROSPERITY/IS BASED/OR SEEKS TO BASE ITSELF/ ON THE EXPLOITATION AND DEGRADATION/OF THE REST OF MANKIND.// REMEMBER/IT IS AMERICAN MONEY/THAT OWNS MORE AND MORE/OF SOUTH AFRICAN MINES/WORKED BY SLAVE LABOR.// IT IS AMERICAN ENTERPRISE/THAT FATTENS OFF OF RHODESIAN COPPER/ ~~AND NIGERIAN TIN.~~// IT IS AMERICAN INVESTORS/THAT SEEK TO DOMINATE CHINA,/ INDIA, KOREA AND BURMA:/ THAT ARE THROTTLING THE STARVED WORKERS/ OF THE NEAR EAST.// IT IS LEHMAN BROTHERS/ WHO OWN THE TIN OF BOLIVIA/ AND STARVE ITS MINERS.// AND IT IS THEIR BROTHER/ WHO IS SENATOR/FROM NEW YORK.

35-4-145

¶ WE WERE AT WAR YESTERDAY;/ WE ARE AT WAR TODAY;/ WE WILL BE AT WAR TOMORROW/ BECAUSE BIG BUSINESS WANTS WAR/ AND BUILDS ITS PROFITS,/ DIRECT AND INDIRECT/ ON WAR, /ON THE ATTEMPT TO MURDER ALL/ WHO WANT PEACE AND ABUNDANCE.

¶ YET IS IT NOT CLEAR/ THAT SUCH A PROGRAM/ IS SHEER INSANITY?// THAT NO NATION,/ HOWEVER RICH AND SMART/ CAN CONQUER THIS WORLD.?// HAVE NOT EGPYT / ASSYRIA, GREECE,/ ROME, ~~AND~~ (AND GERMANY) BRITAIN/ TAUGHT US THIS?// AND (ALSO) TO/ THAT NO IDEA BASED ON TRUTH AND RIGHTEOUSNESS/ CAN ULTIMATELY BE SUPPRESSED/ BY FORCE AND MURDER?

¶ THE WORLD WANTS PEACE. / IT MUST HAVE PEACE /OR CIVILIZATION WILL DIE.// EVERYTHING THAT WAR/ BY ANY IMAGINATION/ COULD POSSIBLY GAIN FOR MANKIND/ HAS BEEN SOUGHT/ BY THREE WARS OF SUCH COLLOSAL ~~WASTE,~~ COST (IN DEATH) AND DESTRUCTION THAT EVERY SANE SOUL/ IS SIMPLY APPALLED BY THE RESULT.// YET/ WE ARE NOT ONLY ARMING/ FOR MORE AND GREATER WAR/ BUT DRIVEN BY THE FURIES/ ARE TRYING TO SHUT THE MOUTHS/ AND STIFLE THE CONSCIENCES/ OF ALL OR ANY/ WHO DARE SPEAK FOR PEACE.

35-4-146

TO FIGHT THIS OVERTHROWING/ AND NEGATION OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS/ IS THE SECOND PLANK OF MY PLATFORM.// I NEVER THOUGHT I WOULD LIVE/ TO SEE THE DAY/ THAT FREE SPEECH/ AND FREEDOM OF OPINION/ WOULD BE SO THROTTLED/ IN THE UNITED STATES/ AS IT IS TODAY.// TODAY IN THIS FREE COUNTRY,/ NO MAN CAN BE SURE OF EARNING A LIVING,/ OF ESCAPING SLANDER AND PERSONAL VIOLENCE,/ OR EVEN OF KEEPING OUT OF JAIL/ UNLESS PUBLICLY AND REPEATEDLY/ HE PROCLAIMS:

THAT HE HATES RUSSIA
THAT HE OPPOSES SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM
THAT HE SUPPORTS WHOLEHEARTEDLY THE WAR IN KOREA
THAT HE IS READY TO SPEND ANY AMOUNT ~~OF THE NATIONS RESOURCES~~ FOR FURTHER WAR ANYWHERE OR AT ANYTIME
THAT HE IS READY TO FIGHT THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA AND ANY OTHER COUNTRY.
THAT HE BELIEVES IN THE USE OF THE ATOM BOMB OR ANY OTHER WEAPON OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND REGARDS ANYONE WHO IS OPPOSED AS A TRAITOR
THAT HE NOT ONLY BELIEVES IN AND CONSENTS TO ALL THESE THINGS,/ BUT IS WILLING TO SPY ON HIS NEIGHBORS AND DENOUNCE THEM IF THEY DO NOT BELIEVE AND DO AS HE DOES.

35-4-147

THAT HE IS WILLING THAT ALL SUCH PERSONS SHOULD LOSE THEIR JOBS AND BE IMPRISONED BY EXECUTIVE ACTION AND EVEN WITHOUT TRIAL BY JURY.

¶ THE MERE STATEMENT OF THIS CREED SHOWS ITS ABSOLUTE INSANITY. // WHAT CAN BE DONE TO BRING THIS NATION TO ITS SENSES? // MOST PEOPLE ANSWER: NOTHING: JUST SIT STILL: BEND TO THE STORM: IF NECESSARY, LIE AND JOIN THE WITCH-HUNT //

¶ SWEAR TO GOD THAT NEVER, NEVER DID YOU EVER SYMPATHIZE WITH THE RUSSIAN PESANTS' FIGHT TO BE FREE // THAT YOU NEVER IN YOUR LIFE BELONGED TO A LIBERAL ORGANIZATION OR HAD A FRIEND WHO DID: AND IF SO, YOU WERE DECEIVED, DELUDED AND A DAMNED FOOL.

¶ BUT THERE ARE OTHERS WHO SAY: WE CAN DO SOMETHING: THAT AMERICA NEEDS NO MORE COWARDS AND LIARS. // IT NEEDS HONEST MEN AND THAT HONEST CITIZENS WHO ARE MISTAKEN ARE INFINITELY MORE PATRIOTIC THAN SCOUNDRELS WHO FOLLOW THE HERD.

¶ WE STILL HAVE ELECTIONS AND WE STILL HAVE A SECRET BALLOT. // IF YOU DO NOT WANT WAR, YOU HAVE THE RIGHT AND OPPORTUNITY TO SAY SO AND NO ONE NEED KNOW HOW YOU HAVE VOTED. // IF YOU WANT THE BILL OF RIGHTS RESTORED

Vote for men who will stop it

35-4-148

TO THE CONSTITUTION YOU HAVE THE LEGAL RIGHT TO SAY SO SECRETLY // IN THIS DEMOCRACY, YOU STILL RETAIN THE RIGHT TO HELP ELECT YOUR LAWMAKERS AND EXECUTIVES. // IF YOU FAIL TO EXERCISE THIS RIGHT, YOU WILL SUFFER AND YOU OUGHT TO SUFFER. // TODAY THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE (WHO ARE NOT CRAZY) DO NOT WANT WAR. MOST AMERICANS HATE THE CURRENT WITCHHUNT. // THE ONLY WAY TO OPPOSE WAR AND THE DEATH OF CIVIL LIBERTY IS TO ELECT OFFICIALS WHO AGREE WITH YOU.

THE PRESENT SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES IS A WAR-MAKING BODY AND A BODY HOSTILE TO CIVIL LIBERTIES NOT ONLY IN THE SOUTH BUT IN THIS STATE. // YOU HAVE A RIGHT IN NOVEMBER TO HELP CHANGE THE COMPOSITION OF THE SENATE. // THE PRESENT JUNIOR SENATOR FROM NEW YORK IS A RESPECTABLE man. // HE HAS OFTEN AS GOVERNOR AND SENATOR VOTED FOR THE RIGHT. // I VOTED FOR HIM LAST YEAR. // BUT THIS YEAR THE WHOLE PICTURE OF THE WORLD HAS CHANGED AND SENATOR LEHMAN HAS SUPPORTED OUR WAR PROGRAM AND OPENLY CONDONED THE INVASION OF OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES. //

17

When I ask for your vote believe me it for no ~~Washington~~ personal reasons. I do not want to live in Washington. I hate that provincial, "jim-crow" center of political lobbying. But you need to be represented there and by someone who will uphold the hands of that man of inadequate intelligence, ~~intelligence~~ and guts, ~~xxx~~ Marcantonio, who today fights almost single-handed for a decent United States I would like to have the honor of standing behind him because like him

in Congress

BM 4-38

---18---

AND DIFFICULT/AND HAS HAD MUCH SUCCESS./ BUT TODAY AND IN AMERICA/IT IS FAILING/ AND RESULTING IN A PROGRAM OF WORLD WAR.//THE OVERWHELMING INFLUENCE/AND REPRESENTATION OF FINANCE CAPITAL/IN OUR LEGISLATURES,/ IN THE EXECUTIVE/AND ESPECIALLY IN THE SENATE/OF THE UNITED STATES/MUST BE CURBED AND CURBED IMMEDIATELY./ /IT IS TIME THAT SENATOR LEHMAN BE REPLACED BY A MAN WHO IS OPPOSED TO WAR AND WILLING TO FIGHT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES/~~AND~~ NOT SIMPLY FOR THE LIBERTY OF CORPORATIONS BUT LIBERTY FOR THE MASS OF WORKING MEN AND WOMEN.

I WANT PROGRESS:/ I WANT EDUCATION:/ I WANT SOCIAL MEDICINE: I WANT A LIVING WAGE/AND OLD AGE SECURITY:/ I WANT EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL/AND RELIEF FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND SICK:/ I WANT PUBLIC WORKS,/ PUBLIC SERVICES AND PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS://AND BECAUSE I KNOW/AND YOU KNOW/ THAT WE CANNOT HAVE THESE THINGS AND AT THE SAME TIME FIGHT,/ DESTROY AND KILL/ ALL AROUND THE WORLD/IN ORDER TO MAKE HUGE PROFIT FOR BIG BUSINESS,//FOR THAT REASON,/ I TAKE MY STAND BESIDE THE MILLIONS IN EVERY NATION/AND CONTINENT AND CRY PEACE--NO MORE WAR!/ NO MORE

I say nothing/concerning Joe Hanley's/ candidacy/for any public office/ himself/has said it all

35-4-38

RULE OF BRASS HATS IN OUR GOVERNMENT. LET US STOP THE ANTICS OF THE WILD MAN OF TOKIO, WHO IS DETERMINED OF HIS OWN WILL TO FIGHT CHINA AND RUSSIA AND EISENHOWER WHO DECLARES OPENLY IN PUBLIC HEARING: "WE CAN LICK THE WORLD," AND SNEERS AT SOCIAL SECURITY AS BELONGING TO JAIL-BIRDS.

THIS IS THE MUDDLED WORLD IN WHICH WE FIND OURSELVES TODAY. ITS BASIC PROBLEMS OF PROPERTY, WAGE, POWER AND PRIVILEGE ARE INCREASINGLY CLEAR. THE ANSWER TO THESE PROBLEMS IS NOT WAR; AND THE INTERESTS INVOLVED ARE NOT SIMPLY ~~NOR MAINLY~~ THE INTERESTS OF THE RICH, NOR OF INDUSTRY IN ITSELF. A NEW ERA OF POWER, HELD AND EXERCISED BY THE WORKING CLASSES THE WORLD OVER, IS DAWNING AND WHILE ITS EVENTUAL FORM IS NOT YET CLEAR, ITS PROGRESS CANNOT BE HELD BACK BY ANY POWER OF MAN.

35-4-151

[1950] MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, OCTOBER 24, 1959 wrong date

4-25
4-37

THE WORLD IS ASTONISHED AT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES. OUR ACTIONS AND ATTITUDES ARE DISCUSSED WITH PUZZLED WONDER ON THE STREETS OF EVERY CITY IN THE WORLD. RELUCTANTLY THE WORLD IS COMING TO BELIEVE THAT WE ACTUALLY WANT WAR: THAT WE MUST HAVE WAR: THAT IN NO OTHER WAY CAN WE KEEP OUR WORKERS EMPLOYED AND MAINTAIN HUGE PROFITS SAVE BY SPENDING 50 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR FOR WAR PREPRATION AND ADDING TO THE VAST DEBT OF 218 THOUSAND MILLIONS WHICH WE ALREADY OWE CHIEFLY FOR WAR. OUR PRESENT WAR EXPENDITURE MUST BE INCREASED, YET WE CANNOT TAX THE RICH MUCH MORE SINCE THE LAWYERS WHO MAKE THE TAX LAWS CAN ALSO BREAK THEM AND LET THE BULK OF WEALTH GO UNTAXED. WE CANNOT RAISE THE TAXES ON THE POOR MUCH HIGHER BECAUSE RISING PRICES LEAVE LESS AND LESS TO TAX. CITIZENS HAVE BORROWED 200 THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS ON HOMES , FARMS AND FURNITURE AND THE POOR AND MIDDLE CLASS HAVE SPENT NEARLY ALL THEIR SAVINGS. YET WE CANNOT STOP: EITHER WE SPEND MORE AND MORE ON TOP OF WHAT WE ARE SPENDING OR OUR WHOLE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION WITH ITS BILLIONS OF PRIVATE

36-12-29

--2--

PROFIT AND MONOPOLY WILL FACE COLLAPSE. ON THE OTHER HAND THE SOVIET UNION WHOM WE ARE DETERMINED TO DESTROY DOES NOT SEEM WILLING TO FIGHT. WE HAVE WARNED AND DARED IT. WE HAVE PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY INSULTED IT. WE HAVE EAGERLY GIVEN CURRENCY TO EVERY CHARGE WHICH ANYONE AT ANYTIME MAKES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION, ITS ECONOMY, ITS MORALS, ITS PLANS. WE THOUGHT THAT AT LAST IN KOREA WE HAD THEM WHERE THEY MUST FIGHT AND WE PREPARED FOR WORLD WAR III ALMOST WITH SHOUTS OF JOY.

36-12-30

WE WERE SURE THE RUSSIANS HAD STARTED THE KOREAN UPRISING, WERE FURNISHING ARMS AND READY TO MARCH TO WAR. HENRY WALLACE ACTUALLY SAW THEM AND RAN BACKWARD SO FAST THAT HE TRIPPED OVER HIS OWN RESOLUTIONS ~~AND STEPPED ON THE FACES OF HIS FRIENDS.~~ STILL THE SOVIETS DID NOT FIGHT AND BEGAN INSTEAD TO CALL ~~THEXENXXXR~~ FOR WORLD PEACE: FOR UNION AGAINST THE ATOM BOMB: FOR PEACE CONGRESSES. BUT THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT MISLED: NOT THEY. THEY STOPPED THE PEACE APPEAL: THEY PICKED UP AND

JAILED ADVOCATES OF PEACE: THEY BARRED FROM OUR SHORES FOREIGN ADVOCATES OF PEACE EVAN MEN OF THE HIGHEST REPUTATION.

Officials & generals

BEGAN OPENLY TO DECLARE THAT IF THE RUSSIANS WOULD NOT ATTACK US WE WOULD ATTACK THEM TO KEEP THEM FROM ATTACKING US. THE WILD MAN OF TOKYO WHO REMEMBERS SHOOTING DOWN ~~AMERICAN SOLDIERS~~ (WORLD WAR VETERANS) IN WASHINGTON AND WHO HAS JUST TURNED KOREA INTO A STINKING DESERT HAS RECEIVED THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN AUDIENCE, AND WHATEVER THEY TALKED ABOUT, THE RESULT, IF MACARTHUR HAS HIS WAY WAS NOT PEACE NOW OR EVER, UNTIL WE SEIZE CHINA, CONQUER SOUTHEAST ASIA AND DROP ATOM BOMBS ON MOSCOW. MEANTIME WAVE AFTER WAVE OF OUR YOUNG MEN ARE BEING TRAINED FOR MURDER AND CONGRESS IS ON THE VERGE OF CALLING EVERY YOUTH IN THE LAND FOR THIS PURPOSE. WE ARE SET TO "LICK THE WORLD" WITH EISENHOWER AND STASSEN, THE EDUCATORS OF YOUTH: DEWEY AND HANLEY THE NEW STATESMEN: AND HERBERT LAHMAN BEHIND GENERAL ANDERS MAKING OUR FOREIGN INVESTMENT STICK WITH OIL, PLANES, BATTLESHIPS AND

36-12-31

ARTILLERY. WE WILL RESTORE KOREA AND WHEN WE ARE THROUGH RESTORATION WITH TAXES RAISED FROM OUR POOR, LEHMAN BROTHERS AND LIKE INVESTORS WILL OWN EVERYTHING IN KOREA WORTH OWNING AND WILL DRAW FABULOUS PROFITS FROM RISKS THEY NEVER TOOK, WHILE THE KOREANS PAY FOR DEMOCRACY AT FIFTY CENTS A DAY AND NO LAND. THIS IS WHAT EUROPE SEES US SET FOR, IN CONTRADICTION TO EVERYTHING WE ONCE PROFESSED--LIBERTY, FREE SPEECH, TRUTH AND JUSTICE. AND THIS IS WHAT OUR MASTERS WILL LEAD US TO UNLESS YOU INTERVENE: UNLESS RIGHT HERE AND NOW YOU THE VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES SAY NO. ENOUGH OF THIS HYSTERIA, THIS CRAZY FOLLISHNESS.

36-12-32

BUT

~~BET~~ OUR SLOW/STEADY DESCENT INTO BELIEF IN COMPLETE AND UNIVERSAL WAR AND OUR DETERMINATION TO MAKE ALL MEN THINK WHAT SOME BELIEVE IS TRUE, RATHER THAN TO LET THEM EXERCISE THEIR FREE AMERICAN HERITAGE OF CHOOSING TRUCH--THIS LITERAL DESCENT INTO HELL IN OUR DAY AND IN THIS OUR OWN COUNTRY, HAS BEEN SO GRADUAL AND COMPLETE THAT MANY HONEST AMERICANS

CANNOT BELIEVE WHAT THEY ACTUALLY HEAR AND SEE: AND SIT BEWILDERED, RUBBING THEIR EYES IN ORDER TO GET SOME VAGUE CONCEPTION OF WHAT CAN HAVE HAPPENED TO THE LAND WHICH ONCE DECLARED "THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF EVIDENT THAT ALL MEN WERE CREATED EQUAL: THAT THEY WERE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS: THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."

36-12-33

NO AMERICAN BORN BEFORE 1900, COULD POSSIBLY CONCEIVE THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD BECOME A LAND APPROACHING UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE: WITH ITS ARMED FORCES IN EVERY CONTINENT AND ON EVERY SEA, PLEDGED TO CONQUER AND CONTROL MASSES OF MANKIND, ORDER THE THOUGHT AND ACTION AND BELIEF OF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD AND READY TO SPEND FOR THESE OBJECTS MORE MONEY THAN IT EVER SPENT FOR RELIGION, EDUCATION OR SOCIAL UPLIFT ALTOGETHER.

WHEN MEN ARISE AND SAY THIS AND TRY TO PROVE ITS TRUTH, EVERY EFFORT IS MADE BY SECRET POLICE, ORGANIZED SPIES AND HIRED INFORMERS: BY DELIBERATE

SUBVERSION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF OUR LAW, TO IMPRISON, SLANDER AND SILENCE SUCH PERSONS, AND DEPRIVE THEM OF EARNING AN HONEST LIVELIHOOD.

36-12-34

MY PLATFORM THEN, LIKE THE PLATFORM OF EVERY HONEST AMERICAN WHO STILL DARES BELIEVE IN PEACE AND FREEDOM, TAKES ITS UNALTERABLE STAND AGAINST WAR AND SLAVERY. IT WARNS ALL THINKING MEN THAT THE CAUSE OF OUR PRESENT FAILURE AND DISGRACE IS SHEER MASS INSANITY.

THERE WAS A DAY WHEN MOST MEN BELIVED THAT PROGRESS DEPENDED ON WAR: THAT BY WAR AND MAINLY BY WAR HAD MODERN MEN GAINED FREEDOM, RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY. WE BELIEVED THIS BECAUSE WE WERE TAUGHT THIS IN OUR LITERATURE AND SCIENCE, IN CHURCH AND SCHOOL, ON PLATFORM AND IN NEWSPAPER. IT WAS ALWAYS A LIE AND AS WAR HAS BECOME UNIVERSAL AND SO HORRIBLE AND DESTRUCTIVE THAT EVERYBODY RECOGNIZES IT AS MURDER, CRIPPLING, INSANITY AND STARK DEATH OF HUMAN CULTURE, WE REALIZE THAT THERE IS SCARCE A VICTORY FORMERLY CLAIMED BY WAR, WHICH MANKIND MIGHT NOT HAVE GAINED MORE CHEAPLY AND

MORE DECENTLY AND EVEN MORE COMPLETELY BY METHODS OF PEACE. IF THAT WAS TRUE IN THE PAST, IT ~~IS SO CLEAR AND INDUSPUTABLE~~ T DAY THAT NO SANE BEING DENIES IT. AND YET OF ALL NATIONS OF EARTH TODAY THE U ITED STATES ALONE WANTS WAR, PREPARES FOR WAR, FORCES OTHER NATIONS TO FIGHT AND ASKS YOU AND ME TO IMPOVERISH OURSELVES, GIVE UP HEALTH AND SCHOOLS, SACRIFICE OUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS TO A "JIM-CROW" ARMY AND COMMIT SUICIDE FOR A WORLD WAR THAT NOBODY WANTS BUT THE RICH AMERICANS WHO PROFIT BY IT.

36-12-35

IF WAR WERE A MATTER OF CAREFUL STUDY AND GRAVE DECISION: OF PRAYERFUL THOUGHT AND SOLEMN DELIBERATION WE MIGHT TAKE ITS FEARFUL OUTBREAK AS AT LEAST NO MORE THAN HUMAN ERROR, SOON TO BE STOPPED BY DECENCY AND COMMON-SENSE. BUT WHEN DID YOU EVER VOTE FOR WAR? YOU WHO HAVE SPENT MOST OF YOUR LIVES IN A FIGHTING, MURDERING WORLD? WHEN DID YOU EVER HAVE A CHANCE TO DECIDE THIS MATTER OF MAIMING AND MURDER? NEVER! AND YOU NEVER WILL AS LONG AS AN EXECUTIVE OF HIS OWN INITIATIVE CAN START A 'LITTLE POLICE ACTION' WHICH COSTS THE LIVES AND HEALTH OF 30,000 AMERICAN BOYS IN ORDER

THAT BIG BUSINESS CAN INTERFERE WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF ASIA.

36-12-36

THAT THE CIVILIZED WORLD TODAY, NEAR 2000 YEARS AFTER THE BIRTH OF CHRISTIANITY NOT MENTIONING THOSE OLDER AND YOUNGER FAITHS WITH THEIR HIGH HOPES OF REASON AND LOVE OF HUMANITY, THAT THIS WORLD TODAY WITH ALL ITS TRIUMPHS WHICH ONCE WE GREETED WITH SHOUTS OF JOY--THAT THIS WORLD HAS GONE CRAZY, NO SANE MAN CAN FOR A MOMENT DENY.

BUT HE CAN PAUSE AND RESTING A MINUTE FROM HIS ATOM BOMBS, HIS HYDROGEN HORROR, HIS PROPAGANDA OF DISEASE OF BODY AND MIND, HIS MAD DESTRUCTION AND WILD WASTE OF THE WAGES OF THE POOR-PAUSE AND ASK IN THIS ELECTION SEASON, WHY? FOR GODS' SAKE, ~~WHY? WHAT ARE WE YELLING ABOUT?~~ OF WHAT ARE ~~WE~~ THEY IN SUCH DEATHLY FEAR? HAVE WE BEEN INVADED? HAS ANYONE DROPPED AN ATOM BOMB ON US? HAVE WE BEEN IMPOVERISHED OR ENSLAVED BY FOREIGNERS? IS OUR BUSINESS FAILING AND ARE OUR MILLIONAIRES DISAPPEARING? HAS THE RATE OF PROFIT GONE DOWN, IS OUR MACHINERY LESS CUNNING OR OUR

NATURAL RESOURSES DESTROYED BY STRANGERS? IS THERE ANY SIGN THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS VICTIM OR CAN BE VICTIM OF ANY FOREIGN COUNTRY? NO! THEN OF WHAT ARE WE AFRAID AND WHY ARE WE TRYING TO GUARD THE EARTH FROM PACIFIC TO ATLANTIC AND FROM THE NORTH TO THE SOUTH POLE, UNLESS IT BE FROM OURSELVES.

36-12-37

WE ARE AFRAID OF AN IDEA: WE ARE TEMPTED BY A VISION OF POWER WHICH THIS IDEA FIGHTS. THE POWER WE CRAVE LONG MISLED AND SLAUGHTERED THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE AND ASIA, AND NOW INSIDIOULSY CREEPS INTO OUR OWN FEVER-MAD HEADS, AND THAT IS IMPERIALISM--WORLD RULE OVER THE WORLD. ONCE THIS WAS SOUGHT BY BLACK SLAVERY: THEN IT WAS MADE EASY BY YELLOW COOLIES: THEN BY ALL "LESSER BREEDS WITHOUT THE LAW", WHO COULD FURNISH A WHITE MAN'S BURDEN AND LET HIM STRUT OVER THE WORLD AND LORD IT IN ASIA AND AFRICA AND RULE AND RULE WORLD WITHOUT END, FOREVER AND FOREVER. THAT WAS THE VISION OF THE 19th CENTURY. THE FEVER OF IMPERIALISM CAUGHT THE UNITED STATES AS THE 19th CENTURY DIED AND WE CHOKED A FEW ISLANDS OUT OF DYING SPAIN.

BUT THESE WERE BUT SMALL CHANGE WHICH WHETTED OUR APPETITE. WITH THE FIRST WORLD WAR CAME THE VISION OF AM IMPERIAL UNITED STATES AS SUCCESSOR OF THE EMPIRE ON WHICH THE SUN ALREADY SETS, WE RUSHED SO MADLY AT THE SPOILS LEFT BY EUROPEAN EMPIRE THAT WE BROUGHT DOWN OUR WHOLE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM ABOUT OUR OWN EARS.

36-12-38

IT WOULD SEEM THAT THE MEMORY OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF THE THIRTIES WOULD CONVINCE ALL THINKING MEN THAT WAR IS NOT THE PATH TO THE MILLENIUM AND THAT WHAT WE NEED IS REFORM OF OUR OWN SYSTEM OF WORK AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION, BEFORE WE ATTEMPT TO TEACH THE WORLD WHAT TO THINK OR HOW TO LIVE.

INSTEAD OF THAT, WE WERE CONVINCED THAT THE PATH FORWARD WAS BACKWARD TO THE IMPERIALISM WHICH [redacted] HAD JUST FAILED IN EUROPE AND CAUSED THE WORST MODERN CATASTROPHE WHICH WAS THE FIRST WORLD WAR. THEN MEN WHO CONTROLLED THIS

NATION, THROUGH OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL AND CONTROL OF NATURAL RESOURCES NOW ADDED THE VAST POWER OF A PRESS, AND RADIO MONOPOLIZED BY ORGANIZED WEALTH TO CONVINCE AMERICANS THAT RESTORATION OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY DEPENDED ON OUR MASTERY OF THE CHEAP LABOR AND BASIC RAW MATERIAL, OF THE WORLD AND THE DIRECTION OF INDUSTRY IN AFRICA, ASIA AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEAS IN ACCORD WITH OUR SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION.

36-12-39

BUT WHAT BIG BUSINESS IGNORED IN OUR THINKING WAS THAT THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM WHICH WE WERE SEEKING TO RE-INSTALL HAD ALREADY MET A TERRIBLE AND COSTLY REVERSE: THAT MODIFICATIONS OF IMPERIALISM AND MONOPLOY CAPITALISM HAD ALREADY BEEN SUGGESTED AND TRIED. SUCH EFFORTS COMPREHENDED LOOSELY BY THE NAME "SOCIALISM", WERE NOT INVENTED BY RUSSIA NOR FIRST TRIED BY RUSSIA. ON THE CONTRARY, SOCIALISM IS AN ENGLISH, FRENCH AND GERMAN CONCEPTION AND WAS TRIED IN RUSSIA BECAUSE THAT UNHAPPY LAND WAS ONE OF THE LAST AND WORST VICTIMS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

IF TOMORROW RUSSIA DISAPPEARED FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH, THE BASIC PROBLEM FACING THE MODERN WORLD WOULD REMAIN: AND THAT IS: WHY IS IT, WITH THE EARTH'S ABUNDANCE AND OUR MASTERY OF NATURAL FORCES, AND MIRACULOUS TECHNIQUE, WITH OUR COMMERCE BELTING THE EARTH AND GOODS AND SERVICES POURING FROM OUR STORES, FACTORIES, SHIPS AND WAREHOUSES, WHY IS IT THAT NEVERTHELESS MOST HUMAN BEINGS ARE STARVING TO DEATH, DYING OF PREVENTABLE DISEASE AND TOO IGNORANT TO KNOW WHAT IS THE MATTER, WHILE A SMALL MINORITY ARE SO RICH THAT THEY CANNOT SPEND THEIR INCOME?

36-12-40

THAT IS THE PROBLEM WHICH FACES THE WORLD, AND RUSSIA WAS NOT THE FIRST TO POSE IT, NOR WILL SHE BE THE LAST TO ASK AND DEMAND ANSWER. THE 19TH CENTURY SAID THAT THIS SITUATION WAS INEVITABLE AND MUST ALWAYS REMAIN BECAUSE OF THE NATURAL INFERIORITY OF MOST MEN, THE 20TH CENTURY KNOWS BETTER. IT SAYS THAT THERE IS FOOD ENOUGH FOR ALL: THAT CLOTHES AND

SHELTER FOR ALL CAN BE PROVIDED: THAT MOST DISEASE IS PREVENTABLE AND THAT THE OVERWHELMING MASS OF HUMAN BEINGS CAN BE EDUCATED. THAT INTELLIGENCE HEALTH AND DECENT COMFORT ARE NOT ONLY POSSIBLE BUT SHOULD BE DEMANDED, BY ALL MEN PLANNED BY ALL STATES AND MADE INCREASINGLY EFFECTIVE BY ALL VOTERS IN EACH ELECTION.

36-12-41

BUT THE POWERFUL WHO TODAY RULE THE EARTH AND THE FULNESS THEREOF: WHO MONOPOLIZE ITS INDUSTRY AND OWN ITS PRESS AND SCREEN ITS NEWS, HAVE ANOTHER ANSWER: THEY ORDER US TO FIGHT AN IDEA: TO "CONTAIN" AND CRUSH ANY DREAM OF ABOLISHING POVERTY, DISEASE AND IGNORANCE: AND TO DO THIS BY ORGANIZING WAR, MURDER AND DESTRUCTION ON ANY PEOPLE WHO DARE TO TRY TO PLAN PLENTY FOR ALL MANKIND. FROM THE 19th CENTURY THEY ATTEMPT TO TAKE OVER IMPERIALISM TO BRIBE THE WORKERS AND THINKERS OF THE MOST POWERFUL COUNTRIES BY HIGH WAGE AND PRIVILEGE TO BUILD A FALSE AND DISHONEST PROSPERITY ON THE SLAVERY AND DEGRADATION--THE LOW WAGE AND DISEASE OF AFRICA AND

ASIA AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA, AND TO PAY THE PRICE FOR THIS THEY DEMAND THAT YOU, YOUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS IN ENDLESS STREAM BE MURDERED AND CRIPPLED IN ENDLESS WARS, SO THAT THE PROFITS OF EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN BUSINESS MAY MOUNT TO FABULOUS SUMS, WHILE TAXATION IS LAID ON WASHERWOMEN AND LABORERS: ON CLERKS AND STENOGRAPHERS, WHILE MILLIONAIRES AND RICH CORPORATION AVOID ALL REAL BURDERN.

36-12-42

THIS IS WHY WE ARE FIGHTING OR PREPARING TO FIGHT IN EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA--NOT AGAINST AN ENEMY BUT AGAINST THE IDEA--AGAINST THE RISING DEMAND OF THE WORKING CLASSES OF THE WORLD FOR BETTER WAGE, DECENT HOUSING, REGULAR EMPLOYMENT, MEDICAL SERVICE AND SCHOOLS FOR ALL.

IT DOES NOT ANSWER THIS WORLD-WIDE DEMAND TO SAY THAT WE OF AMERICA HAVE THESE THINGS IN GREATER ABUNDANCE THAN THE REST OF THE WORLD. IF OUR PROSPERITY IS BASED OR SEEKS TO BASE ITSELF ON THE EXPLOITATION AND DEGRADATION OF THE REST OF MANKIND. REMEMBER IT IS AMERICAN MONEY

THAT OWNS MORE AND MORE OF SOUTH AFRICAN MINES WORKED BY SLAVE LABOR: IT IS AMERICAN ENTERPRISE THAT FATTENS OFF OF RHODESIAN COPPER. IT IS AMERICAN INEVSTORS THAT SEEK TO DOMINATE CHINA, INDIA, KOREA AND BURMA: THAT ARE THROTTLING THE STARVED WORKERS OF THE NEAR EAST.

36-12-43

WE WERE AT WAR YESTERDAY: WE ARE AT WAR TODAY: WE WILL BE AT WAR TOMORROW BECAUSE BIG BUSINESS WANTS WAR AND BUILDS ITS PROFITS, DIRECT AND INDIRECT ON WAR, ON THE ATTEMPT TO MURDER ALL WHO WANT PEACE AND ABUNDANCE.

YET IS IT NOT CLEAR THAT SUCH A PROGRAM IS SHEER INSANITY? THAT NO NATION, HOWEVER RICH AND SMART CAN CONQUER THIS WORLD? HAVE NOT EGYPT, ASSYRIA, GREECE, ROME, BRITAIN AND GERMANY TAUGHT US THIS? AND ALSO THAT NO IDEA BASED ON TRUTH AND RIGHTEOUSNESS CAN ULTIMATELY BE SUPPRESSED BY FORCE AND MURDER?

THE WORLD WANTS PEACE. IT MUST HAVE PEACE OR CIVILIZATION WILL DIE. EVERYTHING THAT WAR BY ANY IMAGINATION COULD POSSIBLY GAIN FOR MANKIND HAS BEEN SOUGHT BY THREE WARS OF SUCH COLLOSAL COST IN DEATH AND DESTRUCTION

THAT EVERY SANE SOUL IS SIMPLY APPALLED BY THE RESULT. YET WE ARE NOT ONLY ARMING FOR MORE AND GREATER WAR BUT DRIVEN BY THE FURIES ARE TRYING TO SHUT THE MOUTHS AND STIFLE THE CONSCIENCES OF ALL OR ANY WHO DARE SPEAK FOR PEACE.

36-12-44

I NEVER THOUGHT I WOULD LIVE TO SEE THE DAY THAT FREE SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF OPINION WOULD BE SO THROTTLED IN THE UNITED STATES AS IT IS TODAY. TODAY IN THIS FREE COUNTRY, NO MAN CAN BE SURE OF EARNING A LIVING OF ESCAPING SLANDER AND PERSONAL VIOLENCE: OR EVEN OF KEEPING OUT OF JAIL UNLESS PUBLICLY AND REPEATEDLY HE PROCLAIMS:

THAT HE HATES RUSSIA

THAT HE OPPOSES SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

THAT HE SUPPORTS WHOLEHEARTEDLY THE WAR IN KOREA

THAT HE IS READY TO SPEND ANY AMOUNT FOR FURTHER WAR ANYWHERE OR AT ANYTIME.

THAT HE IS READY TO FIGHT THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA AND ANY OTHER COUNTRY.

THAT HE BELIEVES IN THE USE OF THE ATOM BOMB OR ANY OTHER WEAPON OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND REGARDS ANYONE WHO IS OPPOSED AS A TRAITOR.

THAT HE NOT ONLY BELIEVES IN AND CONSENTS TO ALL THESE THINGS, BUT IS WILLING TO SPY ON HIS NEIGHBORS AND DENOUNCE THEM IF THEY DO NOT BELIEVE AS HE DOES.

36-12-45

THE MERE STATEMENT OF THIS CREED SHOWS ITS ABSOLUTE INSANITY. WHAT CAN BE DONE TO BRING THIS NATION TO ITS SENSES? MOST PEOPLE ANSWER: NOTHING: JUST SIT STILL: BEND TO THE STORM: IF NECESSARY, LIE AND JOIN THE WITCH-HUNT SWEAR TO GOD THAT NEVER, NEVER DID YOU EVER SYMPATHIZE WITH THE RUSSIAN PEASANTS FIGHT TO BE FREE: THAT YOU NEVER IN YOUR LIFE BELONGED TO A LIBERAL ORGANIZATION OR HAD A FRIEND WHO DID: AND IF SO, YOU WERE DECEIVED, DELUDED AND A DAMNED FOOL.

BUT THERE ARE OTHERS WHO SAY: WE CAN DO SOMETHING: THAT AMERICA NEEDS NO MORE COWARDS AND LIARS. IT NEEDS HONEST MEN AND THAT HONEST

CITIZENS WHO ARE MISTAKEN ARE INFINITELY MORE PATRIOTIC THAN SCOUNDRELS WHO FOLLOW THE HERD.

36-12-46

WE STILL HAVE ELECTION AND WE STILL HAVE A SECRET BALLOT. IF YOU DO NOT WANT WAR, VOTE FOR MEN WHO WILL STOP IT. IF YOU WANT THE BILL OF RIGHTS RESTORED TO THE CONSTITUTION YOU HAVE THE LEGAL RIGHT TO SAY SO. IN THIS DEMOCRACY, YOU STILL RETAIN THE RIGHT TO HELP ELECT YOUR LAWMAKERS AND EXECUTIVES. IF YOU FAIL TO EXERCISE THIS RIGHT, YOU WILL SUFFER AND YOU OUGHT TO SUFFER. TODAY THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT CRAZY, DO NOT WANT WAR. MOST AMERICANS HATE THE CURRENT WITCH-HUNT. THE ONLY WAY TO OPPOSE WAR AND THE DEATH OF CIVIL LIBERTY IS TO ELECT OFFICIALS WHO AGREE WITH YOU.

WHEN I ASK FOR YOUR VOTE BELIEVE ME IT IS FOR NO PERSONAL REASONS. I DO NOT WANT TO LIVE IN WASHINGTON. I HATE THAT PROVINCIAL, "JIM-CROW"

36-12-47

CENTER OF POLITICAL LOBBYING. BUT YOU NEED TO BE REPRESENTED THERE AND BY SOMEONE WHO WILL UPHOLD THE HANDS OF THAT MAN OF INTEGRITY, INTELLIGENCE AND GUTS, MARCANTONIO, WHO TODAY FIGHTS IN CONGRESS ALMOST SINGLE-HANDED FOR A DECENT UNITED STATES. I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THE HONOR OF STANDING BEHIND HIM BECAUSE LIKE HIM, I WANT PROGRESS: I WANT EDUCATION: I WANT SOCIAL MEDICINE: I WANT A LIVING WAGE AND OLD AGE SECURITY: I WANT EM-PLOYMENT PLOYMENT FOR ALL AND RELIEF FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND SICK: I WANT PUBLIC WORKS, PUBLIC SERVICES AND PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS: AND BECAUSE I KNOW AND YOU KNOW THAT WE CANNOT HAVE THESE THINGS AND AT THE SAME TIME FIGHT DESTROY AND KILL ALL AROUND THE WORLD IN ORDER TO MAKE HUGE PROFIT FOR BIG BUSINESS, FOR THAT REASON, I TAKE MY STAND BESIDE THE MILLIONS IN EVERY NATION AND CONTINENT AND CRY PEACE--NO MORE WAR! NO MORE RULE OF BRASS HATS IN OUR GOVERNMENT. LET US STOP THE ANTICS OF THE WILD MAN OF TOKYO, WHO IS DETERMINED OF HIS OWN WILL TO FIGHT CHINA AND RUSSIA AND OF EISENHOWER

36-12-48

WHO DECLARES OPENLY IN PUBLIC HEARING: "WE CAN LICK THE WORLD." AND SNEERS AT SOCIAL SECURITY AS BELONGING TO JAIL-BIRDS.

THIS IS THE MUDDLED WORLD IN WHICH WE FIND OURSELVES TODAY. ITS BASIC PROBLEMS OF PROPERTY, WAGE, POWER AND PRIVILEGE ARE INCREASINGLY CLEAR: THE ANSWER TO THESE PROBLEMS IS NOT WAR: AND THE INTERESTS INVOLVED ARE NOT SIMPLY THE INTERESTS OF THE RICH, NOR OF INDUSTRY IN ITSELF. A NEW ERA OF POWER, HELD AND EXERCISED BY THE WORKING CLASSES THE WORLD OVER, IS DAWNING AND WHILE ITS EVENTUAL FORM IS NOT YET CLEAR, ITS PROGRESS CANNOT BE HELD BACK BY ANY POWER OF MAN.

35-6-162

alone wants war, prepares for war, forces other nations to fight and asks you and me to impoverish ourselves, give up health and schools, sacrifice our sons and daughters to a Jim-crow army and comm t suicide for a world war that nobody wants but the rich Americans who profit by it.

If war were a matter of careful study and grave decision; of prayerful thought and solem deliberation we might take its fearful outbreak as at least no more than human error, soon to be stopped by decency and commonsense. But when did you ever vote for war? You who have spent most of your lives in a fighting, murdering world? When did you ever have a chance to decide this matter of maiming and murder? Never! And you neverwill as long as an executive on his own initiative can start a little 'police action' which costs the lives and health of 20,000 American boys in order that big business can interfere into the governments of Asia and reap millions.

35-6-163

This is the muddled world in which we find outselves today. Its basic problems of property, wage, power and privilege are increasingly clear: the answer to these problems is not war: and the interests involved are not simply nor mainly the interests of the rich, nor of industry in itself. A new era of power, held and exercised by the working classes the world over, is dawning and while its eventual form is not yet clear, its progress cannot be held back by any power of man.

35-6-167

35-6-166

I want progress: I want education: I want social medicine: I want a living wage and old age security: I want employment for all and relief for the unemployed and sick: I want public works, public services and public improvements: and because I know and you know that we cannot have these things and at the same time fight, destroy and kill all around the workd in order to make huge profit for big business, for that reason, I take my stand beside the millions in every nation and continent and cry Peace--No more war! No more rule of Brass hats in our government. Let us stop the antics of the wild man of Tokio, who is determined of his own will to fight China and Russia and of Eisenhower who declares openly in public hearing "We can lick the world." and sneers at Social Security as belonging to Karl Marx

35-6-161

There was a day when most men believed that progress depended on war: that by war and mainly by war had modern men gained freedom, religion and democracy We believed this because we were taught this in our literature and science, in church and school, on platform and in newspaper. It was always a lie and as war has become universal and so horrible and destructive that everybody recognizes it as murder, crippling, insanity and stark death of human culture, we realize that there is scare a victory formerly claimed by war, which mankind might not have gained more cheaply and more decently and even more completely by methods of peace. If that was true in the past, it is so clear and indisputable today that no sane being denies it. And yet of all nations of earth today the United States

WILFULLY DISTORTING THE WORD/ HE ONCE GAVE TO THE POOR/ "COME UNTO ME ALL YE THAT LABOR AND ARE HEAVY-LADEN AND I WILL GIVE YOU WAR."

35-6-57

C

THERE WAS A DAY/ WHEN MOST MEN BELIEVED/ THAT PROGRESS DEPENDED ON WAR: THAT BY WAR /AND MAINLY BY WAR/ HAD MODERN MEN GAINED FREEDOM,/ RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY.// WE BELIEVED THIS/ BECAUSE WE WERE TAUGHT THIS/ IN OUR/ LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.// IN CHURCH AND SCHOOL,/ ON PLATFORM AND IN NEWSPAPER.// IT WAS ALWAYS A LIE/ AND AS WAR HAS BECOME UNIVERSAL/ AND SO HORRIBLE AND DESTRUCTIVE/ THAT EVERYBODY RECOGNIZES IT/ AS MURDER, CRIPPLING, INSANITY/ AND STARK DEATH OF HUMAN CULTURE.// WE REALIZE THAT THERE IS SCARCE A VICTORY/ FORMERLY CLAIMED BY WAR,/ WHICH MANKIND MIGHT NOT HAVE GAINED/ MORE CHEAPLY AND MORE DECENTLY/ AND EVEN MORE COMPLETELY/ BY METHODS OF PEACE.// IF THAT WAS TRUE IN THE PAST, IT IS SO CLEAR/ AND INDISPUTABLE TODAY/ THAT NO SANE BEING DENIES IT.// AND YET OF ALL NATIONS OF EARTH TODAY/ THE UNITED STATES ALONE WANTS WAR,/ PREPARES

FOR WAR,/ FORCES OTHER NATIONS TO FIGHT/ AND ASKS YOU AND ME/ TO IMPOVERISH OURSELVES,/ GIVE UP HEALTH AND SCHOOLS,/ SACRIFICE OUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS/ TO A "JIM-CROW" ARMY/ AND COMMIT SUICIDE/ FOR A WORLD WAR/ THAT NOBODY WANTS/ BUT THE RICH AMERICANS WHO PROFIT BY IT.

35-6-58

D

IF WAR/ WERE A MATTER OF CAREFUL STUDY/ AND GRAVE DECISION,// OF PRAYERFUL THOUGHT/ AND SOLEMN DELIBERATION/ WE MIGHT TAKE ITS FEARFUL OURBREAK/ AS AT LEAST NO MORE THAN HUMAN ERROR,/ SOON TO BE STOPPED BY DECENCY AND COMMONSENSE.// BUT WHEN DID YOU EVER VOTE FOR WAR?/ YOU WHO HAVE SPENT/ MOST OF YOUR LIVES/ IN A FIGHTING, MURDERING WORLD?// WHEN DID YOU EVER HAVE A CHANCE/ TO DECIDE THIS MATTER/ OF MAIMING AND MURDER?/ NEVER!/ AND YOU NEVER WILL/ AS LONG AS AN EXECUTIVE/ ON HIS OWN INITIATIVE/ CAN START A LITTLE POLICE ACTION WHICH COSTS THE LIVES AND HEALTH/ OF 20,000 AMERICAN BOYS/ IN ORDER THAT BIG BUSINESS/ CAN INTERFERE/ INTO THE GOVERNMENTS OF ASIA ~~AND REAP MILLIONS~~.

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PROPAGANDA BROADCAST, OCTOBER 26, 1950, WMCA 45-7-38

MOST AMERICANS/ARE PUZZLED AT THE STATE OF MIND/IN THIS NATION TODAY. THEY TRY TO EXPLAIN IT/AS THE USUAL CASE/OF PEOPLE COMING TO KNOW/THE FACTS OF THE WORLD SITUATION/AND REACTING ACCORDINGLY/WITH SYMPTOMS OF ALARM/AND DETERMINATION/TO REPEL EVIL/AT ANY COST.// BUT THIS UNDERSTANDABLE REACTION/DOES NOT SEEM/TO EXPLAIN OUR SITUATION/ADEQUATELY.// THERE IS NO PROOF THAT THE SOVIET UNION/STARTED OR WANTED THE KOREAN WAR/OR FURNISHED SUBSTANTIAL AID/TO NORTH KOREA.// THERE IS NO PROOF/THAT THE SOVIETS HELPED THE CHINESE DRIVE OUT CHIANG KAI-SHEK/OR ARE THE CAUSE OF THE WAR/IN VIET-NAM.// HOWEVER MUCH SOME SUSPECT THAT THESE OCCURRENCES ARE AT LEAST INDIRECTLY CHARGEABLE TO THE SOVIETS, NOTHING THAT CAN FAIRLY BE CALLED PROOF HAS EVER BEEN ADDUCED.

THERE IS OF COURSE/NO DOUBT BUT THAT THE SOVIET UNION/WANTS COMMUNISM TO SPREAD/JUST AS WE WANT/PRIVATE PROFIT/TO DOMINATE.// BUT THE SOVIETS HAVE HELPED THEIR IDEOLOGY/NO MORE THAN WE HAVE/AND FURNISHED LESS ARMS/AND ~~MONEY~~/FOR THIS PURPOSE.// A FAIR CONCLUSION IS/THAT THE KOREAN ADVENTURE/WAS STARTED

--2-- 45-7-39

AGAINST RUSSIAN ADVICE/AND WAS NOT TO THEIR INTEREST/UNLESS THEY PLANNED WORLD WAR/WHICH EVIDENTLY THEY DID NOT.

PUZZLED FOLK THEN/ASK WHY ARE WE SCARED/WHO IS ABOUT TO ATTACK US/AND WHY SHOULD WE ARM OURSELVES/TO THE TEETH/SET OUT TO CONVERT/OUR ECONOMY INTO THE VASTEST WAR MACHINE/IN HISTORY?// THE ANSWER TO THIS/IS THAT OUR PRESENT STATE OF MIND/IS NOT THE USUAL DEVELOPMENT/OF FACT INTO ACTION,// BUT A NEW AND UNUSUAL SITUATION/IN HUMAN HISTORY,/REQUIRING NEW EDUCATION/AND UNDERSTANDING/AND A DIFFERENT SET OF EFFORTS/TO EMANCIPATE OUR MINDS/AND CALM OUR EMOTIONS.//

WHAT WE FACE TODAY/IS NOT TRUTH,/BUT DELIBERATE DISTORTION OF TRUTH/AND FEELING,/AND CONSEQUENT ACTION/BASED ON A HALF-TRUTH OR FALSEHOOD.// THE POSSIBILITY OF THIS/ARISES FROM A RELATIVELY NEW DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE,/THE MEANING OF WHICH HAS NOT YET/SIFTED DOWN TO PUBLIC COMPREHENSION.// ALL MEN TODAY/KNOW WHAT THE SCIENCE OF PHYSICS/HAS DONE TO THE WORLD/AND HOW THROUGH THE MACHINE/IT HAS

CHANGED THE WHOLE COURSE OF OUR CULTURE. // WE ARE BEGINNING TO SEE WHAT CHEMISTRY IS DOING TO OUR EVERY DAY LIFE AND OUR FUTURE PLANS. // BUT FEW PERSONS YET REALIZE WHAT THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF OUR THOUGHT PROCESSES AND EMOTIONS IS DOING FURTHER TO TRANSFORM THE WORLD.

WE BEGAN TO GET SOME INKLING OF THIS WHEN AT THE DAWN OF THE CENTURY THE PUBLIC RELATIONS MAN BEGAN TO APPEAR. // WE AT FIRST LAUGHED AT PSYCHOLOGY IN LABOR RELATIONS AND IN PUBLICITY. // I REMEMBER HOW I AWOKE WHEN WE WANTED TO HOLD THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NAACP IN ATLANTA. // "BUT," SAID EVERYBODY, "WE CAN GET NO PUBLICITY IN THE SOUTHERN PRESS." WE HIRED A PUBLIC RELATIONS MAN AND GOT FRONT PAGE WRITE-UPS IN THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION.

WITH THE FIRST WORLD WAR, WE BEGAN TO USE CAMOUFLAGE AND PROPAGANDA: TO MAKE THINGS LOOK LIKE WHAT THEY WERE NOT, AND TO PERSUADE THE PUBLIC TO DO THINGS THEY WOULD NOT HAVE DONE UNDER ORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES. ~~THE SAME OF [illegible] PUT OVER IN THIS WAY.~~ // BUT IN THESE CASES WE WERE MAINLY

CONCERNED IN REVEALING TRUTH AND MANIPULATING IT TO ENDS WHICH WE WERE CONVINCED WERE JUSTIFIABLE. // HERE LAY THE STRENGTH OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT. SPEAKING STRAIGHT TO THE PEOPLE AND IGNORING PRESS AND PLATFORM, HE TOLD THE NATION WHAT THE FACTS WERE AND WHAT THEY OUGHT TO DO ABOUT THEM. // THE PEOPLE BELIEVED HIM AND PUT OVER THE SOCIALISM OF THE NEW DEAL IN SPITE OF THE SCREAMS AND CURSES OF BIG BUSINESS. // TO THIS DAY, for this reason BIG BUSINESS HATES HIS MEMORY.

BUT EVEN WHILE ROOSEVELT WAS PUTTING OVER THIS APPEAL DIRECT TO THE PEOPLE WITH TRUTH AND A PROGRAM OF ACTION, // IN ANOTHER PART OF THE WORLD A PERVERTED PSYCHOPATH ADOLF HITLER, WAS USING PROPAGANDA WITH A REVERSAL OF TECHNIQUE AND A DIFFERENT OBJECT. // HITLER USED THE LIE INSTEAD OF THE TRUTH AND MADE THE PEOPLE EITHER BELIEVE IT WAS TRUE, OR become SO SCARED THAT THEY DARE NOT DENY IT. // I KNEW GERMANY IN YOUTH AND THEN SAW IT FOR FIVE MONTHS

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45-7-65

1936, WHEN THE HITLER MACHINE HAD GAINED ITS FULL IMPETUS. IT WAS NOT THE SAME LAND. GERMANY BELIEVED THE WORLD WAS ENVIOUS OF HER BECAUSE SHE WAS THE GREATEST PEOPLE ON EARTH; THAT TRAITORS WITHIN WERE BETRAYING HER: THAT RUSSIA MUST BE CONQUERED AND THAT EVENTUALLY GERMANY WAS DESTINED TO RULE THE WORLD.

THEY BELIEVED THIS BECAUSE THEY HAD TO BELIEVE IT; IT WAS BLAZONED IN EVERY NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE; BLARED FROM EVERY RADIO AND PLATFORM; AND ANY-ONE WHO THOUGHT DIFFERENTLY, MUCH LESS VOICED SUCH THOUGHTS WAS IN DANGER OF JAIL OR WORSE. WHEN PEOPLE SPOKE TO EACH OTHER ON THE STREET, THEY FIRST GLANCED OVER THEIR SHOULDER: AND WHEN THEY TALKED FREELY, IT WAS BEHIND CLOSED DOORS, WITH DRAWN CURTAINS AND LOWERED VOICE. AND TO ME IT IS INTERESTING TODAY IN THE UNITED STATES TO SEE THE SAME SYMPTOMS.

YESTERDAY IN AN ELEVATOR A PROMINENT CITIZEN TOLD ME HE HOPED

45-7-66

I WOULD BE ELECTED; BUT BEFORE SAYING IT, HE GLANCED ABOUT, LOWERED HIS VOICE AND PUT HIS HAND TO MY EAR. IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY PEOPLE ARE AFRAID TO TALK, AFRAID TO LISTEN, AFRAID TO READ ANYTHING BUT ORTHODOX AND CERTIFIED PROPAGANDA. THE REASON FOR THIS IS CLEAR; ORGANIZED BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES LOOKS TO FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND TRADE AS SOURCE OF THE WEALTH AND POWER WHICH THEY NOW EXERCISE IN THE WORLD AND EXPECT TO INCREASE TO ALL-EMBRACING AREAS TOMORROW. TO CONVINCE THE VOTERS THAT THIS IS NCESSARY, AND ADVANTAGEOUS TO ALL, THEY HAVE ORGANIZED TO CONTROL OUR CHANCE TO KNOW THE FACTS. THEY HAVE BOUGHT UP THE MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS; THEY CONTROL THE RADIO: YOU CANNOT GET A COMMENTATOR ON WORLD NEWS ON THE RADIO TODAY UNLESS HE IS SELECTED AND PAID BY A MANUFACTURER OF HAIR OIL OR CIGARETTES OR SOME PROFIT-MAKING ARTICLE AND UNLESS THIS SAME BUSINESS MAN CENSORS EVERY WORD THE COMMENTATOR UTTERS; [redacted]

Stet

45-7-67

TALK AND PICK A STOOGE TO REPRESENT THE OPPOSITION.

OUR WORLD NEWS GATHERERS, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, SCREEN OUT AND SUPPRESS NEWS OR SLANT IT ACCORDING TO EDITORIAL DIRECTION. A NEW MORALITY HAS GRIPPED OUR REPORTERS AND COLUMNISTS. THEY WRITE NOT WHAT THEY THINK BUT WHAT THEY ARE TOLD TO WRITE AND THIS IS RECOGNIZED NEWSPAPER ETHICS. JUST AS GHOST WRITING FOR ILLITERATE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY IS ACCEPTED AS NORMAL PROCEDURE WITHOUT QUESTION. THE NET RESULT TODAY IS CLEAR: THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ~~BELIEVE~~ IS NOT GETTING THE TRUTH NOR IS IT ALLOWED TO GET IT. WE GET SUCH NEWS AND PICTURES, SUCH MOVIES AND TELEVISION AS THE OWNERS OF ORGANIZED INDUSTRY WANT US TO GET.

Slel

WE ~~BELIEVE~~ ARE TOLD THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS A SLAVE STATE; THAT THE BALKANS ARE IN MISERY AND INCIPIENT REBELLION; THAT COMMUNISM IS SET TO CONQUER THE WORLD BY FORCE; THAT SOCIALISM IS EVERYWHERE FAILING. WE RECEIVE AS GOSPEL THE TALES OF EVERY DISPOSSESSED LANDLORD FROM POLAND; OF EVERY OUSTED PROFITEER FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA OR BULGARIA; OF EVERY SPY OF INFORMER ~~THAT~~ WHO WILL

45-7-68

TAKE OUR BRIBES. PARTICULARLY HAVE WE PUT FORTH EVERY EFFORT TO MAKE THE VERY NAME COMMUNIST ODIOUS, CONNOTING EVERY VILLIANY SO THAT ~~IT~~ the world HAS ONLY TO BE ~~RAISED~~ spoken TO INSPIRE FEAR AND HATRED. EMPLOYERS USING WELL-KNOWN TECHNIQUE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN TURNING THE ENERGIES OF TRADES UNIONS TOWARD INTERNAL BICKERING INSTEAD OF UNITED EFFORT FOR LABOR UPLIFT. SO THAT TODAY WILLIAM GREEN AND PHIL MURRAY ARE WASTING THEIR STRENGTH IN DRIVING THE MOST INTELLIGENT AND COURAGEOUS OF THEIR FOLLOWERS OUT OF THEIR RANKS AND BRANDING THEM AS TRAITORS.

YEARS AGO A GREAT PHILOSOPHER SAID THAT PATRIOTISM WAS THE LAST REFUGE OF SCOUNDRELS. SO TODAY WITH HURRAH AND FREEDOM BELLS AND $5,000 A PAGE ADVERTISEMENTS, PAID PROPAGANDA HAS THE NATION IN DITHERS. THE TRUTH IS HIDDEN AND UNATTAINABLE. "EVERY LOYAL AMERICAN DESPISES A COMMUNIST," SHRIEKS THE NEW REPUBLIC WHICH WAS FOUNDED BY A CLASSMATE OF MINE WHO TODAY WOULD

Slel

Stal

TURN IN HIS GRAVE IF HE COULD READ THE DEPTHS TO WHICH A SO-CALLED LIBERAL JOURNAL COULD DESCEND.

FEW SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES DARE TEACH ECONOMICS, OR EVEN MENTION KARL MARX WHOSE INFLUENCE ON THE MODERN WORLD EXCEEDS THAT OF ANY OTHER STUDENT OF INDUSTRY; MANY LIBRARIES HIDE MOST OF THE BEST LITERATURE OF THE WORLD ON WORK AND WAGE LEST THEY BE ACCUSED OF SPREADING SOCIALISM. FEW COLLEGE PLATFORMS OR EVEN CAMPUSES DARE INVITED REAL DISCUSSION OF CURRENT ISSUES AND NO STUDENT WOULD BETTER PRESS INCONVENIENT QUESTIONS.

Stal

NO BOOK TODAY CAN FIND PUBLICATION THAT DOES NOT DAMN COMMUNISM. I OFFERED TO A PROMINENT FIRM A BOOK BASED ON THREE VISITS TO RUSSIA IN A QUARTER OF A CENTURY AND CAREFUL COMPARISON OF THE SOVIETS AND AMERICA. IT CAME BACK WITHIN A WEEK. IF I HAD SLANDERED RUSSIA AND LIED MY WORK WOULD NOW BE IN PRINT.

ALL CHILDREN MUST LEARN THAT "GOD'S COUNTRY" WAS ALWAYS RIGHT AND NEVER

WRONG; THAT WE NEVER ENSLAVED HUMAN BEINGS BUT ONLY EMANCIPATED THEM MAGNANIMOUSLY; AND THESE CHILDREN TODAY BY THOUSANDS SPEND PRECIOUS TIME CRAWLING UNDER DESKS TO TRAIN THEMSELVES TO ESCAPE RUSSIAN BOMBS.

Stal

OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IS STEADILY DETERIORATING AND IS INFERIOR TO THE SYSTEMS OF LEADING CIVILIZED LANDS. SO THAT THE RECRUITS FOR OUR WORLD FIGHTING ARE OFTEN ILLITERATE AND INCOMPETENT. OUR COLLEGES ARE FILLING WITH STUDENTS WHO CANNOT PROPERTY READ AND WRITE. THE GLORIOUS VOICE OF PAUL ROBESON CANNOT BE HEARD IN AMERICA BECAUSE HE LOVES RUSSIA AND CANNOT BE HEARD IN EUROPE BECAUSE HE KNOWS AMERICA.

ANY ATTEMPT ON THE PART OF THE CURIOUS OR THE HONEST TO GET A MORE COMPLETE PICTURE IS STOPPED BY THREATS, BY LOSS OF FRIENDS AND SOCIAL STATUS, OR LOSS OF JOBS IF NOT BY JAIL. WE COMPLAIN THAT WE ARE NOT ALLOWED TO MAKE INVESTIGATION BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN; YET LAST YEAR WHEN THE SOVIET UNION

INVITED 25 PROMINENT AMERICAN LIBERALS/TO ATTEND A PEACE CONGRESS IN MOSCOW./ ONLY ONE DARED ACCEPT.// (TO ENFORCE AND STRENGTHEN THIS COMPULSION/COMES THE DOUBLE-TALK:// GENERAL CLAY OF GEORGIA,/ KNOWN FAVORABLY BY ILSE KOCH,/ WHO MADE LAMPSHADES/OF THE SKIN OF JEWS/-- GENERAL CLAY/IS NOW HEAD OF A "FREEDOM CRUSADE:"/HE HAS ALSO JUST BEEN ELECTED/DIRECTOR OF LEHMAN BROTHERS,/ A FIRM WHICH DEALS IN FOREIGN INVESTMENT/ IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND THE CARIBBEAN/ AND SOUTH AMERICA/ AND WHOSE FORMER PARTNER, SENATOR LEHMAN/ IS SET TO SUPPORT ALL-OUT WAR/TO PROTECT INVESTMENT.// BACK OF THIS FREEDOM/LIE THE RICH MINERAL RESOURCES OF KOREA, OF WHICH JOHN FOSTER DULLES/IS NOT UNAWARE.

BUT THE GREATEST DISASTER/TO TRUTH AND PEACE/IS WHAT WE MAY CALL THE TRUMAN RUN-AROUND.// A TECHNIQUE/WHICH ENGINEERED THE COMPROMISE OF 1950/ IN REMINISCENCE/OF THE SLAVERY COMPROMISE OF 1850/AND ALLIED TO THE OLD (Ital) AND NEW MISSOURI COMPROMISE.// THE TRUMAN COMPROMISE IS CLEVER./MR. TRUMAN (Ital)

MAKES A STATEMENT ON A POLICY:// THE STATEMENT AVOIDS THE DOUBLE-TALK/OF THE OLDER POLITICIANS/AND SOUNDS LIKE THE FRANKNESS OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT.// THEN TRUMAN ARRANGES/THAT ANY AND ALL OPPONENTS/OF THIS POLICY/SHALL HAVE EVERY FACILITY/ TO DEFEAT IT/WITHOUT FEAR OF ANY ENMITY/OR REPRISAL ON HIS PART/OR HIS ADMINISTRATION.// AFTER THAT MR. TRUMAN GOES FISHING.

THE PRESIDENT/IS THE ONLY MAN IN AMERICA/WHO CAN BY-PASS THE PRESS/AND GO DIRECTLY TO THE PEOPLE.// HIS POWER OF APPOINTMENT AND RECOGNITION/IS IMMENSE./ Yet TRUMAN HAS DELIBERATELY/REFUSED TO USE HIS POWER/TO SUPPORT HIS PROPOSED LEGISLATION.// NO ONE SUFFERS FROM OPPOSING HIS PROGRAM.// WITH THIS TECHNIQUE, MR. TRUMAN HAS ADVOCATED AND DEFEATED/CIVIL RIGHTS,/ANTI-LYNCHING/AND ANTI-POLL TAX,/THE FEPC,/THE SENATE CLOSURE,/THE REPEAL OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT,/ OUR POLICY IN CHINA AND FORMOSA,/ THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HIM AND McARTHUR/AND THE McCARRAN ACT.// HE COMES OUT OF EACH FRAY/WITH JUSTICE DEFEATED/AND THE

TRUMAN PRESTIGE INTACT.// THERE HE STANDS PROUDLY/FOR BOTH PEACE AND WAR. // HIS FOLLOWERS/IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY/AND HIS REPUBLICAN ALLIES/ARE UNITED IN DECEIVING THE NATION/AS TO THE WORLD SITUATION.

THERE IS NO THREAT/OF ATTACK ON AMERICA.// THERE IS NO CALL FOR WAR/NOR FOR ALL-OUT PREPARATION FOR WAR;// WE ARE NOT THE ENVIED OF ALL PEOPLE,/ BUT ON THE CONTRARY/ARE HATED AND FEARED/BY THE MAJORITY/OF THE DECENT CITIZENS OF CIVILIZED LANDS.// THE DANGER WHICH DOES THREATEN US/IS THAT THE WORLD/WILL INCREASINGLY REPUDIATE/THE AMERICAN METHODS OF DOING BUSINESS:// OF EXPLOITING COLONIAL CHEAP LABOR,/OF FILCHING VALUABLE RAW MATERIAL/WITHOUT FAIR RETURN/AND ATTEMPTING TO USE MANKIND/FOR THE BURSTING WEALTH/OF A FEW AMERICAN MILLIONAIRES. THIS DANGER,/ IF YOU CALL IT A DANGER,/ OF INCREASING SOCIALIZATION OF WEALTH/ AND SUBSTITUTION OF PUBLIC WELFARE/FOR PRIVATE PROFIT/IS SPREADING OVER THE WORLD/AND IN THIS NATION TOO/DESPITE THE ANTICS/OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION TRADE UNION./ IF YOU WANT/TO MAKE THIS WORLD TENDENCY/REALIZABLE QUICKLY/AND

WIDELY,/ YOU MUST VOTE/TO OUST FROM POWER/THE TWO OLD PARTIES/WHO ARE OWNED AND DIRECTED/ BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION of Manufacturers AND THE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE/AND WHO ARE USING THE TACTICS OF HITLER/TO PAINT A FALSE PICTURE OF THE WORLD/AND OF THE NECESSITY OF MURDERING/AND MAIMING/ANOTHER GENERATION OF OUR YOUTH.// TURN THESE ADVOCATES OF WAR,/POVERTY AND TAXATION OF THE POOR/OUT OF POWER/AND PUT THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY/AT THE HELM.//WE CAN PROVE TO AMERICA/THAT THE WORLD WANTS PEACE/ AND THAT THE CURRENT HYSTERICS/AND WITCH-HUNTING/ARE UNWORTHY OF A GREAT PEOPLE./ AND WE CAN WARD OFF/ THE CERTAIN COLLAPSE/ OF OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM/WHICH TODAY DEPENDS ON WAR/AND FRANTIC PREPARATION FOR WAR/TO KEEP US FROM AN ECONOMIC DISASTER/WORSE THAN THAT OF THE THIRTIES.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

BROADCAST, OCTOBER 26, 1950

Most Americans are puzzled at the state of mind in this nation today. They try to explain it as the usual case of people coming to know the facts of the world situation and reacting accordingly with symptoms of alarm and determination to repel evil at any cost . But this understandable reaction does not seem to explain our situation adequately: there is no proof that the Soviet Union started or wanted the Korean War or furnished substantial aid to North Korea; there is no proof that the Soviets helped the Chinese drive out Chiang Kai-Shek, or are the cause of the war in Viet-Nam. However much some suspect that these occurences are at least indirectly chargeable to the Soviets, nothing that can fairly be called proof has ever been adduced.

There is of course no doubt but that the Soviet Union wants Communism to spread, just as we want private profit to dominate, but the Soviets have helped their ideology no more than we have and furnished less arms and money for this purpose. A fair conclusion is that the Korean advanture was started against Russian advice and was not to their interest, unless they planned world war which evidently they didn't.

Puzzled folk then ask why are we scared, who is about to attack us, and why should we arm ourselves to the teeth, set out to convert our economy into the vastest war machine in history? The answer to this is, that our present state of mind is not the usual development of fact into action, but a new and unusual situation in human history, requiring new education and understanding and a different set of efforts to emancipate our minds and calm our emotions.

What we face today is not Truth, but deliberate distortion of Truth and Feeling, and consequently action based on falsehood. The possibility of this arises from a relatively new development of Science, the meaning of which has not yet sifted down to public comprehension. All men today know what the Science of Physics has done to the world and how through the machine it has changed the whole course of our culture. We are beginning to see what Chemistry is doing to our every day life and our future plans. But few persons yet

realize what the scientific study of our thought processes and emotions is doing further to transform the world.

We began to get some inkling of this when at the dawn of the century the Public Relations man began to appear. We at first laughed at psychology in Labor Relations and in Publicity. I remember how I awoke when we wanted to hold the annual convention of the NAACP in Atlanta. "But", said everybody, we can get no publicity in the Southern press!" We hired a public relations man and got front page write-ups in the Atlanta Constitution .

35-6-26

With the First World War, we began to use camouflage and propaganda: to make things look like what they were not, and to pursuade the public to do things they would not have done under ordinary circumstances. The sale of Liberty Bonds was put over in this way. But in these cases we were mainly concerned in revealing Truth and manipulating it to ends which we were convinced were justifiable. Here lay the strength of Franklin Roosevelt. Speaking straight to the people and ignoring press and platform, he told the nation what the facts were and what they ought to do about them. The people believed him and put over the Socialism of the New Deal in spite of the Screams and curses of Big Business. To this day, Big Business hates his memory.

But even while Roosevelt was putting over this appeal direct to the people with Truth and a program of action, in another part of the world, a perverted psychopath Adolf Hitler, was using propaganda with a reversal of technique and a different object. Hitler used the Lie instead of the Truth and made the people either believe it was true, or get so scared that they dare not deny it. I knew Germany in youth and then saw it for five months in 1936, when the Hitler machine had gained its full impetus. It was not the same land. Germany believed the world was envious of her because she was the greatest people on earth; that traitors within were betraying her; that Russia must be conquered and that eventually Germany was destined to rule the world.

They believed this because they had to believe it: it was blazoned in every newspaper and magazine; blared from every radio and platform; and anyone who thought differently, much less voiced such thought, was in danger of jail or worse. When people spoke to each other on the street, they first glanced over their shoulder; and when they talked freely, it was behind closed doors, with drawn curtains and lowered voice. And to me it is interesting ~~that~~ today in the United States ~~there are~~ to see the same symptoms.

Yesterday in an elevator a prominent Republican told me he hoped I would be elected; but before saying it, he glanced about, lowered his voice and put his hand to my ear. In the United States today people are afraid to talk, afraid to listen, afraid to read anything but orthodox and certified propaganda. The reason for this is clear: organized business in the United States looks to foreign investment and trade as source of the wealth and power which they now exercise in the world, and expect to increase to all-embracing areas tomorrow. To convince the voters that this is necessary, and advantageous to all, they have organized to control our chance to know the facts. They have bought up the magazines and newspapers; they control the radio: you cannot get a commentator on world news on the radio today, unless he is selected and paid by a manufacturer of hair oil or cigarettes or some profit-making article, and unless this same business-man censors every word the commentator utters; our advertised "Town Halls" permit only one side to talk and pick a stooge to represent the opposition.

Our world news gatherers with few exceptions, ~~screen~~ screen out and suppress news or slant it according to editorial direction. A new morality has gripped our reporters and columnists; they write not what they think but what they are told to write and this is recognized newspaper ethics; just as ghost writing for illiterate govvernment officials and captains of industry is accepted as normal procedure without question. The net result today is clear:

the American public today is not getting the truth nor is it allowed to get it. We get such news and picutres, such movies and television as the owners of organized industry want us to get.

We believe that the Soviet Union is a slave state; that the Balkans are in misery and incipient rebellion; that communism is set to conquer the world by force; that socialism is everywhere failing. We receive as gospel the tales of every dispossessed landlord from Poland; of every ousted profiteer from Czechoslovakia or Bulgaria; of every spy or informer that will take our bribes. Particularly have we put forth every effort to make the very name Communist odious, connoting every villiany, so that it has only to be raised to inspire fear and hatred. Employers using well-known technique have succeeded in turning the energies of trades unions toward internal bickering instead of united effort for labor uplift; so that today William Green and Phil Murray are wasting their strength in driving the most intelligent and courageous of their followers out of their ranks and branding them as traitors.

Years ago a great philosopher said that patriotism was the last refuge of scoundrels; so today with hurrah and freedom bells and $5000 a page advertisements, paid propaganda has the nation in dithers. The truth is hidden and unattainable. "Every loyal American despises a Communist" shreiks the New Republic which was founded by a classmate of mine, who today would turn in his grave if he could read the depths to which a so-called liberal journal could descend.

Our schools and colleges dare not teach economics, dare not even mention Karl Marx whose influence on the modern world exceeds that of any other student of industry; and our libraries hide most of the best literature of the world on work and wage, lest they be accused of spreading socialism. Few college platforms or even campuses dare invite real discussion of current issues and no student would better press inconvenient questions.

No book today can find publication that does not damn Communism. I offered to a prominent firm a book based on three visits to Russia in a quarter of a century and careful comparison of the Soviets and America. It came back within a week. If I had slandered and lied my work would now be in print.

All children must learn that "God's Country" was always right and never wrong; that we never enslaved human beings but only emancipated them magnanimously; and these children today by thousands spend precious time crawling under desks to train themselves to escape Russian bombs.

Our public school system is steadily deteriorating, and is inferior to the systems of leading civilized lands, so that the recruits for our world fighting are largely illiterate and incompetent. ~~Our colleges are filling with students who cannot properly read and write.~~ The glorious voice of Paul Robeson cannot be heard in America because he ~~loved~~ Russia; and ~~cannot be heard in Europe~~ because he knows America

finds things to praise in

finds things to condemn in

Any attempt on the part of the curious or the honest to get a more complete picture is stopped by threats, by loss of friends and social status, or loss of jobs if not by jail. We complain that we are not allowed to make investigation behind the Iron Curtain; yet last year when the Soviet Union invited 25 prominent American Liberals to attend a Peace Congress in Moscow, only ~~25~~ a few dared accept. To enforce and strengthen this compulsion comes the double-talk: General Clay of Georgia, (known favorably by Ilse Koch, who made lampshades of the skin of Jews) General Clay is now head of a "Freedom Crusade;" he has also just been elected director of Lehman Brothers, a firm which deals in foreign investment in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean and South America, and whose former partner, Senator Lehman is set to support all-out war to protect investment. Back of this freedom, lie the rich mineral resources of Korea, of which John Foster Dulles is not unaware.

has been denied a passport to be

But the greatest disaster to Truth and Peace is what we may call the Truman Run-around, a technique which engineered the Compromise of 1950 in reminisence of the Slavery Compromise of 1850 and allied to the old and new Missouri Compromise. The Truman Compromise is clever. Mr. Truman

makes a statement on a policy; the statement avoids the double-talk of the older politicians and sounds like the frankness of Franklin Roosevelt. Then Truman arranges that any and all opponents of this policy shall have every facility to defeat it without fear of any enmity or reprisal on his part or his administration. After that Mr. Truman goes fishing.

The President is the only man in America who can by-pass the press and go directly to the people. His power of appointment and recognition is immense. Truman has deliberately refused to use his power to support his proposed legislation. No one suffers from opposing his program. With this technique, Mr. Truman has advocated and defeated Civil Rights, Anti-Lynching and Anti-Poll Tax, the FEPC, the Senate Closure, the Repeal of the Taft-Hartley act, our policy in China and Formosa, the differences between him and McArthur, and the McCarren Act. He comes out of each fray with justice defeated and the Truman prestige intact. There he stands today proudly for both Peace and War. His followers in the Democratic party and his Republican allies are united in deceiving the nation as to the world situation.

There is no threat of attack on America; there is no call for war nor for all-out preparation for war; we are not the envied of all people, but on the contrary are hated and feared by the majority of the decent citizens of civilized lands. The danger which does threaten us is that the world will increasingly repudiate the American methods of doing business; of exploiting cheap labor, of filching valuable raw material without fair return and attempting to use mankind for the bursting wealth of a few American millionaires. This danger , if you call it a danger, of increasing socialization of wealth and substitution of public welfare for private profit, is spreading over the world and in this nation too, despite the antics of the American Medical ~~Trade Union~~ Association. If you want to make this world tendency relizable quickly and widely, you must vote to oust from power the two old parties, who are owned and directed by the NAM and the Chambers of Commerce, and who are using

35-6-40

the tactics of Hitler to paint a false picture of the world and the necessity of murdering and maiming another generation of our youth. Turn these advocates of war, poverty and taxation of the poor out of power and put the American Labor Party at the helm. We can prove to America that the World wants peace and that the current hysterics and witch-hunting is unworthy of a great people. And we can ward off the certain collapse of our industrial system which today depends on war and frantic preparation for war to keep us from an economic disaster worse than that of the thirties.

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PROPAGANDA

Most Americans are puzzled at the state of mind in this nation today. ~~When~~ They try to explain it as the usual case of people coming to know the facts of the world situation and reacting accordingly with symptons of alarm and determination to repel evil at any cost. But this understandable reaction does not seem to explain our ~~the~~ situation adequately: there is no proof that the Soviet Union started or wanted the Korean War or furnished substantial aid to North Korea; there is no proof that the Soviets helped the Chinese drive out Chiang kai Shek; or is the cause of the war in Viet-Nam. ~~Many~~ Human much some suspect that these occurences are at least indirectly ~~if not directly~~ chargeable to the Soviets, ~~but~~ nothing that can fairly be called proof has ever been adduced. Puzzled folk then ask Why are we scared, who is about to attack us, and why should we arm ourselves to the teeth, ~~and~~ set out to convert our economy into the vastest war machine in history? ~~Will we ever?~~

The answer to this is that our present state of mind is not the usual development of fact into action, but a new and unusual situation in human history, requiring new education and understanding and a different set of efforts to emancipate our minds and calm our emotions. What we face today is not Truth, but deliberate distortion of Truth and feeling and consequent action based on a falsehood. The possibility of this arises from a relatively new development of Science , the meaning of which has not yet sifted down to public comprehension. All men today know what the Science of Physics has done to the world through the machine and how it has changed the whole course of our ~~thought and action~~ culture. We are beginning to see what Chemistry is doing to our every day ~~thought~~ life and our future plans. But few persons yet realize what the scientific study of our thought processes and emotions is doing, further to transfrom the world. We ~~get~~ began to get some inkling of this when at the dawn of the century the Public Relations man began to appear. We at first laughed at psychology in Labor relations and in publicity. I remember how I awoke when we wanted to hold the annual convention of the NAACP in Alanta. "But" said everybody, we can get no publicity in the Southern press. We hired a public relations man and got front page write-ups on the Atlanta Constitution. With the First World War, we began to use camouflage and propagnda: to make things look like what they were not, and to pursuade the public to do things they would not have done under ordinary circumstances. The sale of Liberty Bonds was put over in this way. But in these cases we were mainly concerned in revealing Truth and manipulating it to ends which we were convinced were justifiable. Here lay the strength of Franlin Roosevelt. Speaking straight to the people and ignoring press and platform he told the nation what the facts were and what they ought to do about them. The people believed him and put over the socialism of the New Deal in spite of the screams and curses of Big Business. To this day Big Business hates his memory

35-4-167

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35-4-168

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35-4169

~~Just as~~ Years ago a great philosopher said that patriotism was the last refuge of scoundrels, so today with hurrah and freedom bells and $5000 a page advertisements, paid propaganda has the nation in dithers. The truth is hidden and unattainable. "Every loyal American despises a communist" shrieks the New Republic which was founded by a classmate of mine who today would turn in his grave if he could read the depths to which a so-called liberal journal could descend.

Any attempt on the part of the curious or the honest to get a more complete picture is stopped by threats by ~~being forced into~~ loss of friends or loss of jobs, if not jail. To enforce and strengthen this compulsion comes the ~~runaround~~ double-talk: General Clay of Georgia, known favorably by Ilse Koch, is now head of a ~~Freedom~~ Crusade; he has also just been elected director of Lehman Brothers, which deals in foreign investment in Asia, Africa and South American, and whose former partner, Senator Lehman is set to support all-out war. Back of this lie the rich mineral resourses of Korea, of which John Foster Dulles is not unaware

But the greatest disaster to Truth and Peace is what we may call the Truman Run-around, a technique which engineered the Compromise of 1950 in reminiscence of the Compromise of 1850 and allied to the old and new Missouri Compromise The Truman Compromise is clever. Mr. Truman makes a statement on a policy; the statement avoids the double-talk of the older politicians and ~~resembles the~~ sounds like frankness of Franklin Roosevelt. Then Truman arranges that any and all opponents of this policy shall have every facility to defeat it without fear of any enmity or reprisal ~~from him~~ on his part or his administration. ~~Then~~ After that Mr. Truman goes fishing. With this technique, Mr. Truman has advocated and defeated Civil Rights, the FEPC, the repeal of the Taft-Hartley act, our policy ~~toward~~ in China and Formosa the differences between him and McArthur and the McCarren act. He comes out of each fray with justice defeated and the Truman prestige intact. He stands today proudly for both Peace and War. ~~The~~ His followers ~~of Truman~~ in the Democratic party and his ~~close~~ Republican allies are united in deceiving the nation as to the world situation. There is no threat of attack on America; there is no call for war nor preparation for war; we are not the envied of all people, but on the contrary are hated and feared by the majority of the decent citizens of civilized lands The danger which does threaten us is that the world will increasingly repudiate the American methods of doing business; of exploiting cheap labor, of filching valuable raw material without fair return and attempting to use mankind for the bursting wealth of a few American millionaires. This danger if you call it a danger, of ~~rising~~ increasing socialization of wealth and substitution of public welfare for private profit is spreading over the world and in this nation too despite the antics of the American Medical Trade Union. If you want to make this world tendency realizable quickly and widely, you must vote to oust from power the two old parties who are owned and directed by the NAM and the Chambers of Commerce and who are using the tactics of Hitler to paint a false picture of the world and the necessity of murdering and maiming another generation of our youth. Turn these advocates of war, poverty and taxation of the poor out of power and put the American Labor party at the helm. We

(1)

We complain that we are not allowed to make investigation behind the Iron Curtain; yet last year when the Soviet Union invited 25 prominent American Liberals to attend a Peace Congress in Moscow, only 24 dared accept

The president is the only man in America who can by-pass the press and go directly to the people. His power of appointment and recognition is immense. Truman has deliberately refused to use his power to support his ~~imgi~~ proposed legislation. Noone suffers from opposing his program

(2)

We can prove to America that the World wants peace and that the current hysteri and witch-hunting is unworthy of a great people

And we can ward off the certain collapse of our industrial syatem which today depends on war and frantic preparation for war to keep us from an economic disaster worse than that of the thirties

35-4-171

1 Copied & mailed Dec 10, 1950

MY PLATFORM

by

W. E. B. DUBOIS

Politics

LIKE MOST MEN BORN AND BRED IN THE 19TH CENTURY, I HAVE ALWAYS THOUGHT POLITICS AS CAREER NECESSARY AND IN SOME WAY TO BE FOLLOWED, BUT NOT THE HIGHER SORT OF WORK WHICH A MAN WOULD VOLUNTARILY WANT TO DO. LARGELY THEN I AVOIDED POLITICS AND THIS IS THE FIRST TIME IN MY LIFE THAT I HAVE CONSENTED TO STAND FOR PUBLIC OFFICE. THIS IS BECAUSE IT BECOMES INCREASINGLY CLEAR TO ME THAT THE VERY RECOIL FROM PUBLIC DEFENSE AND PERSONAL ADVOCACY OF THAT WHICH ONE FEELS AND KNOWS IS RIGHT, IS THE REASON FOR THAT SURRENDER OF OUR GOVERNMENT TO MEN WHOSE PRIME INTEREST IS NOT SOCIAL BUT PERSONAL; AND THE DISASTER OF SEEING REPEATEDLY A PEOPLE WHOSE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT REPRESENT EITHER ITS THOUGHT OR DESIRE.

MY STANDING FOR OFFICE THEN, FAR FROM BEING ANY MATTER OF PERSONAL AMBITION, IS RATHER PROOF THAT I AM WILLING TO FORGO MY PREFERENCE IN ORDER TO DISCUSS WITH THE PUBLIC THE SERIOUS OBJECTS OF PUBLIC LIFE AND ACTION. FOR TODAY CURIOUSLY ENOUGH, IT HAS BECOME SUDDENLY IMPOSSIBLE TO EXPRESS PUBLICLY WHAT ONE BELIEVES AND KNOWS, UNLESS ONE TAKES ADVANTAGE OF THE FEW CIVIL RIGHTS REMAINING TO US AND RUNS FOR OFFICE IN ORDER TO TALK FREELY WITHOUT GOING TO JAIL. WHAT I ASK AND PLEAD THEREFORE IN THIS CAMPAIGN, IS THAT YOU VOTE IN THE NEXT CAMPAIGN NOT SIMPLY FOR ME BUT FOR ME AS REPRESENTING THE PRINCIPLES WHICH I AM TRYING TO EMPHASIZE; WITH THE DEEP BELIEF THAT HOWEVER UNIMPORTANT I MAY BE, WHAT I AM SEEKING TO MAKE CLEAR AND STAND FOR IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE TO THE NEGRO RACE IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE FUTURE OF MANKIND. THE TWO PLANKS IN MY PLATFORM ON WHICH I PLACE SUCH FAITH AND EMPHASIS ARE THESE: PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS.

THERE IS THEORETICALLY NOTHING NEW NOR STARTLING IN THESE IDEAS. IN THE DAYS WHEN THIS NATION WAS STILL SANE AND FALTERING TOWARD DEMOCRACY, THE WONDER WAS THAT ANY MAN COULD STAND FOR WORLD WAR AND THE SLAVE STATE. TODAY THIS IS WHAT WE ADVOCATE BY APPARENTLY SUCH OVERWHELMING MAJORITY THAT ANY ADVOCATE OF PEACE IS IN DANGER OF ASSAULT BY MOB AND POLICE AND OUR JAILS ARE INCRESSINGLY FILLING WITH MEN OF EDUCATION AND CONSCIENCE ACCUSED OF NO CRIMINAL ACTS BUT ONLY OF UNPOPULAR THOUGHTS AND ACTION.

Our slow BUT STEADY DESCENT INTO BELIEF IN COMPLETE AND UNIVERSAL WAR AND OUR DETERMINATION TO MAKE MEN THINK WHAT WE BELIEVE IS TRUE, RATHER THAN WHAT THEY IN THEIR FREE AMERICAN HERITAGE REGARD AS TRUTH--THIS LITERAL DESCENT INTO HELL IN OUR DAY AND IN THIS OUR OWN COUNTRY, HAS BEEN SO GRADUAL AND COMPLETE THAT MANY HONEST AMERICANS CANNOT BELIEVE WHAT THEY ACTUALLY HEAR AND SEE: AND SIT BEWILDERED, RUBBING THEIR EYES IN ORDER TO GET SOME VAGUE CONCEPTION OF WHAT CAN HAVE HAPPENED TO THE LAND WHICH ONCE DECLARED "THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF EVIDENT: THAT ALL MEN WERE CREATED EQUAL: THAT THEY WERE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS: THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS." NO AMERICAN BORN BEFORE 1900, COULD POSSIBLE CONCEIVE THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE A LAND APPROACHING UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE: WITH ITS ARMED FORCES IN EVERY CONTINENT AND ON EVERY SEA, PLEDGED TO CONQUER AND CONTROL MASSES OF MANKIND, ORDER THE THOUGHT AND ACTION AND BELIEF OF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD AND READY TO SPEND FOR THESE OBJECTS MORE MONEY THAN IT EVER SPENT

FOR RELIGION, EDUCATION OR SOCIAL UPLIFT ALTOGETHER.

WHEN MEN ARISE AND SAY THIS AND TRY TO PROVE ITS TRUTH, EVERY EFFORT IS MADE BY SECRET POLICE, ORGANIZED SPIES AND HIRED INFORMERS: BY DELIBERABE SUBVERSION OF THE FUNDAMANTAL PRINCIPLES OF OUR LAW, TO IMPRISON MALTREAT, SLANDER AND SILENCE SUCH PERSONS, AND DEPRIVE THEM OF EARNING AN HONEST LIVELIHOOD.

AVOIDING ALL HYSTERIA AND EXAGGERATION, ALL NATURAL INDIGNATION AND INSTINCTIVE DEFENSE OF THE RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH AND HATRED OF THOUGHT CONTROL, IT IS CLEAR TO ALL AMERICANS WHO STILL DARE THINK, THAT MY DESCRIPTION OF THIS AMERICA IS TRUE AND IF TRUE FRIGHTENING TO ALL MEN WHO ONCE THOUGHT OF THIS LAND AS THE LAND OF THE FREE.

MY PLATFORM THEN, LIKE THE PLATFORM OF EVERY HONEST AMERICAN WHO STIL BELIEVES IN PEACE AND FREEDOM, TAKES ITS UNALTERABLE STAND AGAINST WAR AND SLAVERY. IT WARNS ALL THINKING MEN THAT THE CAUSE OF OUR PRESENT

FAILURE AND DISGRACE IS SIMPLE AND SHEER INSANITY. WE HAVE KNOWN INDIVIDUALS TO GO CRAZY. WE HAVE LONG VIEWED THIS AS UNFORTUNATE DISEASE, OR ILLUSION FOSTERED BY MANS' OWN WEAKNESS OR BY THE WICKED PLOTS OF HIS ENEMIES. WE ARE LEARNING ALL TOO SLOWLY HOW TO COPE WITH AND CURE THE INDIVIDUALLY INSANE. BUT MASS INSANITY IS A NEWER THING: TO BE SURE WE HAVE EXPERIENCED IT IN THE RACE HATE OF THE SOUTH, WHICH WE INCREASINGLY RECOGNIZE AS DISTORTED MENTALITY RATHER THAN DELIBERATE WILL TO HARM: AND WHILE THIS DAWNING COMPREHENSION OF ONE OF THE NASTIEST BLOTS ON OUR CULTURE HAS NOT YET CURED IT, IT HAS AT LEAST LET US SEE OUR WAY AND BEGIN TO PLAN THE LONG UP-BUILDING FUTURE. BUT BEFORE WE ARE WELL-STARTED ON THIS PATH TO GOODNESS AND TRUTH, THERE COMES AN INSANITY, A WILD AND CRUEL MADNESS, WHICH ENGULFS THE WORLD, HURLS US INTO PLANNED AND HORRIBLE MURDER CALLS TO ITS ENDS EVERY INGENUITY OF SCIENCE AND EVEN SETS AT ITS HEAD FOLLOWERS OF THAT PRINCE OF PEACE, WHO, [illegible] OUT OF DEGRADATION AND POVERTY TO A WORLD FAR LESS GUILTY THAN OURS, TODAY CRY TO US A DISTORTION OF HIS WORDS: "COME UNTO ME ALL THEM THAT LABOR AND ARE HEAVY LADEN AND I WILL GIVE YOU [illegible]"

THE CIVILIZED WORLD TODAY, NEAR 2000 YEARS AFTER THE BIRTH OF CHRISTIANITY NOT MENTIONING THOSE OLDER AND YOUNGER FAITHS, WITH THEIR HIGH HOPES OF REASON AND LOVE OF HUMANITY--THIS WORLD TODAY WITH ALL ITS TRIUMPHS WHICH ONCE WE GREETED WITH SHRIEKS OF JOY--THIS WORLD HAS GONE CRAZY, AS NO SANE MAN CAN FOR A MOMENT DENY.

BUT WE CAN PAUSE AND RESTING A MINUTE FROM OUR ATOM BOMBS, OUR HYDROGEN HORROR, OUR PROPAGANDA OF DISEASE OF BODY AND MIND, OUR MAD DESTRUCTION AND WILD WASTE OF THE WAGES OF THE POOR--PAUSE AND ASK IN THIS ELECTION SEASON: WHY? FOR GODS' SAKE, WHY? WHAT ARE WE YELLING ABOUT? OF WHAT ARE WE IN DEATHLY FEAR? HAVE WE BEEN INVADED? HAS ANYONE DROPPED AN ATOM BOMB ON US? HAVE WE BEEN IMPOVERISHED OR ENSLAVED BY FOREIGNERS?

IS OUR BUSINESS FAILING AND OUR MIL ICNAIRES DISAPPEARING? HAS THE RATE OF PROFIT GONE DOWN, IS OUR MACHINERY LESS CUNNING OR OUR NATURAL RESOURSES DESTROYED BY STRANGERS? IS THERE ANY SIGN THAT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS VICTIM OR CAN BE VICTIM OF ANY FOREIGN POWER. NO ! THEN OF WHAT ARE WE AFRAID AND WHY ARE WE TRYING TO GUARD THE EARTH FROM PACIFIC TO ATALNTIC AND FROM THE NORTH TO THE SOUTH POLE?, UNLESS IT IS FROM OURSELVES.

An Idea

WE ARE SCARED OF AN IDEA: WE ARE TEMPTED BY A VISION OF POWER WHICH LONG MISLED AND SLAUGHTERED THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE ND ASIA, AND NOW INSIDIOUSLY CREEPS INTO OUR FEVER-MAD HEADS. AND THAT IS IMPERIALISM--WORLD RULE OVER THE WORLD. ONCE IT WAS SOUGHT BY BLACK SLAVERY: THEN IT WAS MADE EASY BY YELLOW COOLIES: THEN IT WAS THE "LESSER BREEDS WITHOUT THE LAW", WHO COULD FURNISH A WHITE MAN'S BURDEN AND LET HIM STRUT OVER THE WORLD AND LORD IT IN ASIA AND AFRICA AND RULE AND RULE, WORLD WITHOUT END, FOREVER AND FOREVER. THAT WAS THE VISION OF THE 19th CENTURY. THE FEVER OF IMPERIALISM CAUGHT THE UNITED STATES AS THE 19th CENTURY DIED AND WE

35-4-573

CHOKED A FEW ISLANDS OUT OF DYING SPAIN. BUT THESE WERE BUT SMALL CHANGE WHICH WHETTED OUR APPETITE. WITH THE FIRST WORLD WAR CAME THE VISION OF AN IMPERIAL UNITED STATES AS SUCCESSOR OF THE EMPIRE ON WHICH THE SUN ALREADY SETS. WE RUSHED SO MADLY AT THE SPOILS LEFT BY EUROPEAN EMPIRES THAT WE BROUGHT DOWN OUR WHOLE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM ABOUT OUR OWN EARS.

Depression

IT WOULD SEEM THAT THE MEMORY OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION OF THE THIRTIES WOULD CONVINCE ALL THINKING MEN THAT WAR IS NOT THE PATH TO THE MILLENIUM AND THAT WHAT WE NEED IS REFORM OF OUR OWN SYSTEM OF WORK AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION, BEFORE WE ATTEMPT TO TEACH THE WORLD WHAT TO THINK OR HOW TO LIVE. INSTEAD OF THAT, WE WERE CONVINCED THAT THE PATH FORWARD WAS BACKWARD TO THE IMPERIALISM WHICH HAD JUST FAILED IN EUROPE AND CAUSED THE WORST MODERN CATASTROPHE WHICH WAS THE FIRST WORLD WAR. THE MEN WHO CONTROLLED THIS NATION, THROUGH OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL, CONTROL OF NATURAL RESOURSES NOW ADDED THE VAST POWER OF A PRESS, AND RADIO MONOPOLIZED BY

ORGANIZED WEALTH TO CONVINCE AMERICANS THAT RESTORATION OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY DEPENDED ON OUR MASTERY OF THE CHEAP LABOR AND NECESSARY RAW MATERIAL OF THE WORLD AND THE DIRECTION OF INDUSTRY IN AFRICA, ASIA AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEAS IN ACCORD WITH OUR SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION.

Socialism

BUT WHAT WE IGNORED IN OUR THINKING WAS NOT ONLY THAT THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM WHICH WE WERE SEEKING TO RE-INSTALL HAD ALREADY MET A TERRIBLE AND COSTLY REVERSE: THAT MODIFICATIONS OF IMPERIALISM AND MONOPOLY CAPITALISM HAD ALREADY BEEN SUGGESTED AND TRIED. SUCH EFFORTS OF VARYING KINDS AND COMPREHENDED LOOSELY BY THE NAME "SOCIALISM", WERE NOT INVENTED BY RUSSIA NOR FIRST TRIED BY RUSSIA. ON THE CONTRARY, SOCIALISM IS AN ENGLISH, FRENCH AND GERMAN CONCEPTION AND WAS FIRST ~~TRIED IN~~ actually established in RUSSIA BECAUSE THAT UNHAPPY LAND WAS ONE OF THE WORST VICTIMS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

35-4-572

IF TOMORROW RUSSIA DISAPPEARED FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH, THE BASIC PROBLEM FACING THE MODERN WORLD WOULD REMAIN: AND THAT IS: WHY IS IT, WITH THE EARTH'S ABUNDANCE AND OUR MASTERY OF NATURAL FORCES, AND MIRACULOUS

45-4-27

TECHNIQUE: WITH INDUSTRY BELTING THE EARTH AND GOODS AND SERVICES POURING FROM OUR STORES, FACTORIES, SHIPS AND WAREHOUSES: WHY IS IT THAT NEVERTHELESS MOST HUMAN BEINGS ARE STARVING TO DEATH, DYING OF PREVENTABLE DISEASE AND TOO IGNORANT TO KNOW WHAT IS THE MATTER: WHILE A SMALL MINORITY ARE SO RICH THAT THEY CANNOT SPEND THEIR INCOME.

Comfort for all

THAT IS THE PROBLEM WHICH FACES THE WORLD, AND RUSSIA WAS NOT THE FIRST TO POSE IT, NOR WILL SHE BE THE LAST TO ASK AND DEMAND ANSWER. THE 19th CENTURY SAID THAT THIS SITUATION WAS INEVITABLE AND MUST ALWAYS REMAIN BECAUSE OF THE NATURAL INFERIORITY OF MOST MEN. THE 20th CENTURY KNOWS BETTER. IT SAYS THAT THERE IS FOOD ENOUGH FOR ALL: THAT CLOTHES AND SHELTER FOR ALL CAN BE PROVIDED: THAT MOST DISEASE IS PREVENTABLE AND THAT THE OVERWHELMING MASS OF HUMAN BEINGS CAN BE EDUCATED. THAT INTELLIGENCE HEALTH AND DECENT COMFORT ARE NOT ONLY POSSIBLE BUT SHOULD BE DEMANDED

BY ALL MEN, PLANNED BY ALL STATES AND MADE INCREASINGLY EFFECTIVE BY ALL VOTERS IN EACH ELECTION.

[illegible] THE POWERFUL WHO TODAY OWN THE EARTH AND THE FULNESS THEREOF: WHO MONOPOLIZE ITS INDUSTRY AND OWN ITS PRESS AND SCREEN ITS NEWS, HAVE ANOTHER ANSWER: THEY ORDER US TO FIGHT AN IDEA: TO "CONTAIN" AND CRUSH ANY DREAM OF ABOLISHING POVERTY, DISEASE AND IGNORANCE: AND TO DO THIS BY ORGANIZING WAR, MURDER AND DESTRUCTION ON ANY PEOPLE WHO DARE TO PLAN PLENTY FOR ALL MANKIND. FROM THE 19th CENTURY THEY ATTEMPT TO TAKE OVER IMPERIALISM TO BRIBE THE WORKERS AND THINKERS OF THE MOST POWERFUL COUNTRIES BY HIGH WAGE AND PRIVILEGE TO BUILD A FALSE AND DISHONEST PROSPERITY ON THE SLAVERY AND DEGRADATION---THE LOW WAGE AND DISEASE OF AFRICA AND ASIA AND THE ISLANDS OF THE SEA, AND TO PAY FOR THIS OFFER THEIR OWN SONS AND DAUGHTERS IN ENDLESS STREAM TO BE MURDERED AND MAIMED IN ENDLESS WARS, SO THAT THE PROFITS OF EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN BUSINESS MAY MOUNT TO FABULOUS SUMS: SO THAT TAXATION MAY BE LAID ON WASHERWOMEN AND LABORERS: ON CLERKS AND STENOGRAPHERS,

WHILE MILLIONAIRES AND RICH CORPORATIONS GO FREE. THIS IS WHY WE ARE FIGHTING OR PREPARING TO FIGHT IN EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA---NOT AGAINST THE COUNTRY, BUT AGAINST THE IDEA--AGAINST THE RISING DEMAND OF THE WORKING CLASSES OF THE WORLD FOR BETTER WAGE, DECENT HOUSING, REGULAR EMPLOYMENT, MEDICAL SERVICE AND SCHOOLS FOR ALL.

IT DOES NOT ANSWER THIS WORLD-WIDE DEMAND TO SAY THAT WE OF AMERICA HAVE THESE THINGS IN GREATER ABUNDANCE THAN THE REST OF THE WORLD, IF OUR PROSPERITY IS BASED OR SEEKS TO BASE ITSELF ON THE EXPLOITATION AND DEGRADATION OF THE REST OF MANKIND. REMEMBER IT IS AMERICAN MONEY THAT OWNS MORE AND MORE OF SOUTH AFRICAN MINES WORKED BY SLAVE LABOR: IT IS AMERICAN ENTERPRISE THAT FATTENS OFF OF RHODESIAN COPPER AND NIGERIAN TIN: IT IS AMERICAN INVESTORS THAT SEEK TO DOMINATE CHINA, INDIA, KOREA AND BURMA: THAT ARE THROTTLING THE STARVED WORKERS OF THE NEAR EAST.

WE WERE AT WAR YESTERDAY: WE ARE AT WAR TODAY: WE WILL BE AT WAR TOMORROW BECAUSE BIG BUSINESS WANTS WAR AND BUILDS ITS PROFITS, DIRECT AND INDIRECT ON WAR, ON THE ATTEMPT TO MURDER ALL WHO WANT PEACE AND ABUNDANCE.

World Conquest

YET IS IT NOT CLEAR THAT SUCH A PROGRAMSIS SHEER INSANITY? THAT NO NATION, HOWEVER RICH AND SMART CAN CONQUER THIS WORLD. HAVE NOT EGYPT ASSYRIA, GREECE, ROME AND BRITAIN TAUGHT US THIS? AND TO THAT NO IDEA BASED ON TRUTH AND RIGHTEOUSNESS CAN ULTIMATELY BE SUPPRESSED BY FORCE AND MURDER?

36-4-569

THE WORLD WANTS PEACE. IT MUST HAVE PEACE OR CIVILIZATION WILL DIE. EVERYTHING THAT WAR BY ANY IMAGINATION COULD POSSIBLE GAIN FOR MANKIND HAS BEEN SOUGHT BY THREE WARS OF SUCH COLLOSAL DEATH, COST AND DESTRUCTION THAT EVERY SANE SOUL IS SIMPLY APPALLED BY THE RESULT. YET WE ARE NOT ONLY ARMING FOR MORE AND GREATER WAR BUT DRIVEN BY THE FURIES ARE TRYING TO SHUT THE MOUTHS AND STIFL THE CONSCIENCES OF ALL OR ANY WHO DARE SPEAK FOR PEACE.

Civil Rights

TO FIGHT THIS OVERTHROWING AND NEGATION OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS IS THE SECOND PLANK OF MY PLATFORM. I NEVER THOUGHT I WOULD LIVE TO SEE THE DAY THAT FREE SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF OPINION WOULD BE SO THROTTLED IN THE UNITED STATES AS IT IS TODAY. TODAY IN THIS FREE COUNTRY, NO MAN CAN BE SURE OF EARNING A LIVING, OF ESCAPING SLANDER AND PERSONAL VIOLENCE: OR EVEN OF KEEPING OUT OF JAIL UNLESS PUBLICLY AND REPEATEDLY HE PROCLAIMS:

> THAT HE HATES RUSSIA
> THAT HE OPPOSES SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM
> THAT HE SUPPORTS WHOLEHEARTEDLY THE WAR IN KOREA
> THAT HE IS READY TO SPEND ANY AMOUNT OF THE NATIONS RESOURSES FOR FURTHER WAR ANYWHERE OR AT ANYTIME
> THAT HE IS READY TO FIGHT THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA AND ANY OTHER COUNTRY.
> THAT HE BELIEVES IN THE USE OF THE ATOM BOMB OR ANY OTHER WEAPON OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND REGARDS ANYONE WHO IS OPPOSED AS A TRAITOR
> THAT HE NOT ONLY BELIEVES IN AND CONSENTS TO ALL THESE THINGS, BUT IS WILLING TO SPY ON HIS NEIGHBORS AND DENOUNCE THEM IF THEY DO NOT BELIEVE AND DO AS HE DOES.

45-4-25

45-4-23

THAT HE IS WILLING THAT ALL SUCH PERSONS SHOULD LOSE THEIR JOBS AND BE IMPRISONED BY EXECUTIVE ACTION AND EVEN WITHOUT TRIAL BY JURY.

Regular Vote

THEREIN STATEMENT OF THIS CREED SHOWS ITS ABSOLUTE INSANITY. WHAT CANB BE DONE TO BRING THIS NATION TO ITS SENSES? MOST PEOPLE ANSWER: NOTHING: JUST SIT STILL: BEND TO THE STORM: IF NECESSARY, LIE AND JOIN THE WITCH-HUNT SWEAR TO GOD THAT NEVER, NEVER DID YOU EVEN SYMPATHIZE WITH THE RUSSIAN PESANTS RIGHT TO BE FREE: THAT YOU NEVER IN YOUR LIFE BELONGED TO A LIBERAL ORGANIZATION OR HAD A FRIEND WHO DID: AND IF SO, YOU WERE DECEIVED, DELUDED AND A DAMNED FOOL.

35-4-567

BUT THERE ARE OTHERS WHO SAY: WE CAN DO SOMETHING: THAT AMERICA NEEDS NO COWARDS AND LIARS. IT NEEDS HONEST MEN AND THAT HONEST CITIZENS WHO ARE MISTAKEN ARE INFINITELY MORE PATRIOTIC THAN SCOUNDRELS WHO FOLLOW THE HERD. WE STILL HAVE ELECTIONS AND WE STILL HAVE A SECRET BALLOT. IF Y U DO NOT WANT WAR. YOU HAVE THE RIGHT AND OPPORTUNITY TO SAY SO AND NO ONE NEED KNOW HOW YOU HAVE VOTED. IF YOU WANT THE BILL OF RIGHTS RESTORED

45-4-29 Oct 27

The Daily to Vote

TO THE CONSTITUTION YOU HAVE THE LEGAL RIGHTTO SAY SO AND SO SECRETLY. IN THIS DEMOCRACY, YOU STILL RETAIN THE RIGHT TO HELP ELECT YOUR LAWMAKERS AND EXECUTIVES. IF Y U FAIL TO EXERCISE THIS RIGHT, YOU WILL SUFFER AND OUGHT TO SUFFER. TODAY THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DO NOT WANT WAR. MOST AMERICANS HATE THE CURRENT WITCHHUNT. THE ONLY WAY TO OPPOSE WAR AND THE DEATH OF CIVIL LIBERTY IS TO ELECT OFFICIALS WHO AGREE WITH YOU.

35-4-574

THE PRESENT SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES IS A WAR MAKING BODY AND A BODY HISTILE TO CIVIL LIBERTIES NOT ONLY IN THE SOUTH BUT IN THIS STATE. YOU HAVE A RIGHT IN NOVEMBER TO HELP CHANGE THE COMPOSITION OF THE SENATE. THE PRESENT SENIOR SENATOR FROM NEW YORK IS A RESPECTABLE BANKER. HE HAS OFTEN AS GOVERNOR AND SENATOR VOTED FOR THE RIGHT. I VOTED FOR HIM LAST YEAR. BUT THIS YEAR THE WHOLE PICTURE OF THE WORLD HAS CHANGED AND SENATOR LEHMAN HAS SUPPORTED OUR WAR PROGRAM AND THE INVASION OF OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES.

AS REPRESENTATIVE OF FINANCE AND INVESTING INTERESTS HE COULD HARDLY DO OTHERWISE. REMEMBER WHAT MODERN INVESTMENT IS: IT IS NOT AS IT ONCE WAS THE LOANING OF YOUR SAVING TO HELP AN ENTERPRISE WHICH YOU KNEW ABOUT AND FOLLOWED: IT IS CONTROLL OF GOODS AND LABOR OVER VAST AREAS AND UNDER CONDITIONS OF WHICH YOU NEITHER KNOW NOR CARE: IT MAY AND OFTEN DOES INVOLVE SLAVERY AND DISEASE, IGNORANCE AND CRUELTY: IT MAY DRIVE WAGES DOWN TO STARVATION, DECIMATE AND RUIN FAMILY AND GROUP LIFE: IT MAY TURN VAST AREAS FROM HAPPY PRIMITIVE LIFE TO CENTERS OF CRIME AND HORROR: BUT IF IT EARNS A PROFIT: IF IT DOES NOT TRANGRESS THE LAWS OF THE COUNTRY WHERE THE INVESTORS LIVE AND LARGELY MAKE THE LAW, THEN IT IS LEGAL, LEGITIMATE AND RESPECTABLE. THIS HAS BEEN THE HISTORY OF MODERN FINANCE AND INVESTMENT ALL OVER THE WORLD. ITS PATH IS MARKED BY BLOOD, WAR IGNORANCE AND THE SUBJECTION OF MOST OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD TO THE COMFORT AND CONVENIENCE OF THE FEW.

THE FIGHT TO CURB UNCONTROLLED INVESTMENT AND EXPLOITATION HAS LONG BEEN AND DIFFICULT BUT HAS HAD MUCH SUCCESS. BUT TODAY AND IN AMERICA IT IS FAILING AND RESULTING IN A PROGRAM OF WORLD WAR. THE OVERWHELMING INFLUENCE AND REPRESENTATION OF FINANCE CAPITAL IN OUR LEGISLATURES, IN THE EXECUTIVE AND ESPECIALLY IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES MUST BE CURBED AND IMMEDIATELY. IT IS TIME THAT SENATOR LEHMAN BE REPLACED BY A MAN WHO IS OPPOSED TO WAR AND WILLING TO FIGHT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES NOT SIMPLY FOR CORPORATIONS BUT FOR THE MASS OF WORKING MAN AND WOMEN.

IT HAS BEEN INTIMATED HOWEVER, THAT MY CANDIDACY IS DESIGNED NOT REALLY TO REPLACE SENATOR LEHMAN BY A MAN WILLING TO FIGHT FOR PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS, BUT RATHER TO ELECT AS SENATOR A MAN EVEN LESS QUALIFIED AND LESS WILLING TO REPRESENT PROGRESSIVE THOUGHT THAN MR. LEHMAN. SO FAR AS I AM CONCERNED PERSONALLY, I HAVE BUT ONE OBJECT IN THIS CAMPAIGN AND THAT IS TO WIN THE ELECTION. IN A LONG LIFE I NEVER HAVE AND NEVER EXPECT TO ACT AS

STOOL PIGEON FOR ANY MAN OR PARTY. I SHALL NOT BEGIN NOW. I K OW THAT EVERY THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT MEETS SUCH ACCUSATIO S, WHICH IF HEEDED WOULD MAKE PROGRESS IMPOSSIBLE. EVERY TIME YOU SUGG ST VOTING AGAINST A DOMINANT PARTY OR A PRESENT OFFICIAL, YOU ARE MET BY THE PREDICTION THAT Y U ARE BOUND TO FAIL. UPON THIS FEAR AND RISK, THE OLD PARTIES RELY TO HOLD THEIR GRAFT AND POWER. TODAY IN THIS STATE AND IN THE NATION THE D MOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES STAND FOR ONE AND THE SAME THING: WAR AND THE SLAVE STATE. THEY CANNOT EVEN PHRASE PLATFORMS THAT SOUND DIFFERENT. THEY CAN ONLY PROMISE TO DO WHAT THE OTHER IS DOING BETTER---OR WORSE. THE NATION FACED THE SAME PREDICAMENT AND PROPHECY IN THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY A CENTURY AGO. YOU MUST VOTE DEMOCRATIC OR WHIG, BECAUSE THE FREE SOIL PARTY HAD NO CHANCE: BECAUSE IF YOU FAILED TO VOTE FOR A D MOCRAT YOU H LP EL CT A WHIG. BUT THAT WAS NOT TRUE AS THE EVENTUAL TRIUMPH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN PROVED. EVERY DEFEAT OF A CANDIDATE FOR A FREE COUNTRY DID NOT MEAN DEFEAT FOR WHAT HE

STANDS FOR.

EVEN IF I BE DEFEATED FOR SENATOR, THE VOTE FOR ME WOULD STILL BE A VOTE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS AND AGAINST WAR AND EVENTUALLY THIS PROGRAM MUST WIN. IF IT WINS THIS NOVEMBER SO MUCH THE BETTER, BUT IF IT WINS 10 YEARS FROM TODAY THAT VICTORY MUST BEGIN NOW.

IT IS THE PROGRAM AND NOT THE MAN FOR WHICH YOU VOTE. THE ONLY ASSURANCE Y U HAVE IS THAT IF I AM ELECTED TO THE SENATE, NO POWER IN HELL, EARTH NOR HEAVEN WILL KEEP MY MOUTH FROM SPEAKING AND VOTING WHAT I CONCEIVE IS THE TRUTH AND RIGHT.

MY PLATFORM

Like most men born and bred in the 19th century, I have always thought ~~that~~ ~~while~~ politics ~~is a~~ as career necessary ~~evil which must~~ and in some way be followed ~~through~~ voluntarily but ~~that it was~~ not the higher sort of work which a man would want to do. Largely then I ~~have~~ avoided politics and this is the first time in my life that I have consented to stand for public office. This because it ~~is~~ becomes increasingly clear to me that ~~this~~ the very recoil from public defense and personal advocacy of that which one feels and knows is right, is the ~~very cause of~~ reason for that surrender of our government to men whose prime interest is not social but personal; and the disaster of seeing repeatedly a people whose government does not represent either its thought or desire.

My standing for office then far from being any matter of personal ambition, is rather proof that I am willing to forgo my ~~wish in order~~ preference to discuss with the public the serious objects of public life and action. For today curiously enough, it has become suddenly impossible to express publicly what one believes and knows, unless one takes advantage of the few civil rights remaining to us and runs for office in order to talk freely without going to jail What I ask and plead therefor in this ~~for me bizarre and unreal~~ campaign, is that you vote in the next campaign not for me but ~~for~~ the principles which I am trying to ~~emphasize~~; with the deep belief that however ~~small and~~ unimportant I may be, what I am seeking to make clear and stand for is of the utmost importance to the United States and the future of mankind. ~~The~~ Of the two ~~plan~~ planks in my platform on which I place such faith and emphasis are these:

PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS

There is theoretically nothing new nor startling in these ideas. In the days when this nation was still sane and ~~reasonably striving~~ gallivanting toward democracy, the wonder ~~would be~~ was that at any man ~~who~~ could stand for world war and the slave state. ~~But~~ this is what we ~~do~~ advocate today by apparently such overwhelming majority that any advocate of peace is in danger of assault by mob and police and our jails are increasingly filling with men of education and conscience once accused of no criminal acts but only of unpopular thoughts or action

Our slow but steady descent into belief in complete and universal war and our determination to make ~~it~~ men think what we believe is true, rather than what they in their free American heritage regard as truth -- this literal descent to hell in our day and in this our own country, has been so gradual and complete that many honest Americans cannot believe what they actually hear and see; and sit bewildered, rubbing their eyes in order to get some vague con-

over

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ception of what can have happened to the land which once declared "these truths to be self evident; that all men were created equal; that they were endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness." No ~~man born before 1900~~ American born before 1900, could possibly conceive that the United States would be a land ~~of~~ approaching universal military service; with its armed forces in every continent and on every sea, pledged to conquer and control mankind, order the thought and action and belief of the nations of the world and ~~plan~~ ready to spend for this object more money than it ever spent for religion, education or social uplift ~~or moral reform~~ all together And When men arise and say this and try to prove its ~~literal~~ truth, every effort is made by secret police, organized spies and hired informers; deliberate subversion of the fundamental principles of our ~~basic~~ law, to imperson maltreat, slander and silence such persons, and deprive them of earning an honest livehood.

Avoiding all hysteria and exaggeration, all natural indignation and ~~natural~~ instinctive defence of the right of free speech and hatred of thought control, it is clear to all Americans who still dare think, that my description of this America is true and if true frightening to all men who once thought of this land as the Land of the Free.

My platform then, like the platform of every honest American who still believes in peace and freedom, takes its unalterable stand against war and slavery It warns all thinking men that the cause of our present ~~unalterable~~ failure and disgrace is simple and sheer insanity. We have known individuals to go crazy. We have long viewed ~~it~~ this as unfortunate disease, or ~~as~~ illusion fostered by man's own weekness or by the wicked plots of his enemies. We are learning all too slowly how to cope with and cure the individually insane. But mass insanity is a newer thing; to be sure we have experienced it in the race hate of the South, which we increasingly recognize as distorted mentality rather than deliberate will to harm, and while the ~~dawning~~ dawning comprehension of one of the nastiest blots on our culture has not yet cured it, it has at least let us see our way and begin to plan the long up-building future. But before we are well-started on t this path to goodness and truth, there comes an insanity, a wild and cruel madness, which engulfs the world, hurls us into ~~insane~~, planned and horrible murder ~~which~~ calls to its ends every ingenuity of science and even sets at its head followers of that Prince of Peace, who once out of degradation and poverty ~~cried~~ today cry to us to a world far less guilty than ours, a distortion of His Words "Come unto me all them that labor and are heavy laden and I ~~will~~ will give you War."

That the civilized world today, ~~1950~~ near 2000 years after the birth of Christianity

not mentioning those older and younger faiths, with their high ~~and all the battered~~ hopes of reason and love of humanity -- that this world today with all its triumphs which once we greeted with shrieks of joy-- that this world has gone ~~insane~~ crazy, no sane man can for a moment deny.

But he can pause and resting a minute from his atom bombs, his hydrogen horror, his propaganda of disease of body and mind, ~~his~~ his mad destruction and wild waste of the ~~funds~~ wages of the poor-- pause and ask in this election season, why, for Gods sake why? What are we yelling about? what are we in deathly fear of? Have we been invaded ~~by fiends~~? Has anyone dropped an atom bomb on us? Have we been impoverished or enslaved by foreigners? Is our business failing and our millionaires disappearing? Has the rate of profit gone down, is our machinery less cunning or our natural ressourses ~~being monopolized~~ destroyed by strangers? Is there any sign that the United States of America is victim or can be victim of any foreign power. No! Then what are we afraid of and why are we trying to guard the earth from Pacific to Atlantic and from the North to the South Pole? unless it is from ourselves.

We are scared of an idea; we are terrified by a vision of Power which long misled and slaughtered the peoples of Europe and Asia, and now insidiouslycreeps into our fever-mad heads. And that is Imperialism -- World Rule over the world. Once it was sought by black slavery; then it was made easy by yellow coolies; then it was the "Lesser Breeds without the law," who could furnish a White Mans's Burden and let him strut over the world and lord it in Asia and Africa and rule and rule, World without End, forever and forever. The fever of Imperialism caught the United States as the 19th century died and we choked a few islands out of dying Spain. ~~It was~~ but there were small change which whetted our appetite. ~~But~~ With the First World War came the vision of an imperial United States as sucessor of the Empire on which the Sun already sets. We rushed so madly at the spoils left by European empire that we ~~near~~ brought down our whole industrial system about our own ears

It would seem that the memory of the great depression of the thirties would convince all thinking men that War is not the path to the millenium and that what we need is reform of our own system of work and industrial organization before we attempt to teach the world what to think or how to live. Instead of that we were convinced that the path forward was backward to the imperialism which had just failed in Europe and caused the worst ~~first~~ modern catastrophe which was the First World War. The men who controlled this nation, through ownership of capital, control of natural resourses now added the vast ~~force~~ power of a press, and radio monopolized by organized wealth to convince Americans that restoration of peace and prosperity depended on our mastery of the cheap labor and necessay raw material

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That was the Vision of the 19th Century

of the world and the direction of industry in Africa, Asia and the islands of the seas in accord with our system of economic organization. But what we ignored in our thinking was not only that the industrial system which we were seeking to re-install had already met a terrible and costly reverse; but that modifications of imperialism and monopoly capitalism had already been suggested and tried. Such efforts of varying kinds and comprehended loosely by the name "Socialism", were not invented by Russia nor first tried by Russia On the contrary Socialism is an English, French and German conception and was first tried in Russia because that unhappy land was one of the worst victims of the capitalist system

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If tomorrow Russia disappeared from the face of the earth, the basic problem facing the modern world would remain: and that is; Why is it, with the earth's abundance and our mastery of natural forces, and miraculous technique; with industry belting the earth and goods and services pouring from our stores, factories, ships and warehouses; with or at that nevertheless, most human beings are starving to death, dying of preventable disease and too ignorant to know what is the matter, while a small minority are so rich that they cannot spend their income That is the problem which faces the world, and Russia was not the first to pose it, nor will she be the last to ask and demand answer. The 19th century said that this situation was inevitable and must always remain because of the natural inferiority of most men. The 20th century knows better. It says that there is food enough for all; that clothes and shelter for all can be provided; that most disease is preventable and that the overwhelming mass of human beings can be educated. That intelligence, health and decent comfort are not only possible but should be demanded by all men, planned by all states and made increasingly effective by all voters in each election

But the powerful who today own the earth and the fulness thereof; who monopolyize its industry and own its press and screen its news, have another answer: they order us to fight an idea; to "contain" and crush any dream of abolishing poverty, disease and ignorance; and to do this by organizing war, murder and destruction on or for any people who dare to plan plenty for all mankind. From the 19th century they attempt to take over Imperialism to bribe the workers and thinkers of the most powerful countries by high wage and privilege to build a false and dishonest prosperity on the slavery and degradation-- the low wage and disease of Africa and Asia and the islands of the sea, and to lay for this to offer their own sons and daughters in endless stream to be murdered and maimed in endless wars, so that the profits of European and American business may mount to fabulous sums; so that stifling taxation may be laid on washerwomen and laborers; on clerks and stenographers, while millionaires and

Paris, Sept. 4, 1950

Dear Bonita:

Du Bois has been in attendance upon a student conference this Summer for four weeks. She is due here in Paris today or tomorrow. But although she has her return ticket to

rich corporations go free. This is why we are fighting in Europe, Asia and Africa -- not against any country, but against an idea -- against the rising demand of the working classes of the world for better wage, decent housing, regular employment, medical service and schools for all. It does not answer this world-wide demand to say that we of America have these things in greater abundance than the rest of the world, if our prosperity is based or seeks to base itself on the exploitation and degradation of the rest of mankind. Remember it is American money that owns more and more of South African mines worked by slave labor; it is American enterprise that fattens off of Rhodesian copper and Nigerian tin; it is American investors that seek to dominate China, India , Korea and Burma; that are throttling the starved workers of the near East

We were at war yesterday; we are at war today; we will be at war tomorrow because Big Business wants war and builds its profits, direct and indirect on war, on the attempt to murder all who want Peace and Abundance. Yet is it not clear that such a program is sheer insanity? That no nation, however rich and smart can conquer this world? That no idea based on truth and righteousness can ultimately be suppressed by force and murder?

The world wants peace. It must have peace or civilization will die. Everything that war by any imagination could possibly gain for mankind has been sought by three wars of such collosal death, cost and destruction that every sane soul is simply appalled by the result. Yet we are not only arming for more and greater war but driven by the furies are trying to shut the mouths and stifle the consciences of all or any who dare speak for Peace.

This overthrowing and negation of the Bill of Rights is the second plank of my platform I never thought I would live to see the day that free speech and freedom of opinion would be so throttled in the United States as it is today. Today in this free country, no man can be sure of earning a living, of escaping slander and personal violence; or even of keeping out of jail unless publicly and repeatedly he proclaims

That he hates Russia
That he opposes socialism and communism
That he supports wholeheartedly the war in Korea
That he is ready to spend any amount of the nations resources for further war anywhere or at anytime
That he believes in the use of the Atom bomb or any other weapon of mass
That he is ready to fight the Soviet Union, China and any other country

destruction and regards anyone who is opposed as a traitor
That he not only believes in and consents to all these things, but is willing to spy on his neighbors and denounce them if they do not believe and do as he does

That he is willing that all such persons should lose their jobs and be imprisoned by executive action and without trial by jury

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The mere statement of this creed shows its absolute insanity. What can be done to bring this nation to its senses? Most people answer: Nothing; just sit still; bend to the storm; if necessary, lie and join the witch-hunt. Swear to God that never, never, did you sympathize with the Russian peasants fight to be free; that you never in your life belonged to a liberal organization or had a friend who did; and if so, you were deceived and deluded and a damned fool.

But there are others who say: We can do something; that America needs no more cowards and liars. It needs honest men and that honest citizens who are mistaken are infinitely more patriotic than scoundrels who follow the herd. We still have elections and we still have a secret ballot. If you do not want war. you have the right and opportunity to say so and no one need know how you voted. If you want the Bill of Rights restored to the Constitution you have the legal right to say so and say so secretly. In this democracy, you shall retain the right to help elect your lawmakers and executives. If you fail to exercise this right, you will suffer and ought to suffer Today the vast majority of the American people do not want war. Most Americans hate the current witchhunt. The only way to oppose war and the death of civil liberty is to elect officials who agree with you. The present Senate of the United States is a war-making body and a body hostile to civil liberties not only in the South but in this State. You have a right in November to help change the composition of the Senate The present senior Senator from New York is a respecgable banker. He has often as Governor and Senator voted for the right. I voted for him last yeaf. But this year the whole picture of the world has changed and Senator Lehman has supported our war program and the invasion of our civil liberties. As representative of finance and investing interests he could hardly do otherwise. Remember what modern investment is: it is not as it once was the loaning of your savings to help an enterprise which you knew about and followed; it is controll of goods and labor over vast areas and under conditions of which you neither know nor care; it may and often does involve

slavery and disease, ignorance and cruelty; it may drive wages down to starvation, decimate and ruin family and group life; it may turn vast areas from happy primitive life to centers of crime and horror; but if it earns a profit; if it does not transgress the laws of the country where the investors live and largely make the law, then it is legal, legitimate and respectable. This has been the history of modern finance and investment all over the world. Its path is marked by blood, war, ignorance and the subjection of most of the peoples of the world to the comfort and convenience of the few

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The fight to curb uncontrolled investment and exploitation has been long and difficult but has had much success. But today and in America it ~~has learned has failed and~~ is failing and resulting in a program of world war. The overwhelming influence and representation of finance capital in our legislatures, in the Executive and eapecially in the Senate of the U nited States must be curbed and immediately. It is time that Senator Lehman be replaced by a man who is oppoesd to war and willing to fight for civil liberties not simply for corporations but for the mass of working men and women

It has been intimated however, that my candidacy is designed not really to replace Senator Lehman by a man willing to fight for Peace and Civil Rights, but rather to ~~defeat the present~~ place as Senator Lehman by a man even less qualified and less willing to represent progressive thought. So far as I am concerned personally, I have but one object in this campaign and that is to win the election. In a long life I never have and never expect to act as stool pigeonfor any man or party. ~~But~~ I shall not begin now! I know that every third party movement meets such accusations, which if heeded would make progress impossible. Every time you suggest voting against a dominant party or a present official, you are met by the prediction that you are bound to fail. Upon this fear and risk, the old parties rely to hold their graft and power. Today in this state and in the nation the Democratic and Republican parties stand for one and the same thing: War and the Slave State. They cannot even phrase platforms that sound different. They can only promise to do what the other is doing better --or worse. The nation faced the same predicament and prophecy in the slavery controversy a century ago. You must vote Democratic or Whig, because the Free Soil party bhad now chance; because if you failed to vote for a Democrat you helped elct a whig. But that was not true as the eventual triunph of Abraham Lincoln proved. Ev ery defeat of a candidate for a free country did not mean defeat for for what he stands for.

~~Freedom nor triumph for Slavery.~~ Even if I be defeated for Senator, the vote for ~~he~~ me would still be a vote for Civil Rights and against War and eventually this program must win. It is the program and not the man for which you vote. The only assurance you have is that if I am elected to the Senate, no power in Hell, Earth nor Heaven will keep my mouth from speaking and voting what I conceive is the T ruth and Right

35-4-158

If it wins this November so much the better but if it wins 10 years from today that victory must begin now

(MISSING)

order the thought and action and belief of the nations of the world and ready to spend for these objects more money than it ever spent for religion, education or social uplift altogether.

When men arise and say this and try to prove its truth, every effort is made by secret police, organized spies and hired informers, by deliberate subversion of the fundamental principles of our law, to imprison, maltreat, slander and silence such persons, and deprive them of earning an honest livelihood.

Avoiding all hysteria and exaggeration, all natural indignation and instinctive defense of the right of free speech and hatred of thought control, it is clear to all Americans who still dare think, that my description of this America is true and if true frightening to all men who once thought of this land as the land of the free.

My platform then, like the platform of every honest American who still dare believe in peace and freedom, takes its unalterable stand against war and slavery. It warns all thinking men that the cause of our present failure and disgrace is simple and sheer mass insanity. We have known individuals to go crazy. We have long viewed this as unfortunate disease, or illusion fostered by a man's own weakness or by the wicked plots of his enemies.

35-4-69

We are learning all too slowly how to cope with and cure the individually insane. But mass insanity is a newer thing. To be sure we have experienced it in the race hate of the South, which we increasingly recognize as distorted mentality rather than deliberate will to harm; and while this dawning comprehension of one of the nastiest blots on our culture has not yet cured it, it has at least let us see our way to begin to plan the long upbuilding future. But before we are well-started on this path to goodness and truth, there comes an insanity, a wild and cruel madness, which engulfs the world, hurls us into planned and horrible murder calls to its ends every ingenuity of science and even sets at its head followers of that prince of peace, who once out of degradation and poverty pled with a world far less guilty than ours; while we today give our world a distortion of his words and shriek:

"Come unto me all them that labor and are heavy-laden and I will give you war."

That the civilized world today, nearly 2000 years after the birth of Christianity not mentioning those older and younger faiths, with their high hopes of reason and love of humanity--that this world today with all its triumps which once we greeted with shouts of joy--that this world has gone crazy, no sane man can for a moment deny.

But he can pause and resting a minute from his Atom bombs, his Hydrogen horror, his propaganda of disease of body and mind, his mad destruction and wild waste of the wages of the poor--pause and ask in this election season Why? For God's sake, why? What are we yelling about? of what are we in such deathly fear?

Have we been invaded? Has anyone dropped an Atom bomb on us? Have we been impoverished or enslaved by foreigners? Is our business failing and are our millionaires disappearing? Has the rate of profit gone down, is our machinery less cunning or our natural resources destroyed by strangers? Is there any sign that the United States of America is victim or can be victim of any foreign power? No! Then of what are we afraid and why are we trying to guard the earth from Pacific to Atlantic, and from the North to the South Pole, unless it be from ourselves.

We are afraid of an idea; we are tempted by a vision of power which long misled and slaughtered the peoples of Europe and Asia, and now insidiously creeps into our own fever-mad heads. And that is imperialism--world rule over the world. Once this was sought by black slavery, then it was made easy by yellow coolies, then by all "lesser breeds without the law", who could furnish a white man's burden and let him strut over the world and Lord it in Asia and Africa and rule and rule, world without end, forever and forever. That was the vision of the 19th Century. The fever of Imperialism caught the United States as the 19th Century died and we choked a few Islands out of dying Spain, but these were but small change which whetted our appetite. With the First World War came the vision of an imperial United States as successor of the Empire on which the Sun already sets. We rushed so madly at the spoils left by European Empire that we brought down our whole industrial system about our own ears.

35-4-70

It would seem that the memory of the great depression of the thirties would convince all thinking men that war is not the path to the millenium and that what we need is reform of our own system of work and industrial organization, before we attempt to teach the world what to think or how to live.

Instead of that, we were convinced that the path forward was backward to the imperialism which had just failed in Europe and caused the worst modern catastrophe which was the First World War. The men who controlled this nation, through ownership of capital, and control of natural resources now added the vast power of a press, and radio monopolized by organized wealth to convince Americans that restoration of peace and prosperity depended on our mastery of the cheap labor and basic raw material, off the world and the direction of industry in Africa, Asia and the Islands of the Seas in accord with our system of economic organization.

But what we ignored in our thinking was not only that the industrial system which we were seeking to re-install had already met a terrible and costly reverse; that modifications of imperialism and monopoly capitalism had already been suggested and tried. Such efforts of varying kinds comprehended loosely by the name "Socialism", were not invented by Russia, nor first tried by Russia. On the contrary, Socialism is an English, French and German conception and was tried in Russia because that unhappy land was one of the last and worst victims of the capitalist system.

If tomorrow Russia disappeared from the face of the earth, the basic problem facing the modern world would remain; and that is--Why is it, with the earth's abundance and our mastery of natural forces, and miraculous technique, with our commerce belting the earth and goods and services pouring from our stores, factories, ships and warehouses; why is it that nevertheless most human beings are starving to death, dying of preventable disease and too ignorant to know what is the matter; while a small minority are so rich that they cannot spend their income?

That is the problem which faces the world, and Russia was not the first to pose it, nor will she be the last to ask and demand answer. The 19th Century said that this situation was inevitable and must always remain because of the natural inferiority of most men. The 20th Century knows better. It says that there is food enough for all; that clothes and shelter for all can be provided; that most disease is preventable and that the overwhelming mass of human beings can be educated. That intelligence, health and decent comfort are not only possible but should be demanded by all men, planned by all States and made increasingly effective by all voters in each election.

35-4-71

But the powerful who today own the earth and the fulness thereof, who monopolize its industry and own its press and screen its news, have another answer; they order us to fight an idea; to "contain" and crush any dream of abolishing poverty, disease and ignorance; and to do this by organizing war, murder and destruction on any people who dare to try to plan plenty for all mankind. From the 19th Century they attempt to take over Imperialism to bribe the workers and thinkers of the most powerful countries by high wage and privilege to build a false and dishonest prosperity on the slavery and degradation--the low wage and disease of Africa and Asia and the Islands of the Sea, and to pay for this they offer your sons and daughters in endless stream to be murdered and crippled in endless wars so that the profits of European and American business may mount to fabulous sums; so that taxation may be laid on washerwomen and laborers; on clerks and stenographers, while millionaires and rich corporations avoid all real burden. This is why we are fighting or preparing to fight in Europe, Asia, and Africa--not against the country, but against the idea--against the rising demand of the working classes of the world for better wage, decent housing, regular employment, medical service and schools for all.

It does not answer this world-wide demand to say that we of America have these things in greater abundance than the rest of the world, if our prosperity is based or seeks to base itself on the exploitation and degradation of the rest of mankind. Remember it is American money that owns more and more of South African mines worked by slave labor. It is American enterprise that fattens off of Rhodesian Copper. It is American investors that seek to dominate China, India, Korea and Burma; that are throttling the starved workers of the Near East. It is Lehman Brothers who own the tin of Bolivia and starve its miners, and it is their brother who is Senator from New York.

Gp 5 MISSING

But there are others who say we can do something; that America needs no more cowards and liars. It needs honest men and that honest citizens who are mistaken are infinitely more patriotic than scoundrels who follow the herd.

We still have elections and we still have a secret ballot. If you do not want war, you have the right and opportunity to say so and no one need know how you have voted. If you want the Bill of Rights restored to the Constitution you have the legal right to say so and do so secretly. In this Democracy you still retain the right to help elect your lawmakers and executives. If you fail to exercise this right, you will suffer and you ought to suffer. Today the vast majority of the American people who are not crazy do not want war. Most Americans hate the current witch-hunt. The only way to oppose war and the death of Civil liberty is to elect officials who agree with you.

The present Senate of the United States is a war-making body and a body hostile to Civil liberties not only in the South but in this State. You have a right in November to help change the composition of the Senate. The present Junior Senator from New York is a respectable man. He has often as Governor and Senator voted for the right. I voted for him last year. But this year the whole picture of the world has changed and Senator Lehman has supported our war program and openly condoned in some cases the invasion of our Civil Liberties.

35-4-72

As representative of finance and investing interests he could hardly do otherwise. Remember what modern investment is; it is not as it once was the loaning of your savings to help an enterprise which you knew about and watched. It is control of goods and labor over vast areas and under conditions of which you neither know nor care. It may and often does involve slavery and disease, ignorance and cruelty. It may drive wages down to starvation, decimate and ruin family and group life; it may turn vast areas from happy primitive life to centers of crime and horror. But if it earns a profit; if it does not transgress the laws of the country where the investors live and where they largely make the law, then it is legal, legitimate and respectable. This has been the history of modern finance and investment all over the world. Its path is marked by blood, war, ignorance and the subjection of most of the peoples of the world to the comfort and convenience and luxury of the few.

The fight to curb uncontrolled investment and exploitation has been long and difficult and has had much success. But today and in America it is failing and resulting in a program of World War. The overwhelming influence and representation of finance capital in our legislatures, in the executive and especially in the Senate of the United States must be curbed and curbed immediately. It is time that Senator Lehman be replaced by a man who is opposed to war and willing to fight for Civil Liberties and not simply for the liberty of Corporations but liberty for the mass of working men and women.

It has been intimated however, that my candidacy is designed not really to replace Senator Lehman by a man willing to fight for peace and civil rights, but rather to elect as Senator a man even less qualified and less willing to represent progressive thought than Mr. Lehman. So far as I am concerned personally, I have but one object in this campaign and that is to win th election.

In a long life I never have and never expect to act as stool pigeon for any man or party. I shall not begin now. I know that every third party movement meets such accusations, which if heeded would make progress impossible. Every time you suggest voting against a dominant party of a present Official, you are met by the prediction that you are bound to fail. Upon this fear and risk, the old parties rely to hold their graft and power.

35-6-69

Today in this state and in the nation the Democratic and Republican parties stand for one and the same thing: war and the slave state. They cannot even phrase platforms that sound different. They can only promise to do what the other is doing better ---- or worse. The nation faced the same predicament and prophecy in the slavery controversy a century ago. You must vote Democratic or Whig, because the Free Soil Party had no chance: because if you failed to vote for a Democrat you help elect a Whig. But that was not true as the eventual triumph of Abraham Lincoln proved. Every defeat of a candidate for a free country does not mean defeat for what he stands for.

Even if I be defeated for Senator, the vote for me would still be a vote for civil rights and against war and eventually this program must win. If it wins this November so much the better, but if it wins ten years from today that victory must begin now.

It is the program and not the man for which you vote. The only assurance you have is that if I am elected to the Senate, no power in Hell, Earth nor H eaven will keep my mouth from speaking and voting what I conceive is the truth and right.

IT HAS BECOME SUDDENLY INPOSSIBLE/TO EXPRESS PUBLICLY/WHAT ONE BELIEVES AND KNOWS/ UNLESS ONE TAKES ADVANTAGE/OF THE FEW CIVIL RIGHTS/REMAINING TO US/AND RUNS FOR OFFICE IN ORDER TO TALK FREELY/WITHOUT GOING TO JAIL.// WHAT I ASK AND PLEAD THEREFORE/IN THIS CAMPAIGN,/ IS THAT YOU VOTE/~~IN THE NEXT CAMPAIGN~~/NOT SIMPLY FOR ME/BUT FOR ME AS REPRESENTING/THE PRINCIPLES/WHICH I AM TRYING TO EMPHASIZE;//WITH THE DEEP BELIEF/THAT HOWEVER UNIMPORTANT I MAY BE,/ WHAT I AM SEEKING TO MAKE CLEAR/AND STAND FOR/IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE/TO THE NEGRO RACE IN THE UNITED STATES/AND TO THE WHITES/ TO THE FUTURE OF MANKIND.//

THE TWO PLANKS IN MY PLATFORM/ON WHICH I PLACE ~~SUCH~~ FAITH/AND EMPHASIS/ARE THESE: PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS.

THERE IS THEORETICALLY NOTHING NEW/NOR STARTLING IN THESE IDEAS.// IN THE DAYS/ WHEN THIS NATION WAS STILL SANE/AND FALTERING TOWARD DEMOCRACY,/ THE WONDER WAS/THAT ANY MAN COULD STAND/FOR WORLD WAR AND THE SLAVE STATE.//TODAY THIS IS WHAT WE ~~ADVOCATE~~ STAND FOR/ BY APPARENTLY SUCH OVERWHELMING MAJORITY/THAT ANY ADVOCATE OF PEACE/IS IN DANGER OF ASSAULT BY MOB AND POLICE/AND OUR JAILS ARE INCRESSINGLY FILLING/WITH MEN OF EDUCATION AND CONSCIENCE/ACCUSED OF NO CRIMINAL ACTS/BUT ONLY OF UNPOPULAR ~~THOUGHTS AND RELIGION~~ beliefs.

35-6-169

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35-6-55

Our slow/ BUT STEADY DESCENT/ INTO BELIEF IN COMPLETE AND UNIVERSAL WAR/ AND OUR DETERMINATION/ ~~TO~~ ALL TO MAKE MEN THINK/ WHAT ~~WE~~ SOME BELIEVE IS TRUE,/ RATHER THAN To let THEM exercize ~~THAT~~ WHAT THEY IN/ THEIR FREE AMERICAN HERITAGE ~~REGARD AS~~ OF CHOOSING TRUTH+ THIS LITERAL DESCENT INTO HELL/ IN OUR DAY/ AND IN THIS OUR OWN COUNTRY,/ HAS BEEN SO GRADUAL AND COMPLETE/ THAT MANY HONEST AMERICANS/ CANNOT BELIEVE/ WHAT THEY ACTUALLY HEAR AND SEE;// AND SIT BEWILDERED,/ RUBBING THEIR EYES/ IN ORDER TO GET SOME VAGUE CONCEPTION/ OF WHAT CAN HAVE HAPPENED/ TO THE LAND WHICH ONCE DECLARED/ "THESE TRUTHS/ TO BE SELF EVIDENT:// THAT ALL MEN WERE CREATED EQUAL; THAT THEY WERE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR/ WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS,/ THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE,/ LIBERTY/ AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."// NO AMERICAN BORN BEFORE 1900,/ COULD POSSIBLY/ CONCEIVE/ THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD BECOME/ A LAND APPROACHING/ UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE;/ WITH ITS ARMED FORCES IN EVERY CONTINENT/ AND ON EVERY SEA,/ PLEDGED TO CONQUER AND CONTROL MASSES OF MANKIND,/ ORDER THE THOUGHT AND ACTION AND BELIEF/ OF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD/ AND READY TO SPEND FOR THESE OBJECTS/ MORE MONEY THAN IT EVER SPENT/

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FOR RELIGION, EDUCATION/OR SOCIAL UPLIFT/ALTOGETHER.

WHEN MEN ARISE/AND SAY THIS/AND TRY TO PROVE ITS TRUTH, EVERY EFFORT IS MADE/BY SECRET POLICE,/ ORGANIZED SPIES AND HIRED INFORMERS.//BY DELIBERATE SUBVERSION/OF THE FUNDAMANTAL PRINCIPLES OF OUR LAW,//TO IMPRISON ~~MALTREAT~~,/ SLANDER AND SILENCE/SUCH PERSONS,/ AND DEPRIVE THEM OF EARNING AN HONEST LIVELIHOOD.

AVOIDING ALL HYSTERIA/AND EXAGGERATION,/ ALL NATURAL INDIGNATION AND INSTINCTIVE DEFENSE/OF THE RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH/AND HATRED OF THOUGHT CONTROL,//IT IS CLEAR TO ALL AMERICANS/WHO STILL DARE THINK,/ THAT MY DESCRIPTION OF THIS AMERICA/IS TRUE/AND IF TRUE FRIGHTENING TO ALL MEN/WHO ONCE THOUGHT OF THIS LAND/AS THE LAND OF THE FREE.

MY PLATFORM THEN,/ LIKE THE PLATFORM OF EVERY HONEST AMERICAN/WHO STILL DARE BELIEVES IN PEACE AND FREEDOM,/ TAKES ITS UNALTERABLE STAND/AGAINST WAR AND SLAVERY.//IT WARNS ALL THINKING MEN/THAT THE CAUSE OF OUR PRESENT failure + disgrace is sheer mass insanity

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AND DIFFICULT/ AND ~~BUT~~ HAS HAD MUCH SUCCESS.// ~~BUT~~ TODAY AND IN AMERICA/ IT IS FAILING/ AND RESULTING IN A PROGRAM OF WORLD WAR.// THE OVERWHELMING INFLUENCE/ AND REPRESENTATION OF FINANCE CAPITAL/ IN OUR LEGISLATURES,/ IN THE EXECUTIVE/ AND ESPECIALLY IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES/ MUST BE CURBED AND CURBED IMMEDIATELY.// IT IS TIME THAT SENATOR LEHMAN/ BE REPLACED BY A MAN/ WHO IS OPPOSED TO WAR/ AND WILLING TO FIGHT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES/ AND NOT SIMPLY FOR THE LIBERTY OF CORPORATIONS/ BUT LIBERTY FOR THE MASS/ OF WORKING MEN AND WOMEN.//

IT HAS BEEN INTIMATED HOWEVER,/ THAT MY CANDIDACY/ IS DESIGNED/ NOT REALLY TO REPLACE SENATOR LEHMAN/ BY A MAN WILLING TO FIGHT FOR PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS,/ BUT RATHER TO ELECT AS SENATOR/ JOE HANLEY A MAN EVEN LESS QUALIFIED/ AND LESS WILLING/ TO REPRESENT PROGRESSIVE THOUGHT/ THAN MR. LEHMAN.// SO FAR AS I AM CONCERNED PERSONALLY,/ I HAVE BUT ONE OBJECT IN THIS CAMPAIGN/ AND THAT IS TO WIN THE ELECTION.// IN A LONG LIFE I NEVER HAVE/ ACTED AND NEVER EXPECT/ TO ACT AS

Like most men born and bred in the 19th Century, I have always thought Politics as a career necessary but not the higher sort of work which a man would voluntarily ~~want to do~~. Largely then I avoided politics and this is the first time in my life that I have consented to stand for public office. This is because it becomes increasingly clear to me that this very recoil from ~~public advocacy of that which one feels and knows is right~~ is the reason for that surrender of our Government to men whose prime interest is not social but personal; and the disaster of seeing repeatedly a people, ~~whose~~ Government, does not represent its real interests.

My standing for office then, far from being any matter of personal ambition, is rather proof that I am willing to forego my preference in order to discuss with the public the serious objects of public life and action. For today curiously enough, it has become suddenly impossible to express publicly what one believes and knows unless one takes advantage of the few civil rights remaining to us and runs for office in order to talk freely without going to jail. What I ask and plead therefore in this campaign is that you vote not simply for me but for me as representing the principles which I am trying to emphasize; with the deep belief that however unimportant I may be, what I am seeking to make clear and stand for is of the utmost importance to the Negro race in the United States to the Whites and to the future of mankind.

My platform then, like the platform of every honest American who still dare believe in peace and freedom, takes its unalterable stand against war and slavery. It warns all thinking men that the cause of our present failure and disgrace is simple and sheer mass insanity. We have known individuals to go crazy. We have long viewed this as unfortunate disease, or illusion fostered by a man's own weakness or by the wicked plots of his enemies.

We are learning all too slowly how to cope with and cure the individually insane. But mass insanity is a newer thing. To be sure we have experienced it in the race hate of the South, which we increasingly recognize as distorted mentality rather than deliberate will to harm; and while this dawning comprehension of one of the nastiest blots on our culture has not yet cured it, it has at least let us see our way to begin to plan the long upbuilding future. But before we are well-started on this path to goodness and truth, there comes an insanity, a wild and cruel madness, which engulfs the world, hurls us into planned and horrible murder calls to its ends every ingenuity of science and even sets at its head followers of that prince of peace, who once out of degradation and poverty pled with a world far less guilty than ours; while we today give our world a distortion of his words and shriek:

"Come unto me all them that labor and are heavy-laden and I will give you war."

That the civilized world today, nearly 2000 years after the birth of Christianity not mentioning those older and younger faiths, with their high hopes of reason and love of humanity--that this world today with all its triumps which once we greeted with shouts of joy--that this world has gone crazy, no sane man can for a moment deny.

But he can pause and resting a minute from his Atom bombs, his Hydrogen horror, his propaganda of disease of body and mind, his mad destruction and wild waste of the wages of the poor--pause and ask in this election season Why? For God's sake, why? What are we yelling about? of what are we in such deathly fear?

The present Senate of the United States is a war-making body and a body hostile to Civil liberties not only in the South but in this State. You have a right in November to help change the composition of the Senate. The present Junior Senator from New York is a respectable man. He has often as Governor and Senator voted for the right. I voted for him last year. But this year the whole picture of the world has changed and Senator Lehman has supported our war program and openly condoned in some cases the invasion of our Civil Liberties.

As representative of finance and investing interests he could hardly do otherwise. Remember what modern investment is; it is not as it once was the loaning of your savings to help an enterprise which you knew about and watched. It is control of goods and labor over vast areas and under conditions of which you neither know nor care. It may and often does involve slavery and disease, ignorance and cruelty. It may drive wages down to starvation, decimate and ruin family and group life; it may turn vast areas from happy primitive life to centers of crime and horror. But if it earns a profit; if it does not transgress the laws of the country where the investors live and where they largely make the law, then it is legal, legitimate and respectable. This has been the history of modern finance and investment all over the world. Its path is marked by blood, war, ignorance and the subjection of most of the peoples of the world to the comfort and convenience and luxury of the few.

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The fight to curb uncontrolled investment and exploitation has been long and difficult and has had much success. But today and in America it is failing and resulting in a program of World War. The overwhelming influence and representation of finance capital in our legislatures, in the executive and especially in the Senate of the United States must be curbed and curbed immediately. It is time that Senator Lehman be replaced by a man who is opposed to war and willing to fight for Civil Liberties and not simply for the liberty of Corporations but liberty for the mass of working men and women.